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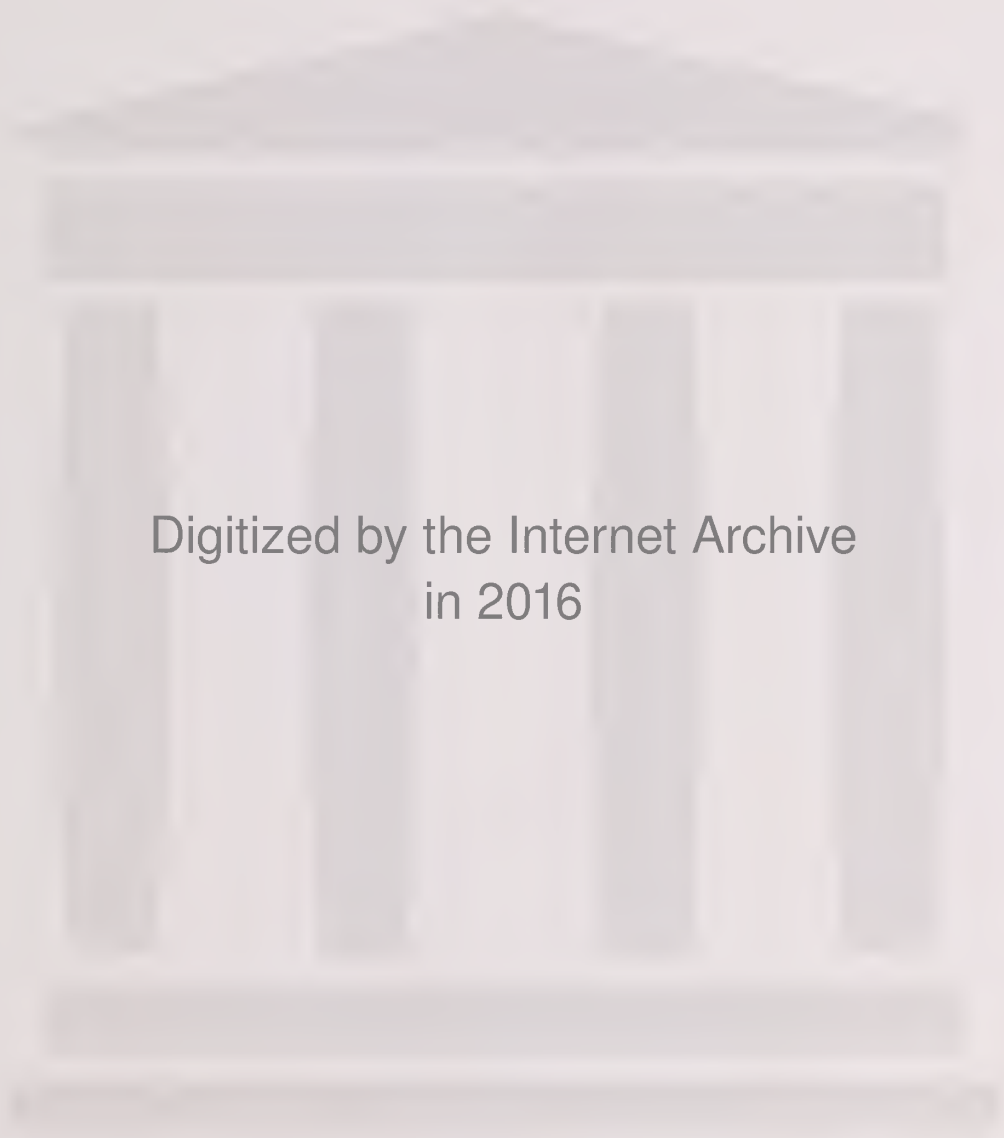
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MEMOIR

OF THE

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, F.R.S. &c.

PARTICULARLY IN THE GOVERNMENT OF JAVA, 1811—1816,

AND OF

BENCOOLEN AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, 1817—1824;

WITH DETAILS OF THE

COMMERCE AND RESOURCES OF THE EASTERN ARCHIPELAGO,

AND

SELECTIONS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE.

BY HIS WIDOW.

Lady Sophia (Hull) Raffles

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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ST. JOHN'S SQUARE, LONDON.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

GILBERT, EARL OF MINTO.

My Lord,

The friendship with which the late Earl of Minto honoured Sir Stamford Raffles from the first period of their acquaintance, and the affection and gratitude with which that friendship was returned, and its remembrance always cherished, render me desirous of dedicating this Memoir to the Son of his Patron. I trust, my Lord, that you will peruse it with an hereditary interest, and accept it as a proof of my earnest desire to acknowledge the obligations which can no longer be expressed by him on whom they were bestowed.

SOPHIA RAFFLES.

INTRODUCTION.

The following Memoir of Sir Stamford Raffles, it is hoped, will afford an outline of the public life of one who was placed in situations of no common responsibility, and filled them with no common firmness, talent, and success. His exertions to promote the honour of his country, the happiness of the people committed to his charge, and, therefore, the best interests of his employers, can only be duly estimated by a knowledge of the peculiar difficulties with which he had to contend: these difficulties, in many instances, it has been found impossible to detail, without reflecting upon individuals, many of whom are now no more. On this account the Editor has omitted various circumstances which severely tried his mind and his principles, and has touched only slightly upon others. To the exertions and anxieties of his public duties, his life fell, eventually, a sacrifice.

The loss of all the papers with which, after his last government, he was returning to England, and which were destroyed in the calamitous burning of the ship, has added much to the difficulty of the task of recording the details of his public life.

It is owing, indeed, to this misfortune, that the undertaking has fallen upon the present Editor, who would otherwise have gladly availed herself of the abilities of those better qualified to perform the task. The wreck of Sir Stamford's papers—those previously sent to England, or those collected after the destruction of his complete materials,—it was found could only be fully made use of by one well acquainted with the events of his life. From peculiar circumstances, the Editor had the happiness to participate in almost all the scenes described during his last administration in India, and also to become generally acquainted with the events of his former government.

Duty to her husband has been the Editor's first consideration; and if in stating some facts which are necessary to justify and uphold his character, she may appear to reflect upon public authorities, she trusts it will be evident she has endeavoured to avoid doing so, wherever it has been possible.

If any observations appear to reflect upon the Dutch nation and character generally, the Editor can only repeat Sir Stamford's own declaration *, "That such observations are intended exclusively to apply to the Colonial Government and its officers."

Though the Editor is conscious that her thanks can be of little value, she feels it her duty publicly to record the sense which Sir Stamford always entertained of the attachment of his private Secretary, the late Mr. Assey, and of his personal staff, Captains Travers, Garnham, Dalgairns,

* See History of Java, 4to. Preface, p. ix. 8vo. p. vi.

Watson, and Methven, during his government of Java. The enthusiasm of this little band of friends, in all that concerned his honour and happiness, tended to soften the troubles in which he was involved. To Captain Travers, who, in a moment of difficulty, and at a considerable personal sacrifice, volunteered to take a voyage to England, for the purpose of defending the character of Sir Stamford, and who has now permitted the Editor to make use of his Journal, her first thanks are due.

Of the friends who assisted Sir Stamford in some of those pursuits which formed his delight and relaxation from public duty, Dr. Arnold, Dr. Jack, Dr. Horsfield, and Dr. Wallich, the world has a better knowledge than the Editor can give. Though Dr. Arnold soon fell a sacrifice to the climate, his amiable character had won Sir Stamford's friendship, and his death was mourned with the truest sorrow. Sir Stamford loved Dr. Jack as a brother; and the society of this highly-gifted and accomplished young man, was a never-failing resource of pleasure: his early death blighted many anticipated plans of future usefulness. The Editor has to regret, that the necessity of compressing this volume has prevented her doing more justice to the unwearied efforts of Dr. Horsfield, in promoting Sir Stamford's views. The collection now in the Museum at the East India House is the best testimony of the success of those efforts; a success which, without Dr. Horsfield's aid, would not have equalled Sir Stamford's wishes.

Dr. Wallich, who, for a time, personally assisted Sir Stamford in his study of Natural History, will feel, that however highly Sir Stamford prized his professional abilities, it was for the qualities of his heart, and for his strong and devoted attachment, that he was still more valued.

To the Friends who have aided and encouraged her in the performance of this duty; to Sir Robert Harry Inglis, to Captain Basil Hall, R.N. to Mr. Murdoch, to Mr. Barrow, and to Dr. Raffles, the Editor offers this public testimony of her gratitude for the assistance and advice which they have afforded her; a gratitude which is brightened by the consciousness that it is their friendship for her husband which has thus been extended in kindness to her. To the Duke of Somerset, Mr. Marsden, and Mr. William Brown Ramsay, (the favourite companion and friend of Sir Stamford's early life,) she owes her thankful acknowledgments, for the letters which they have allowed her to make use of; without these, she could hardly have completed this Volume.

The Editor cannot conclude without expressing her hope that the motives which induced her to compile this Memoir, (a desire to do justice to her husband's memory, and possibly, in some degree, contribute to the information of the public on topics of great national importance,) will justify the attempt, and procure for her the indulgence of which she stands so much in need.

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ERRATA.

Page 110, note †, *for* Sambas, *read* Banjir Masing.
287, note, *for* T. W. Hull, Esq. *read* I. W. Hull, Esq.

MEMOIR

OF

SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, F.R.S.

CHAPTER I.

Early life of Mr. Raffles—Labours and relaxations—First tastes—Appointment under the new Government of Penang—Duties there—Goes to Malacca for his health—Malay literature—Paper on the Malayan nation—Woolly-haired people scattered among them—Game of chess—Orders for the destruction of Malacca—Countermanded on his representation—Native account of the Portuguese arrival at Malacca—The Dutch—Letter from Dr. Leyden.

THERE is a general desire to become acquainted with the early life and habits of those who in maturity have distinguished themselves by the display of superior talents. From that knowledge we derive a practical benefit, and gain a clue which enables us to trace that most interesting subject, the course and progress of the human mind, amid the moral and the physical influences by which it may have received its bias. It is chiefly in public characters that we have adequate opportunities of engaging in such researches. The retirement of private life conceals the connecting links by which the mind gradually advances, though the same course of self-denial and vigorous perseverance may even there produce in the same proportion the same happy results.

It is on this account that some brief notices of the private life of Sir Stamford Raffles have been prefixed to what was at first intended merely as a record of the course of his public services.

It was at one time proposed to have commenced this work with a general view of the state of politics, in those regions of the East where the subject of this Memoir first became known, and soon afterwards rose to very high station. But when it was considered, that the interest of such remote scenes almost invariably depends upon that of the incidents which are connected with individual persons, it was deemed most advisable to commence from the birth of him who is the immediate subject of the narrative.

Thomas Stamford Raffles was born at sea, on board the ship Ann, off the harbour of Port Morant, in the Island of Jamaica, July 5, 1781. He was the only surviving son of Benjamin Raffles, one of the oldest captains in the West India trade out of the Port of London. His paternal grandfather held a situation in the Prerogative Office, Doctors' Commons, with unblemished reputation, for a long course of years.

Little beyond this is known of his family. The name frequently occurs in the oldest registers at Beverley in Yorkshire, both in those of the minster and St. Mary's church, from which it appears that three centuries ago his ancestors resided there, and of one of them it is recorded that he died during his mayoralty in that borough. From thence it is believed they removed to Berwick upon Tweed; and at length, in the time of Mr. Raffles' great grandfather, to London.

Mr Raffles was baptized at Eaton Bishop, in Herefordshire, whilst his mother was on a visit to the Reverend John Lindeman, her brother, who was at that time the incumbent of the living.

In his childhood, and in his early youth, he displayed a thoughtfulness, and a closeness of application above his years, and which many of his friends now remember as the first indications of that vigor of mind, and that devotion to whatever demanded the exertion of his powers, by which in after life he was so eminently distinguished.

What education he obtained was chiefly under Dr. Anderson, who for many years kept a respectable academy at Hammersmith. But at the early age of fourteen he was removed from that seminary, and placed as an extra clerk in the East India House. The disadvantages which he suffered from this removal he deeply felt, and never failed to deplore. Referring to this period in his history, in a letter written many years after to his cousin, the Reverend Dr. Raffles, he says, " With regard to the attention which may be considered to have been paid by me to objects of a still more general and interesting nature, whether literary, scientific, or benevolent—I have only a few words to say. The deficiency of my early education has never been fully supplied; and I have never ceased to deplore the necessity which withdrew me so early from school. I had hardly been two years at a boarding-school, when I was withdrawn, and forced to enter on the busy scenes of public life, then a mere boy. My leisure hours, however, still continued to be devoted to favourite studies; and with the little aid my allowances afforded, I contrived to make myself master of the French language, and to prosecute enquiries into some of the branches of literature and science; this was, however, in stolen moments, either before the office hours in the morning, or after them in the evening. I look back to these days of difficulty and application with some degree of pleasure. I feel that I did all that I could, and I have nothing to reproach myself with.

" This statement will account for my deficiencies in education: and all I ever

presumed to consider myself was—a lover and admirer of all that I could reach in literature and science. The varied, important, and incessant duties of my public life have always deprived me of that calm and retirement which I have desired, and to which alone I look as the ultimate end of my ambition on earth. To qualify myself for the enjoyment of such a state, I omit no opportunity. The high stations which I have held, have enabled me to foster and encourage the pursuits of others; and if I have any merit, it has rather been as the patron of science, than in any other capacity."

He then proceeds to a rapid enumeration of his various labors and productions of a literary and scientific nature, which will be more appropriately noticed in subsequent portions of these pages. They are for the most part already before the world; and they have obtained for him a far higher rank, even amongst men of letters and of science, than that to which his own modesty allowed him to aspire.

It will be seen from this sketch, that the early youth of Mr. Raffles was a period of obscurity and labor, without friends to aid him, as well as without the hope of promotion: his family only searching for that mode of life in which he was most likely to acquire the greatest pecuniary success, without regard to the natural bias of his mind, or to the talents which he possessed. At fourteen he was chained down to the duties of an office: at this early age, and a friendless boy, it is not likely that he would at first be entrusted with much which was interesting; but his was a master mind, and soon burst its shackles, and manifested a high and noble resolve to devote itself to the good of others, and a yearning to obtain the station for which it felt itself best fitted.

His attention to his dull routine of duty was unremitting; he worked early and late; he studied, as he himself says, in stolen moments: by his extra labor at his office he obtained an addition to his salary, which was not appropriated to any selfish purpose; but all he earned was carried home to his parents, as they were at this time in difficulties. His affection to his mother was always one of the strongest feelings of his heart. At this time, with that self-denying devotion to the happiness of others, which was his distinguishing quality through life, he deprived himself of every indulgence, that he might devote to her his hard-earned pittance: and in after-days of comparative affluence he delighted in surrounding her with every comfort.

Such a sedentary life of labor was, however, ill adapted to the delicacy of his frame; and it was feared that symptoms of consumption were becoming confirmed: he was ordered to relax his exertions, and to leave his office for a time; he obeyed, and obtained a fortnight's leave of absence. The use which he made of this short period of recreation is very characteristic: he seized on the moment to indulge that love of mountain scenery so strong in most youthful minds, so happily undying and unfading in its exciting joyous feeling. He resolved to go into Wales, set off on foot, and

walked at the rate of thirty and forty miles a day, accomplished his object, and returned to his desk with restored health. As a school-boy, his garden was his delight: to this was added a love of animals, which was perhaps unequalled. It has been observed, that it is one of the characteristic properties of a great mind, that it can contract as well as dilate itself; and the mind which cannot do both, is not great in its full extent: this observation was forcibly realised in him; he spent hours in fondling and domesticating those objects of his care and attention. He entered with the most child-like simplicity into occupations and pleasures which many would consider beneath their notice: a mountain scene would bring tears into his eyes; a flower would call forth a burst of favourite poetry; it was perhaps peculiar to himself to be able to remark on his last return to England, that he had never seen a horse race, never fired a gun.

His facility in acquiring languages was extreme. He made himself master of French, with scarcely any assistance, on his first going into the India House; and as he never forgot any thing which he had once attained, he always continued to speak this language with great fluency, though he had little opportunity of practice. As an instance, in the year 1818, during his government in Sumatra, a lady was singing in his house one of Moore's Melodies, "Rich and rare were the gems she wore," when some French gentlemen present regretted that the beauties which he was so admiring were lost to them: he immediately translated the whole into French verse, much to the surprize of all present.

His taste for drawing was shewn at an early age, though he never had leisure to indulge it as he wished. In music, he was always fonder of melody than of harmony; perhaps because he did not sufficiently cultivate this delightful science.

His studies, from his facility of acquirement, were desultory; but he was always acquiring something; and was never for one moment unoccupied; later in life, if obliged by illness to relinquish his occupations, he covered his couch with papers on the first cessation of pain, and was immediately engaged, either in reading or dictating.

Little is known of his religious feelings on first entering the world. Early religious instruction was not then, perhaps, so general as at present, and he was not one of the happy few who received it; but, as he advanced in life, prosperity warmed his heart towards the God who led him forward in his course of usefulness; adversity taught him to look to another state of being for the happiness which he felt himself capable of enjoying: perhaps his most prominent feelings on this subject were humility and faith. From his first setting out in life, he gave the praise to God for all the blessings which he enjoyed, and was deeply impressed with a sense of his own unworthiness. He constantly mourned over his own weakness, and deplored his want of power to do that which he felt he ought to do, and his failure in the performance of every duty: from the earliest period he acquiesced in every privation, as the wise purpose of an Almighty Father working for His own glory, which,

though mysterious to the limits of man's understanding, would be brightly and clearly known hereafter.

Beginning life under the influence of such principles and feelings, it will not be matter of surprise, that his own exertions proved his best patron, and procured him friends, whose good opinion was at once honorable to his talents, and favourable to his advancement. Such friends, at a very early period of his connection with the East India House, he had obtained: for a vacancy having occurred in the establishment, his peculiar qualifications were allowed to secure his accession to it, notwithstanding the claims of others, who possessed an interest of which he could not boast.

The Court of Directors in 1805 determined on sending out an establishment to Penang. India seemed to open before him the field for which his ambition panted; and when the appointments for the new government were arranged, Mr. Ramsay, then secretary to the Court of Directors, aware of the peculiar fitness and talents of Mr. Raffles for office, named him to Sir Hugh Inglis, who, from this strong recommendation, and also a discovery of extraordinary qualifications, gave him the appointment of Assistant Secretary, and ever afterwards watched his progress through life with the deepest interest for his success. Mr. Ramsay, in performing this generous act, expressed his feeling in the strongest terms that, although in parting with so useful an assistant in his department, he should suffer the greatest inconvenience; that it was like the loss of a limb to him; yet he felt bound to further the views and promotion in life of one who possessed strong claims from such superior talents and amiable private character. This appointment must, in recollection, when a few short years had passed, have been as gratifying to the patron as it had already proved honorable to Mr. Raffles, and important to the service of the East India Company. Of the new establishment Mr. Philip Dundas was appointed Governor, Mr. John Oliphant, first Member of Council, Mr. Pearson, Secretary, with a long list of civilians. It is not necessary to enter here into the reasons which induced the Court of Directors to form this settlement, particularly as not one of their high-raised expectations was realized; experience soon proved that the place was unfavourably situated to attract either the European or the Indian trader; and high duties checked the natives whom the hope of gain had induced to leave their beaten track.

In the month of September, 1805, Mr. Raffles arrived at Penang, in the Company's ship Ganges, which was commanded by Captain Harrington, a brother of the late member of council in Bengal. The progress which he had made in the Malayan language, during his voyage, enabled him to enter with efficiency on the duties of his office as soon as he arrived. It gave to him those manifest advantages which an enlightened man, on his introduction to so interesting a people, must derive from the immediate interchange of ideas and feelings, and procured him the marked approbation of the Court of Directors.

The previous insight which he had acquired into the mode of preparing and arranging public records and proceedings, rendered his services in the formation of a new establishment highly valuable: but whilst he zealously devoted himself to the discharge of public duties, which, by the illness of the secretary, Mr. Pearson, were rendered unusually laborious, he still found time to pursue the study of the Eastern languages, and to prosecute his researches into his favourite science of natural history.

An extract from the journal of Captain Travers thus describes him at this period: "It was in the year 1806 I first became acquainted with Mr. Raffles, at the Island of Penang. He was then deputy-secretary to the new government, which had been recently sent out to that place. At this time, which was soon after his arrival, he had acquired a perfect knowledge of the Malay language, which he had studied on the voyage out, and was able to write and speak fluently. The details of the government proceedings, as far as related to local arrangements and regulations, together with the compilation of almost every public document, devolved on Mr. Raffles, who possessed great quickness and facility in conducting and arranging the forms of a new government, as well as in drawing up and keeping the records.

"The public dispatches were also entrusted to him; and in fact he had the entire weight and trouble attendant on the formation of a new government. This, however, did not prevent his attending closely to improve himself in the Eastern languages: and whilst his mornings were employed in his public office, where at first he had but little assistance, his evenings were devoted to Eastern literature. Few men, but those who were immediately on the spot at the time, can form any idea of the difficult task which he had to perform, in conducting the public business of such a government as existed on the first establishment of Penang as a Presidency. It would be irrelevant here to allude to, or attempt any description of the different characters of whom this government was formed, the more particularly so, as they are all now dead, but it is due to Mr. Raffles to state, that he was respected and consulted by every member of it. In his official capacity he gave most general satisfaction, whilst the settlers looked up to him for assistance and advice in every difficulty; and when he afterwards became chief secretary, the most general satisfaction was evinced throughout the Settlement.

"Being of a cheerful lively disposition, and very fond of society, it was surprising how he was able to entertain so hospitably as he did, and yet labour so much as he was known to do at the time, not only in his official capacity, but in acquiring a general knowledge of the history, government, and local interests of the neighbouring states; and this he was greatly aided in doing by conversing freely with the natives, who were constantly visiting Penang at this period, many of whom were often found to be sensible, intelligent men, and greatly pleased to find a person holding Mr. Raffles' situation able and anxious to converse with them in their own language."

It was at this early period (1806) that Mr. Raffles formed an acquaintance with

Dr. Leyden, whose health had obliged him to quit Calcutta, and to try the effects of a voyage to Penang. He resided in Mr. Raffles' house for several months. The similarity of their pursuits, and the congeniality of their sentiments, soon led to an unreserved intimacy, which, as the knowledge of each other increased, strengthened into an attachment that was only severed by death.

In consequence of the absence of Mr. Pearson, Mr. Raffles had to perform the duties of that gentleman as well as his own, and succeeded to the office of secretary on the nomination of Mr. Pearson to a seat in council.

On the introduction of the Charter of Justice, for the purpose of establishing a supreme court of judicature, there was no professional person who could be employed as Registrar. Mr. Raffles offered to act in this capacity, and rendered most essential assistance in the duties of arranging and opening the Court.

The fatigue and responsibility attaching to the office of secretary, in the organization of a new government, in a climate which in a very short period proved fatal to two Governors, all the Council, and many of the new settlers, brought on an alarming illness. The attack was so severe, that for some time little hopes of his life were entertained. Throughout sufferings by which his strength was nearly exhausted, he evinced the utmost patience and resignation. When the disease abated, and he could be removed without danger, (1808) he was recommended to go to Malacca for the recovery of his health.

It is difficult to convey an idea of the constant and laborious duties which, at this period, he had to perform. It has already been stated, that the compilation and composition of almost every public document devolved upon him; that he had to draw up and keep all the records of the Government; and that the public despatches were entrusted to him to frame. There were no half-caste persons, as at the present day, to assist in performing the duties of transcribing, which greatly increased the labors of his office. As Registrar he had to arrange all the details of the Recorder's Court. Yet after devoting the whole of the day to these public duties, it was observed at the time that he passed his evenings in the study and acquirement of Eastern literature. Trifles often denote the peculiarity of character which distinguishes the individual from the surrounding crowd; and a circumstance which occurred during Mr. Raffles' visit to Malacca, developed the leading features of his disposition—the forgetfulness of self, the determination to sacrifice every private consideration to a sense of public duty,—the activity and energy of mind which overcame every difficulty that obstructed his course.

" * Whilst he was thus usefully employing himself, and improving his health, a circumstance occurred which proves his zeal and assiduity as a public servant; a ship arrived at Malacca from Penang, bringing intelligence of her having left a vessel

* Extract from Captain Travers' Journal.

in the harbour about to proceed to England. Mr. Raffles, knowing the necessity of sending despatches by the first opportunity, and well aware that in his absence the Government would find great difficulty in preparing them, determined on proceeding there without delay, although strongly urged to remain whilst his health was so fast improving; but it was impossible to dissuade him from what he thought to be a public duty; and, at any risk or inconvenience, he was resolved on going. At the moment there was no vessel in Malacca roads going to Penang, nor any which could be hired for the purpose; but still so determined was he on proceeding, that at length he got a pleasure-boat, formerly the long-boat of an Indiaman, and in this small craft he went, and reached Penang in good time to relieve Government from a weight of care and anxiety, which I believe were freely acknowledged at the time."

It was during this visit to Malacca that Mr. Raffles first enjoyed the opportunity of observing, and joining with the varied population congregated from all parts of the Archipelago, and from the distant countries of Asia; from Java, Amboyna, Celebes, the Moluccas, Borneo, Papua, Cochin China, China Proper, &c.

With many he conversed personally, with others through the medium of interpreters. To this early habit, which he always retained, of associating with the natives, and admitting them to intimate and social intercourse, may be attributed the extraordinary influence which he obtained over them, and the respect with which they always received his advice and opinions.

The knowledge which he thus acquired of the different products of the neighbouring countries, of the nature and extent of their trade, of their customs, manners, and feelings, greatly assisted him in the discharge of those high and responsible duties to which he was subsequently called.

The following extract of a letter of the Governor of Penang evinces the importance attached to his services, by the authorities of that settlement. (1808.)

To Mr. Raffles,

" A thousand thanks to you for your kind letters which I had the pleasure to receive some days ago, and hearing then that there was a small vessel sailing for Malacca, I wrote you a few hurried lines by her, to inform you of the arrangement I had made for your coming back in the event of your not meeting with a better conveyance. The Scourge sailed five days ago, and is to call at Galangore and Siak, before she goes to Malacca. Captain Barrett is desired to place himself under your orders whenever he arrives, and unless a more favorable conveyance offers, I sincerely hope you will find yourself well enough to come back to us in the Scourge.

" It is distressing to me, my dear Sir, to be under the necessity of stating in this pointed manner, the unavoidable exigence of the case, but such is the case, that we shall not be able to make up any despatches for the Court without your assistance.

This is truly hard upon you, under the present circumstances of your delicate state of health, but I trust you will believe that nothing else would induce me to press so hard on you at this time. And with the exception of Mr. Phillips, the rest of the board can give but little assistance in making out the general letter; none, however, so little as myself."

Soon after the formation of the settlement of Penang, Mr. Dundas, the Governor, received from Mr. Marsden, Author of the History of Sumatra, a letter which contained some queries on the subject of Malayan literature. These were immediately referred to Mr. Raffles, as the person best qualified to answer them; and in consequence of Mr. Dundas enclosing the following letter of reply, a correspondence was commenced between Mr. Raffles and Mr. Marsden, which continued until Mr. Raffles' return to England in 1816, when a personal acquaintance led to an intimacy of friendship, which was never interrupted.

To the Honourable P. Dundas.

"*Penang, July* 6, 1806.

"DEAR SIR,

"I should have taken an earlier opportunity of communicating with you on the subject of Mr. Marsden's letter, which you were pleased to refer to me, if I had not expected a few leisure hours, in which I could have given sufficient attention to his queries to reply to them with the satisfaction I desired.

"Another reason prevented my replying to your flattering reference: I had planned a short excursion of a few days to Queda, and expected from the observations I might make there, to have confirmed several particulars respecting the Malays, which I could have communicated to Mr. Marsden.

"In this also I have been disappointed, from the circumstance of Mr. Pearson's having obtained leave of absence from the Presidency at the very time I intended applying to you for permission to go to Queda. The length of time Mr. Pearson may be absent, and the little prospect I now have of the leisure which I so anxiously desire, can alone induce me, at this time, to hazard my inexperienced opinions on any subject connected with Oriental literature.

"On the interesting subject of the Chronology of the Malays, I fear but little light will be thrown from the discovery of their using a cycle in their dates. I am convinced of the justness of Mr. Marsden's conclusion, that the cycle amongst the Malays has been adopted from the Siamese.

"I have not, however, observed in any of their books that the cycle alluded to is used with the religion of Mahomet; the epoch of the Hegira has been introduced, and with the Arabian months and days is universally used in their manuscripts.

"The first I knew of their using a cycle, or particular names for their years,

was from a very old MS., half in Bugguese, half in the Malay or Arabic character, in which were inserted the Relika or times, (lucky and unlucky), with tables for computing time, according to the Mahomedan calendar.

" The Siamese, I believe, in conformity with the Indians in general, as well as the Chinese, have a cycle of 60 years, containing five lesser cycles of 12 years each. Loubec, I make no doubt, in his embassy to Siam, states in what way these cycles are computed; and I regret I have not his work, or any other guide, to correct and assist me in tracing the exact similitude between the Siamese cycle and those alluded to as used by the Malays. That the names for the years used by the Malays are borrowed from the Siamese is evident.

" Of the Menangkabus, after a good deal of inquiry, I have not yet been able decidedly to ascertain the relation between those of that name in the Peninsula and the Menangkabus on Pulo Percha. The Malays I have met affirm, without hesitation, that they all come originally from Pulo Percha: the circumstance of the nation of that name in Sumatra being so great and ancient, leaves but little doubt, however, on my mind, that the nation (if any) hardly known on the Peninsula, must have emigrated from thence, although the contrary may, as we are at a loss to account for the former, appear at first sight most probable.

" I hope I may hereafter have it in my power to furnish Mr. Marsden with still further additions to his *Semang* Vocabulary, although I am not much inclined to think that from this nation, or rather race of men, much interesting information can be derived, beyond that of their actual existence and extent.

" The men are said to wear a small piece of the bark of a tree, tied with a string above the hips. The women wear leaves sewed together in the form of a short petticoat from above the hips to half way down the thighs. They are decidedly Caffres, or people with woolly hair—to appearance a distinct race in every respect from the Malays, from whom they cannot have in any probability descended. Those inhabiting the skirts of the woods have considerable intercourse with the Malays, but never leave the woods, unless taken by force, which they sometimes are, and sold as slaves. Many of these, from their holding communication with the Malays, speak that language tolerably well; but the language of these people is considered by the Malays as a perfect jargon. Their talking is by the Malays looked upon as the chattering or chirping of large birds, and bears no similitude whatever to their own. They are found very useful; if the Malay is in want of deer, herbs, particular woods, or the like, from the interior of the forests, he goes into the skirts, generally alone, directing his course towards the interior: as he advances he blows a kind of horn, when the Caffre, if near at hand, and in the habit of meeting him, cautiously approaches, and agrees to bring whatever is required by the Malay, from whom he receives in return a small quantity of pounded cocoa-nut, or patches of cloth; but he is remarked never to take rice, or the articles of food generally used by the Malays;

from which he is conceived to live entirely on roots and leaves of trees, on the boughs of which he is said to leap and cling with equal agility and expertness as his degrading semblance, the monkey.

" I have not yet met with any of these Caffres. I observe Mr. Marsden, in his History of Sumatra, speaks of the Caffres of the Philippines, who appear to resemble those alluded to in the Malay Peninsula. These last are called by the Spaniards *Negritos del Monte,* and are many of them as black as the natives of Guinea.

" I am inclined to think the subject of these Caffres being thus found in the interior of these eastern countries merits considerable attention; as, at any rate, they afford a presumptive evidence that the country which they inhabit cannot for many years have been advanced in civilization; and therefore, that the highest state of it existing among the Malays must have been on or near the coasts, and not the interior. In Java there are said to be remains of a religion, which may, very probably, be corrupted Hindu.

" With respect to Mr. Marsden's query on the terms used by the Malays for the different pieces in the game of chess, I will state the result of my inquiries among the Malays themselves. The chatter, or chess-board, is avowedly and evidently received by the Malays from the Chuliahs, or men of the Kaling country. The terms which they could understand they soon altered to their own fashion. * * * From the above it will appear that the Malays have altered some terms, and not the others. All I can learn respecting the term *ter,* is, that it is a name given by the Hindus to a small temple, in which is placed the image of one of their deities, which they carry about at different times of the year. This term being given to the pieces, if derived from this origin, may lead one to imagine that when the Hindus went to war, they supposed themselves flanked by their gods; and in reducing the art of war to a game of amusement, they could not do less than pay this compliment. Sir William Jones, speaking of the Indian chess-board, states, I think, that there are numerous treatises on the game in the Sanscrit, not yet translated: from them, I have no doubt, the origin of the word *ter* will be easily ascertained. I regret that I have not a complete Sanscrit vocabulary by me; but in referring to Forster's *Bengallee* Vocabulary, which is, I believe, almost pure Sanscrit, I am enabled to state something satisfactory. The word *ter* there signifies ' border, verge, utmost:' a sufficient proof, I think, that the term used for the chess-man is borrowed from the Sanscrit, the place of the *ter* on the board being at the border, verge, utmost, or corner.

" In observing, however, upon the manner in which the Malays have altered the names given by the Chuliahs, I must notice that they sometimes use the word *ter,* in speaking of the wings of an army, in preference to *sarsup.*

" Many of the books and popular narratives of the Malays I find to have been rendered from the *Kaling* language, a term by which they call all the popular dialects on the Coromandel coast. That the astonishing number of Sanscrit words in the

Malay language should have been introduced by the commercial intercourse of the Chuliahs, is not likely, any more than that they should have entered from the Guzeratty,whose intercourse must have in like manner been purely commercial; but a portion, no doubt, may have been received from each. I think, (with the Malays,) that they must have received their knowledge from the Island of Java. I have not been able to obtain, as yet, any knowledge of the Javanese language; but my friend Dr. Leyden, while he was here, paid some little attention to it; and his opinion I know was, that the Javanese language must be a dialect of the Sanscrit, very little corrupted.

" I take the liberty of annexing a Javanese alphabet: I also add a Bugguese alphabet; I have never been able to trace one before, and if it is new to Mr. Marsden I shall be much gratified. I have hitherto learnt but little about this nation. They are, I believe, in general Mahomedans, those who refuse the doctrines having been obliged to seek shelter in obscurity. All I can trace of a former religion is, that they believed in a heaven and a hell.

" I have to apologize for having carried my letter to so great a length, without knowing whether the observations it contains will be acceptable. Should you deem the replies to Mr. Marsden's queries in any way satisfactory, and worthy of communication, I hope you will, at the same time, state them as coming from a young man, who never made Oriental literature his study, and is but lately arrived in the place which furnishes the means of his observations," &c. &c.

Mr. Raffles' visit to Malacca contributed very essentially to the promotion of the public interests. Orders had been issued that the fortifications should be demolished, and the whole town abandoned. With regard to the public buildings, these orders had been already executed. Their object was twofold; first, by the destruction of the works to deter Europeans from settling there; and, secondly, by transferring the trade and population, to improve the station of Penang, or Prince of Wales' Island.

Mr. Raffles represented that the population of Malacca far exceeded any idea which had been formed respecting it; that it comprised not less than 20,000 souls, (1808), some few of whom were Europeans, chiefly Dutch and Portuguese, the rest were their half-caste descendants, Chinese and their descendants by Malay women, Arabs, Javanese, and Chuliahs, of whom more than three-fourths were born in Malacca, where their families had been settled for centuries. Attached to the place from their birth, they were accustomed to the local regulations, and in the bosom of their families they felt that they were at home, their peculiarities were attended to, their rank respected, and their wants supplied. Many were proprietors of the soil, or attached to those who were so. From their gardens, which produced pepper, vegetables, and all kinds of fruit in abundance, and from the fisheries they derived comfort and independence; no reasonable expectation could be entertained that such a

population would emigrate to Prince of Wales' Island;—they were, in fact, inseparable from the soil; and of the offers of free passage which had been made, not one had been accepted. At Penang, on the other hand, three-fourths of the native population were adventurers, men ready to turn their hands to any employments, who, having no fixed home or permanent property, might by a very little encouragement be induced to remove.

The manner in which these representations were received, and the sense entertained of the value of Mr. Raffles' services, will appear sufficiently from the following extract of a letter from the Governor of Penang to the Court of Directors written at this time.

"I have it now in my power to submit to your Honourable Committee a compendious but comprehensive report from the hand of our Secretary, Mr. Raffles, explanatory of the present circumstances of that Settlement, and illustrative of the ill consequences that would result from the adoption of either of the measures that have been heretofore contemplated regarding it. Such information as I have myself been enabled to collect from intelligent persons here, and from other sources, entirely confirms the judicious observations and conclusions contained in this very valuable document; and it is my intention at an early period to point out to the Supreme Government the policy, if not necessity, here made sufficiently manifest, of continuing the present establishment, no branch of which can admit of reduction, but the charge thereof is amply provided by the revenues of the Settlement alone.

"To the services and merits of Mr. Raffles, as well as in duty to my employers, I should feel alike wanting were I to omit this opportunity of pointing out to the favourable notice of your Honourable Committee, the unwearied zeal and assiduity with which he has since the formation of the establishment devoted his talents to the furtherance of the Company's interests; his unremitting attention to the duties of the most laborious office under this government, added to those of Registrar to the Recorder's Court, which, at the period of its establishment, he voluntarily and gratuitously undertook. Having lately endured a severe indisposition, and the necessity of a visit to Malacca, he occupied the leisure thus afforded, although under great bodily suffering, to collect the information furnished in the accompanying report, which entitles him to my approbation, and will, I trust, obtain for him that of your Honourable Committee. The situation of Secretary affords facilities to the person holding it of acquiring a better knowledge of your affairs here than any other officer below council; and I can with truth say, that Mr. Raffles' abilities and general conduct give him a right to my recommendation, in as far as being eminently well qualified to assist in your councils. I understand that he has submitted to his friends an application to be provisionally appointed to the first vacancy, and I shall be happy if my recommendation may weigh with the Honourable Court in his behalf."

When these representations were received, the orders were countermanded:

and Malacca, though alienated for a time, was restored to Great Britain by the treaty with the Netherlands' Government, in 1824, and now (1829) forms part of the consolidated government of Penang, Singapore, and Malacca.

Respecting the whole of the Eastern Islands, at that time (1808) little known or attended to, Mr. Raffles collected much interesting information. It was principally on this subject that he carried on a correspondence with Dr. Leyden. His letters were occasionally submitted to the notice of Lord Minto, the Governor-General, in whom they excited so much interest, that they led to a personal acquaintance; and Mr. Raffles had thus again the gratification of obtaining, purely from his own talents and character, another and a still more powerful patron and friend.

To W. Marsden, Esq.

"*Runemede, Penang, March*, 1809.

"My Dear Sir,

"Two very long and severe illnesses, during which I was under the necessity of denying myself the use of the pen, and all kind of study, and from the effects of which I am hardly recovered, even at this time, must plead my excuse for not answering, or, indeed, acknowledging the receipt of your polite and friendly letters of the 18th of June and 15th of November last, both of which arrived when I was confined to my room.

* * * * *

"With respect to the Menangkabus, I am more than ever confident that those in the Peninsula derive their origin from the country of that name in Sumatra.

"Inland of Malacca, about sixty miles, is situated the Malay kingdom of Rumbo, of which you have no doubt heard. The Sultan and all the principal officers of state hold their authority immediately from Menangkabu, and have even written commissions for their respective offices; this shews the extent of its power, even now, reduced as it must be in common with that of the Malay states in general.

* * * * * * *

"In the Asiatic Researches you will perceive a long disquisition on the Indo-Chinese nations, by my friend Dr. Leyden, which will no doubt interest you very much. I wish we had the good fortune of his local information; he was to the eastward but a few months, during which time he lived with me; you will see what use he made of his time.

"I have by me a sketch of a grammar which I have drawn out, and which I will send you as soon as I get time to correct and copy it; and I am gradually compiling a dictionary, which you shall be welcome to, if it can be of any service to you.

* * * * * * *

"I must now conclude, and apologise for the hasty style in which this is written, the fleet having this day put in here, intending to sail for England to-morrow. You, my dear Sir, have been a Secretary yourself, and will make due allowances."

The first literary essay of Mr. Raffles was a paper on the Malayan nation, with a translation of its maritime institutions, which he communicated to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, and from which the following extracts may prove interesting:

" The Island of Sumatra, as well as the Islands of Java, Jana Uyi, or Bugisland, (Celebes), Sulu, and the Moluccas, which, with Borneo, compose what may be properly termed the *Malayan groupe*, are peopled by nations radically distinct from the Malays, who speak languages entirely different, and use various written characters, original, and peculiar to each. These nations are governed by their several laws and institutions; and if we except the state of Menangkabu, in the Island of Sumatra, it is on the shores of these Islands only, and in the Malay Peninsula, that the Malays are to be found. Whatever may have been the origin of the Malayan nation, the primary population of these various and extensive islands could never, according to any natural inference, have proceeded from the Malays, though the reverse may probably have been the case.

" I cannot but consider the Malayan nation as one people, speaking one language, though spread over so wide a space, and preserving their character and customs, in all the maritime states lying between the Sula Seas and the Southern Ocean, and bounded longitudinally by Sumatra and the western side of Papua or New Guinea.

" The Malayan language may no doubt be traced to a still further extent, and particularly among the South Sea Islands; but that point belongs to a dissertation on the origin of the nation and its language, and need not be attended to here. Independently of the laws of the Koran, which are more or less observed in the various Malay states, according to the influence of their Arabian and Mahomedan teachers, but seldom further than as they affect matters of religion, marriage, and inheritance, the Malay states possess several codes of laws, denominated Undang Undang, or institutions, of different antiquity and authority, compiled by their respective sovereigns: and every state of any extent possesses its own Undang Undang. Throughout the whole, there appears a general accordance; and where they differ it is seldom beyond what situation, superior advantages and authority, have naturally dictated. Many of the Undang Undang contain the mere regulations for the collection of the duties on trade, and the peculiar observations of the port, while others ascend to the higher branches of civil and criminal law.

" From the comparative rude and uncivilized character of the Malay nation, learned disquisition is not to be looked for; but simple ideas, simply expressed, may illustrate character better than scientific or refined composition. And in this point of view, however local or particular the subject may be, the institutions and regulations of so extensive a maritime nation must be interesting. Considering, therefore, that a translation of these codes, digested and arranged according to one general plan, might be as useful in facilitating and ensuring a more secure intercourse

among this extraordinary and peculiar nation, as it might be interesting in illustrating the unjustly degraded character of so extensive a portion of the human race, hitherto so little known, either with respect to what they are, or what they were, I have long been engaged, as far as the severe duties of my public situation would admit, in collecting Malay manuscripts of every description, and in particular, copies of the Undang Undang Malaya, which, with the curious collections of Addat, or immemorial customs, and what may be usefully extracted from the Sejarat Malaya and Akal Malaya, or annals and traditions of the Malays, comprise what may be termed the whole body of the Malay laws, customs, and usages, as far as they can be considered as original, under the heads of government, property, slavery, inheritance, and commerce.

" On the eastern side of Sumatra, the Malay states of Acheen, Siak, and Palembang, may be considered as of the most importance.

" The laws of Acheen are peculiar, on account of the severity of the criminal law; and although it may be presumed that they were borrowed from the more ancient inhabitants of the Island, they are interesting, in as far as they may have been generally adopted by the Malays in the Straits of Malacca, and may have given rise to that sanguinary disposition, by which the Malays are usually supposed to be characterised. Those of Siak have a peculiar interest, from the long-established connection between that state and the Menangkabus in the interior of Sumatra. The Siak river takes its rise in the Menangkabu country, and has obviously been the principal outlet from the rich and populous countries in the interior, of which so little is known.

" Of the Malay Peninsula, the principal states entitled to notice, on the western side, are those of Queda, Malacca, and Johore; and in the eastern those of Tringano, Patani, and Pahang.

" The states on the eastern side of the Peninsula, with the exception of Patani, which has been considerably influenced by the Siamese, seem generally to have admitted the superiority of the Malay government first established at Singapore, and afterwards at Johore.

" On the Island of Borneo, the several Malay states have regulations and institutions peculiar to each, though not differing in any material degree, from those of the Peninsula.

" With respect to the internal regulations of government, police, property, and what in all Malay codes occupies so large a share, slavery; the Malay states in the Peninsula have been selected, as well on account of their connection with the English Government at Penang and Malacca, as for the still more important reason, in a philosophical point of view, of the Malays being, according to the theory I have laid down, to be found here the least adulterated in their character, usages, and manners. They are bounded by the Siamese, to the north, whose encroachments and esta-

blishments in the Peninsula, as they have from time to time taken place, may easily be defined. The Malays seem here to have occupied a country previously unappropriated; for if we except an inconsiderable race of Caffres, who are occasionally found near the mountains, and a few tribes of the Orang Benua, there does not exist a vestige of a nation anterior to the Malay in the whole Peninsula.

" As the population of the Malay Peninsula has excited much interest, my attention has been particularly directed to the various tribes stated to be scattered over the country.

" Those on the hills are usually termed Semang, and are woolly headed; those on the plain Orang Benua, or people belonging to the country; the word benua being applied by the Malays to any extensive country, as benua China; but it appears to be only a sort of Malay plural to the Arabic word ben or beni, signifying a tribe. The early adventurers from Arabia frequently make mention in their writings of the different tribes they met with to the eastward; and from them most probably the Malays have adopted the term Orang Benua.

" I had an opportunity of seeing two of these people, from a tribe in the neighbourhood of Malacca; it consisted of about sixty people, and the tribe was called Jokong. These people, from their occasional intercourse with the villages dependent on Malacca, speak the Malay language sufficiently to be generally understood. They state that there are two other tribes, the Orang Benua and the Orang Udai. The former appears the most interesting as composing the majority; the latter is only another name for the Semang, or Caffres.

" From the vicinity of the Jokong tribe to Malacca, and intercourse with its inhabitants, they may have adopted many Malay words not originally in their language. They are not circumcised, and they appear to have received some instruction regarding Nabi Isa, or as they pronounce it Isher. They, however, have no books, nor any word for God, whom they designate by the Portuguese Deos. The men are well formed, rather short, resembling the Malay in countenance, but having a sharper and smaller nose. They marry but one wife, whether rich or poor, and appear to observe no particular ceremony at their nuptials. The consent of the girl and that of the parents being obtained, the couple are considered as man and wife.

" The Malays of Remban, with whom I have had frequent communications, adopt the broad dialect of the Malays of Sumatra, changing the *a* at the end of a word into *o*; this peculiarity may be still observed among many of the inhabitants of the southern part of the Peninsula.

" The following is a translation of the Malayan history of the first arrival of the Portuguese at Malacca:

" ' Ten Portuguese vessels arrived at Malacca from Manilla, for the purpose of trade, during the reign of the Sultan Ahmed Shah, at a time when that country pos-

sessed an extensive commerce, and every thing in abundance, when the affairs of government were well administered, and the officers properly appointed.

" ' For forty days the Portuguese ships traded at Malacca; but still the Portuguese commander remained on shore, presenting dollars by the chest, and gold; and how many beautiful cloths did they present to the illustrious Shah Ahmed Shah, so that the Sultan was most happy!

" ' After this Sultan Ahmed Shah said to the commanders of the Portuguese, ' What more do you require from us, that you present us such rich presents?' To this the commander replied, ' We only request one thing of our friend, should he be well inclined towards the white men.' Whereupon Sultan Ahmed Shah said, ' state what it is that I may hear it, and if it is in my power I will comply with the request of my friend.' The Portuguese answered, we wish to request a small piece of ground, to the extent of what the skin of a beast may cover.' ' Then said the Sultan, let not my friends be unhappy, let them take whatever spot of ground they like best, to the extent of what they request.' The captains were highly rejoiced at this, and the Portuguese immediately landed, bringing with them spades, brick, and mortar; the commander then took the skin of the beast, and having rent it into cords, measured out therewith four sides, within which the Portuguese built a store-house of very considerable dimensions, leaving large square apertures in the walls for guns; and when the people of Malacca enquired the reason of the apertures being left, the Portuguese returned for answer, ' these are the apertures that the white men require for windows.' The people of Malacca were satisfied and content.

" ' Alas! how often did the Bendahara and Tumungungs approach the Rajah with a request that the white men might not be permitted to build a large house: but the Raja would say, ' my eyes are upon them, and they are few in number: if they do any wrong, whatever it may be, I shall see it, and will give orders for their being massacred, (literally, I will order my men to *amok*, or, as it is vulgarly termed, run a muck among them.)' Notwithstanding this, the Bendahara and Tumungungs remained dissatisfied in their hearts, for they were wise men.

" ' After this the Portuguese, during the night, conveyed cannon into their store-house, and they landed small-arms, packed in chests, saying their contents were cloths; and in this manner did the Portuguese deceive and cheat the people of Malacca!

" ' What the Portuguese next did, the people of Malacca were ignorant of, but it was long before the store-house was completed; and when all their arms were in order, then it was at midnight, at a time when the people of Malacca were asleep, that the Portuguese began to fire off their guns from the fort of Malacca!

" ' They soon destroyed all the houses of the people of Malacca, and their Nibong fort; and it was during this night, when the Portuguese first attacked the people of Malacca, that Sultan Ahmed Shah, with his people fled in all directions, for no one could remain to oppose the Portuguese.

" 'Thus did the Portuguese take possession of Malacca, whilst Sultan Ahmed Shah fled to Moar, and from thence in a short time, to Johore, and afterwards to Bentan, to establish another country. Such is the account of the Portuguese taking the kingdom of Malacca, from the hands of Sultan Ahmed Shah.

" 'During thirty-six years, three months, and fourteen days, the Portuguese were employed in the construction of the fort, and then it was completed.

" 'From this time the Portuguese remained in quiet possession of Malacca for about nine years and one month, when the country once more began to flourish, on account of the quantities of merchandise brought there from all quarters. Such is the account of the country of Malacca under the Portuguese.

" 'After this period, a Dutch vessel arrived at Malacca for the purpose of trade; the vessel's name was Afterlenden, and that of the captain, Ibir. The captain perceived that Malacca was a very fine place, and had a good fort; therefore, after the Dutch vessel had traded for fifteen days, he set sail for Europe, and arriving after a considerable time at the great country, he gave intelligence to the great Rajah of what he had seen, of the country of Malacca, the extent of its commerce, and the excellence of its fort. On this, the Rajah of Europe said, 'If such is the account of Malacca, it is proper that I should order it to be attacked.' Twenty-five vessels were thereupon ordered by the Rajah of Europe, for the purpose of attacking Malacca, and troops being embarked in each, they first set sail for the kingdom of Bantam, in the country of Java, where the Dutch were on terms of friendship.

" 'At Bantam they found two Dutch ships, and a ketch, and after having taken on board buffaloes, and provisions for the use of the persons on board, the vessels then sailed for Malacca.

" 'As soon as the fleet arrived at Malacca, the Dutch sent a letter to the Portuguese, telling them to hold themselves in readiness, as it was the intention of the Dutch to commence the attack on the morrow, at mid-day. To this the Portuguese replied, 'Come when you please, we are ready.'

" 'On the next day the Dutch commenced the attack, and the war continued for about two months; but the country of Malacca was not carried, and the Dutch returned to Bantam, where they remained quiet for some time, in the intention of returning to Europe; all the great men on board feeling ashamed of what had happened.

" 'The great men in each of the vessels, having afterwards held consultations respecting another attack on Malacca, they proceeded against it a second time, but it did not surrender. The Dutch now sent a letter to Johore, in terms of friendship, to the Sultan, requesting his assistance, in the attack of Malacca. With this the Rajah of Johore was pleased, and an agreement was entered into between the Rajah of Johore and the Dutch, which was sworn to; so that the Dutch and Malays became as one, as far as concerned the taking of Malacca. An agreement was made, that the Dutch should attack from the sea, and the people of Johore from the land. If

the country surrendered, the Dutch were to retain the country, and the cannon; and every thing else that might be found within Malacca was to be equally divided between the Dutch and the people of Johore.

" ' When these terms were agreed upon, the men of Johore and the Dutch sailed for Malacca, and after attacking it for about fifteen days, from the sea, many were slain, as well Portuguese as Malays and Dutch. The Malays then held a consultation, and began to think, that if they fought against the white men according to this fashion, Malacca would not fall for ten years. It was therefore agreed upon by all the Malays, that fifty men should enter the fort of Malacca, and run a muck or meng-amok.

" ' The Malays then selected a lucky day, and on the twenty-first day of the month, at 5 o'clock in the morning, the fifty Malays entered the fort, and commenced amok, and every Portuguese was either put to death, or forced to fly into the interior of the country, without order or regularity.

" ' On this, the Malays exerted themselves in plundering Malacca, and the whole was divided between the men of Johore and the Dutch, according to their agreement.

" ' The men of Johore then returned to the country of Johore, and the Dutch remained in possession of Malacca.

" ' This is the account of former times.'

" To return to the subject of the Undang Undang Malaya, the collection of Malay laws, as far as regards the Malayan nation separately, is nearly completed; but it is advisable to adopt a more extensive plan, embracing the original institutions of the various nations among the Eastern Islands.

* * * * * *

" The most obvious and natural theory on the origin of the Malays is, that they did not exist as a separate and distinct nation until the arrival of the Arabians in the Eastern Seas. At the present day they seem to differ from the more original nations, from which they sprung in about the same degree, as the Chuliahs of Kiling differ from the Tamul and Telinga nations on the Coromandel coast, or the Mapillas of Malabar differ from the Nairs, both which people appear in like manner with the Malays, to have been gradually formed as nations, and separated from their original stock by the admixture of Arabian blood, and the introduction of the Arabic language and Moslem religion.

" The word jahui is the Malay term for any thing mixed or crossed; as when the language of one country is written in the character of another, it is termed b'hasa jahui, or mixed language; or when a child is born of a Kiling father and Malay mother, it is called anah jahui, a child of mixed race. Thus the Malay language, being written in the Arabic character, is termed b'hasa jahui; the Malays, as a nation distinct from the fixed population of the Eastern Islands, not possessing any written character but what they borrow from the Arabs.

" With respect to the maritime institutions which I have now the honour to lay

before the Asiatic Society, they have been selected on account of their singularity and characteristic peculiarities. The power of life and death, vested in the Nakhodah, or captain of a vessel, may be considered as purely Malay, or at any rate to have had its origin in the Eastern Islands: the Arabs, from whom alone they could have borrowed a foreign sea-code, not possessing, as far as I have been able to ascertain, any treatise whatever on maritime law, or in any instance admitting the authority of the Nakhodah, to inflict capital punishments. In this point of view, the paper, even in its present state, may not be uninteresting; and it may tend, in some degree, to account for some of the numerous peculiarities of a nation generally believed to act, on most occasions, solely from individual will, and ferocious passion."

The following letter from Dr. Leyden to Mr. Raffles was written at this time, and has reference to the foregoing paper.

"*Calcutta, October* 9, 1809.

"My Dear Raffles,

"I have received both your letters, and with great vexation have to inform you that Lord Minto is at present gone to the unfortunate presidency of Madras, where I believe he has got his hands full. I laid before him without delay the manuscript concerning Malacca, with which he was greatly pleased, and desired me to say he should be gratified in receiving immediately from yourself any communications respecting the eastern parts of a similar nature. I shall not fail to write to him as soon as I am a little recovered, for I have been for some time (days I mean) confined to bed by a smart attack of fever. However, I am to-day up for the first time, but not at all able to write letters, so you must excuse me for the present.

"My literary studies were quite knocked on the head for some time, by the duties of a magistrate in so large a district as the twenty-four Pergunnahs, and I was afterwards for some months also magistrate of Nadeah, where I was constantly engaged in bush-fighting in the jungles. I have now more time, and have again begun my literary avocations with vigour; nor have I given up my eastern researches quite. Now pray do contrive to tell me what you are doing in the literary way, and to get me a few copies of the best Malay manuscripts; above all try and get me the works of the famous Bugis bard, Saveri-yading, and any thing you can in Bali and Siamese. You have never, I presume, been able to get the Batavian Researches into your clutches, but do try and get me the best alphabets of all the eastern tribes. Have you no *Batta* that can read the lingo of the man-eaters? I have got a book but cannot read it. I must be done however and go to bed, or encrease my fever.

"Yours, ever truly,

"J. Leyden."

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Raffles proceeds to Calcutta—Proposes expedition to Java—Lord Minto appoints him agent to collect information on the subject—Instructions of the Court of Directors to expel the French, and to give up the island to the natives—Consequences of such a measure—Lord Minto objects to it—Determines to proceed in person to Java—Letters of Dr. Leyden—His account of an excursion in the Malay Peninsula —Mr. Raffles reports to Lord Minto his communications with the Javanese Chieftains—The state of the Archipelago—Bali—Military preparations of the enemy—Discovery of a new passage for the expedition—Banca—Its mines—Pirate States—Queda—Penang.

Lord Minto was anxious about this time to place Mr. Raffles in the government of the Moluccas, considering it a wider field for the exercise of his talents (1809.) Previous arrangements interfered with this intention; and the course of public events was about to open a field of still greater importance. In the mean time Mr. Raffles went to Calcutta, and was received with great kindness by Lord Minto, who ever afterwards continued his firm and steady friend, and reposed in him the most unreserved confidence.

The ambitious views of Bonaparte began, at this period, to be more fully developed. The annexation of Holland to France placed at his disposal all the valuable and extensive possessions of the Dutch in the Eastern Seas; possessions as important to Holland as those on the continent of India are to Great Britain. France looked to Java as the point from whence her operations might be most successfully directed, not only against the political ascendancy of England in the East, but likewise against her commercial interests both abroad and at home.

Mr. Raffles, aware of the plans which the English Government had formed for the reduction of the French islands, the Mauritius and Bourbon, and feeling certain, from his local knowledge, that the resources of the enemy would be formidable so long as the Dutch supremacy was even nominally permitted in the eastern seas, communicated to Lord Minto information of so important a nature, that his Lordship was induced to undertake, without delay, the reduction of Java and its dependencies. Lord Minto decided on this measure on his own responsibility; but had the satisfaction to receive from England an approval of the measure before the departure of the expedition.

As this operation was dependent upon the success of the attempt against the French Islands, it was deemed advisable that, in the mean time, Mr. Raffles should be sent as Agent of the Governor-General to Malacca, from whence he might superintend the necessary arrangements, and apprize the Government of Bengal of the extent and nature of the force required, and open such a communication with the native chieftains of the Archipelago as would, at any rate, facilitate the extension of the British influence in the Eastern Seas.

The confidence which Lord Minto reposed in Mr. Raffles will be perceived from the following letters that were addressed to him during the progress of the expedition.

"*From Lord Minto to Mr. Raffles.*

"*Calcutta, February*, 1811.

"The Mauritius and all the French islands being now in our possession, there is nothing to retard the execution of our further views to the eastward. The expedition, comprising 4,000 European infantry, with a suitable proportion of artillery, and 4,000 native Bengal infantry, with about 300 cavalry, will sail from India the beginning or middle of March.

"I am now to acquaint you with my own intention to proceed in person, at least to Malacca, and eventually, I may say probably, to Java. The impossibility of your returning to Bengal, in time, with the information which can alone enable me to frame instructions for the conduct of this expedition, and for settling the consequent arrangements, has been very obvious for some time. The expediency, not to say necessity, of my approaching the scene, and bringing the authority of Government at least within reach of reference, is evident. That resolution is, therefore, taken.

"I count upon meeting you at Malacca; and then, in communication with yourself and Sir Samuel Achmuty, the final plans, military and political, will be settled.

"I have no doubt that the communications you will have opened with the Island of Java and adjacent countries, will have furnished authentic knowledge of the dispositions we shall meet there, and enable us to place our enterprise upon a footing which will ensure the concurrence and co-operation of the native states, if it does not procure the acquiescence of the Dutch themselves in our views.

"I must tell you in confidence, that I have received the sanction of government at home for this expedition, but that the views of the Directors do not go beyond the expulsion or reduction of the Dutch power, the destruction of their fortifications, the distribution of their arms and stores to the natives, and the evacuation of the island by our own troops. I conclude, however, that the destructive and calamitous consequences of this plan to so ancient and populous an European colony, the property and lives of which must fall a sacrifice to the vindictive sway of the Malay chiefs, if transferred suddenly and defenceless to their dominion, have

not been fully contemplated; and I have already stated my reasons for considering a modification of their orders as indispensable.

" The points on which I have been able to form a judgment, with any confidence, are; first, that we must establish provisionally an administration to supply the protection which will have been lost by the abolition of the Dutch authority;—this applies more particularly to Batavia;—That the Dutch may themselves be employed, in a great and principal proportion, in this new administration, under the control of a presiding British authority;—that the two principal ports of Samarang and Gressie must be retained, with the territories dependent upon them, at least till we can form an adequate and informed judgment of the advantage or prejudice to be expected from abandoning them;—that it may be considered as doubtful, in the present state of the investigation, whether any and what other stations should be kept in our possession; and these are points to be reserved for consideration when we meet, or when our information is more complete.

" To the native princes and people the abolition of Dutch power would alone afford a gratification of rooted passions, and a prospect of substantial relief and advantage, which may be expected to withdraw them from the Dutch and unite them to our cause: and a system of connection between them and the English Government may be founded on principles so manifestly beneficial to the people of the island, as to attach them to our alliance, and ensure tranquillity between us.

" All this remains to be discussed when we meet; in the mean while, take this as a sketch and colour of my present views.

" I am, sincerely and faithfully,

" Minto."

It will be perceived, from the foregoing letter, how difficult it is to legislate for distant countries; and how careful those in power ought to be not only in the selection of proper men to fill public stations far removed from the source of authority, but also not to tie them down too closely to any specific rule of action.

It can never be supposed for a moment, that a body so respectable as the Court of Directors could deliberately sanction such an expedition, without taking into account all the probable consequences. The mere object of destroying the ascendancy of an ancient European colony, however legitimate in itself that object might be considered, as a means of weakening a declared enemy, could hardly be justifiable, if it were to be followed up by a transfer of that enemy's power to the hands of millions of uncivilised people, who would instantly annihilate the whole population of their ancient masters. Such, however, would inevitably have been the consequence of an exact obedience to the orders of the Court. It is precisely on such an occasion that the talents, the prudence, and the local knowledge of a distant authority are necessary to be called into action.

It is true that, by incurring the responsibility attached to such a departure from

his orders, the individual may sometimes risk both his fortune and fame; but no man is fit for high station any where, who is not prepared to risk even more than either fame or fortune, at the call of his judgment and his conscience.

The name of the writer of the next letter would alone give an interest to the whole of it; but parts are so purely personal and private, that they have been necessarily omitted. It was written while the expedition was still in preparation.

" From Dr. Leyden to Mr. Raffles.

" In Campbell's case, I experienced a sad vexation, because I was compelled to send my letter up to Barrackpore, for his lordship's revision, so that it did not return till Campbell was gone entirely. The military queries which I send you enclosed, I regret any delay in your receiving, but the letter itself was only to say that his Lordship was exceedingly well-disposed towards you, desirous of giving you every opportunity of distinguishing yourself, and rewarding you as highly as the imperious nature of circumstances would permit. This you knew very well before, and I was very glad that his Lordship thought it unnecessary to cause me to write you a formal letter on the subject. Indeed, Raffles, he has always talked of you to me, with a kindness very uncommon in a Governor-General, and says, that he is pleased with thinking he will be able to arrange matters very much to your satisfaction, when he arrives. I am glad that I have been able to keep him tight up to this point. He is still fluctuating between the two old plans of keeping the country or rendering it independent. The orders which he has received from home are entirely and positively in favor of the last. He is required to expel the French and Dutch, and leave the country entirely to itself. This his own good sense directly saw to be impossible, from the shoals of half-castes at Batavia. Colebrook and Lumsden have succeeded in making some impression on him by talking of accustoming the Malays to independence, and all that; but may I never be a second Draco, nor write my laws in blood, if they succeed. Succeed they shall not, that is flat, for the Malays must neither be independent, nor yet very dependent, but we must have a general Malay league, in which all the Rajahs must be united like the old *Ban* of Burgundy, or the latter one of Germany, and these must all be represented in a general parliament of the Malay States, like the Amphictyonic council of the Greeks, and this council should meet in the Island of Madura, or some celebrated ancient place, and under the protection of the Governor of Java. We ought to retain in some shape or other, all the Dutch possessions at first, while we make ourselves known; and you should write to all the Rajahs of the Malays, however far, or wherever situated, to come in person, to meet the *Good Maha Rajah of Bengal:* and state in your letters, that the Malay States are expressly invited to send their most ancient and sagacious men, to assist at a general meeting or congress, to take into consideration all their laws, institutions, government, religion, and policy.

Publish broad and wide the coming of the *good Maha Rajah* like another Secunder Zulkaram, to reign in Malacca, and conquer Java, and drive out all the cruel Dutch, and treacherous French, and take away all embargos and restrictions on trade, abolish piracy, and bring peace and happiness to all the *anak Malayas*. In short, make a great and mighty noise, for we will compel his Lordship to be a greater man than he would wish to be, if left alone.

"All are utterly confounded by his Lordship's resolution, of which nobody had the slightest suspicion; and so completely were they all taken aback, that nobody volunteered for service, till the whole arrangements were settled. Indeed, more than the half are as yet thunder-struck; and are very far from believing that he has any real intention of visiting Java. 'No,' say they, 'to go and take such a little paltry place would not be decorous, no, no; there must be an insurrection breaking out again at Madras.' The selection of your humble servant is another very ominous circumstance; and I dare say has deterred a great many smart bucks from coming forward. The civilians of the mint committee have already discovered me to be a very devil incarnate, and the greatest mischief-maker in the land. They will be very glad to see the back-seams of *my* hose at all events. I volunteered of course, as soon as his Lordship signified his desire of having me with him, to come off directly to join you; but he told me that he should prefer having me at his elbow. You may be sure no possible delay but will be avoided when I am of the party. We go first to Madras, to see the whole force off from that quarter. The Bengal force will be shipped directly. In the Modeste go with his Lordship from Madras to Malacca, Mr. Seton, the present Resident at Delhi, who goes to be Governor of Penang. He is an excellent character: Mr. Elliot, Captain Taylor, Mr. Gordon, surgeon to the body-guard, Mr. Hope, whom you saw when he came from the Mauritius when you were here, and your humble servant. Pray be most particular in your military queries against the time of our arrival, and be able to tell where the disposable force is stationed, for that will be of main utility. I have secured Greigh to be under your command, and that is giving you a fine fellow in every sense of the word, active and alert, and brother-in-law of Lord Rollo besides, and you owe not me, but a good many, for the circumstance."

In March, (1811,) Lord Minto wrote again from Calcutta to Mr. Raffles, as to the progress of the expedition.

"I still hope we may take our final departure from Malacca in April. The resolution will be taken there respecting the point to which we should first direct our operations; and this must depend greatly on what you tell us concerning the position of Daendels. If he remains in the West, we must no doubt begin there; and, under the circumstances of the season, I should not think that unfortunate, for the affair once settled with him, and if he is either beat, capitulates, is deserted,

or is driven to the hills, our game is won; and we are independent of the monsoon. If he is concentrated in the East, our passage will be longer; but we shall have enough of the dry season left to spare. We shall also determine at Malacca what course to steer; whether to march up along the North coast of Java, to make the passage nearer to Borneo, or to go north about at once.

"You know that I am an Argonaut myself in this adventure. I embark here on the 7th for Madras. * * * I bring Hope and Leyden with me, in the Dutch and Malay departments. I bring also Mr. Seton, late Resident at Delhi, an admirable man, and now Governor of Prince of Wales' Island. I shall probably instal him at Penang; and, then, it is equally probable that he may accompany me to the eastward for counsel and general assistance. Not to alarm you, however, he will have no further relation with the Javanese affair, than as *amicus curiæ;* and as such he is invaluable in head, heart, and hand.

"I have another colleague, of whom I cannot speak in too exalted terms. I mean Sir Samuel Achmuty, whom I have never seen; but I have conceived the highest opinion of his talents, judgment, and, above all, *character,* from his correspondence. It is impossible that any thing can disturb the harmony of this important service, as far as he and I are concerned; and I am most happy to discern in his mind the soundest judgment, and the most enlarged ways of thinking, on the very points which are likely to abound in this grand and delicate transaction.

"You will be glad to find my friend Greigh in this affair; he is placed at your disposal, and is peculiarly suited, as well as his ship, to many useful purposes. I bring Commodore Hayes, with high command, as an efficient and intelligent member of such an enterprise.

* * * * *

"It is proposed to style you Secretary to the Governor-General when we come together; for then your character of agent will naturally merge; secretary is the highest office below the council, and was lately held by Mr. Edmonstone at Madras. I hope you do not doubt the *prospective* interest I have always taken, and do not cease to take, in your personal views and welfare. I have not spoken distinctly on that subject, only because it has been from circumstances *impossible* for me to pledge myself to the fulfilment of my own wishes, and, I may add, intentions, if practicable. The best is, in truth, still subject to one contingency, the origin of which is earlier than my acquaintance with you; but I am happy to say that I do not expect an obstacle to my very strong desire upon this point; and if it should occur, the utmost will be done to make the *best attainable situation* worthy of your services, and of the high esteem I profess, with the greatest sincerity for your person.

"Your's very faithfully,

"Minto."

It is impossible to read this Letter of Lord Minto's without being strongly impressed by the kind interest for the welfare of others, the uprightness of intention, and the sincerity of heart, which it breathes throughout.

Dr. Leyden announced Lord Minto's arrival at Penang, in the following letter to Mr. Raffles.

Penang, April 19, 1811.

" My Dear Raffles,

" Here we are safe at Penang. We anchored here last night about nine o'clock. Philips came aboard with Erskine and Clubley at six this morning, and we have just had time to get ashore, proceed to his house at Suffolk, and finish breakfast. Lord Minto has just retired to write to you; and Mr. Seton, of Delhi, your new Governor, requests me to send you a very Scotch shake of the fist, which he is eager to give you. You will find him a man of the right sort, I promise you. We had a very tedious passage to Madras of thirty days, during which nothing befel, except one very unlucky incident. Mr. William Elliot, his Lordship's youngest son, was very ill all the passage to Madras; and when he reached the latter place he was as nearly as possible given up by the physicians, who pronounced him in the last stage of a decline. This has distressed his Lordship exceedingly. He has been obliged to send him back to Bengal, and to send for his brother, J. Elliott, his secretary, to accompany him.

" The first division of Madras troops had sailed a week before us, and we have been just sixteen days on our passage. The last division was to sail on the 2nd of May."

During the period of his stay at Malacca, previous to the arrival of Lord Minto, Mr. Raffles was joined by his friend Dr. Leyden; who, in making an excursion into the interior of the Malay peninsula, wrote him the following characteristic letter.

From Dr. Leyden to Mr. Raffles.

Gappam, May 31, 1811.

" My Dear Raffles,

" I take the opportunity of Mr. Kock's return to inform you that I have safely reached Gappam, and to-morrow I shall proceed to the Ayer Panas. We made, on the whole, a very pleasant journey, considering my expectations on the subject; and I had the mortification not to be once compelled to have recourse to any of my old moss-trooping habits. To compensate this, however, we had a very severe rain for a great part of the way; and the roads, which pass down some very pretty declivities, were so plaguy slippery, that they gave me no opportunity of admiring them, excepting once, that my courser-wight pitched head-foremost over

one of them, and I head-foremost over him: when, thanks to my thick skull and stiff neck, I sprung to my feet as alert as a rope-dancer, and had a very pretty peep at the landscape before the horse was able to rise. The country, as far as I have yet seen it, is most excellent; and it would grieve Mr. Seton to observe the devastation and dilapidations visible every where. I believe, however, I should have said, *deliguification*s, instead of *dilapidations,* for never a stone is used in the construction of a Malay house. I am very much pleased with the inhabitants of the Campong, or vale of Gappam. They are a clean, healthy, stout-looking race; and appear to me to be as excellent peasants as I have ever seen. They seem, from the great superabundance of fruit, to be pretty well provided in the article of food; but how they procure their clothing is not quite so obvious. The soil of the ridges is a light marl, and of the bottoms a deep black mould; and I am sure there is not a more fertile country in all Malabar.

"As far as I can learn, the Pangulu of Naning is as nearly as possible in a state of open rebellion; and the people here say that he has got a signet from Menangkabu, with which he flourishes away famously. If I were Mr. Seton, I would give him an opportunity of contemplating a company of Sepoys for a couple of days. The supineness of the former government of Malacca is only equalled by the wickedness of the maxims under which it acted. Tell Mr. Seton that I earnestly entreat him to give me a grant of a couple of hundred of ruined villages, for here there is nothing else to be met with.

"If any thing occurs which any way requires my presence, let me be summoned without delay, and let me hear of your arrangements when they are formed. I find myself here completely at my ease; and that Mr. Kock has made only a great deal too many preparations. I have walked about all day, and done nothing but look at the country. I meant to have put Mrs. R. into a postscript, but have desisted on considering that this is generally the most valuable part of a lady's letter, and have reserved that honor for Miss R.; apropos of ladies, I have already become an immense favourite of that goodly old damsel, the Pungulu of Gappam's wife, from having dined entirely on curries, &c. of her own dressing; the lady has not yet ventured to shew herself; but I have been informed of the fact, which I hold for Gospel. The only thing in which I have been disappointed is in the non-arrival of the fatong whom we summoned. But such a place as Gappam for musquitos certainly never was seen; in spite of my thick boots I find it quite impossible to keep my ground, or indeed to write a single word more than that I always am,

"Your's very truly,

"J. Leyden."

On the 18th of April (1811) Lord Minto arrived at Penang, and on the 9th of May at Malacca, where Mr. Raffles had been long waiting for him in great anxiety,

as the south-east monsoon was every day increasing in violence, and rendering the passage more and more uncertain.

From the moment of his arrival at Malacca Mr. Raffles had devoted himself with all his usual ardour to the acquirement of information on every point calculated to promote the conquest of Java, and communicated the result of his enquiries to Lord Minto in the following letters:

To the Right Honourable Gilbert Lord Minto, Governor-General, &c. &c. &c.

"My Lord,

"Having shortly after my despatches to Mr. Edmonstone, under date the 31st January and 10th February last, received intimation of your lordship's intention of visiting the Eastward in person, it has been unnecessary for me to forward to Bengal any further accounts in detail; and as I have, since your Lordship's arrival at Malacca, had the honor of personally communicating on every point to which my attention has been directed, it may now be only requisite that I should throw into official form a short statement of my proceedings since the date of my last letter, and request your Lordship's attention to some important objects, concerning which sufficient information has not as yet been procured, to enable us to decide promptly on the measures which are requisite to be pursued with regard to them.

"Accompanying my letter of the 31st January, I had the honor to transmit for your lordship's information translations of the letters which I had deemed it advisable to address to several of the principal chieftains in Java, in the Malay and Javanese languages; further letters in these languages were forwarded to the Eastward by every opportunity that offered, and on receiving authentic intelligence of the fall of the Mauritius, which gave me a more certain expectation of the speedy departure of the present expedition from India, these intimations of the intended approach of the British forces were thrown in more generally: as I conceived that some intimation of our intentions would also be acceptable to the Dutch inhabitants, in the present unprecedented situation in which they are placed, I likewise addressed to them a short proclamation in the Dutch language, various copies of which I have reason to think have safely reached their destination; a translation of this proclamation, with a copy of the original Dutch, I formerly had the honor of transmitting to your Lordship, and hope that it has met your approbation.

"In these, as well as every communication addressed to the Eastern chieftains, I endeavoured to adhere as much as possible to general terms, feeling satisfied that we shall hereafter find it of importance, to be as free from previous obligations and stipulations as possible. The whole nature of our relations with the native chieftains will be so completely changed on our becoming masters of the Dutch empire of the Eastern Isles, that in many cases we shall find it necessary to interfere materially with the very powers with whom it has hitherto been our interest to establish

terms of friendship; and as there seemed to remain no doubt whatever of the favourable reception which the English might expect to meet on the island of Java, both from the native and European inhabitants, it became less necessary to hold out extraordinary encouragements and assurances, which might possibly stand in the way of the future arrangements which the state of the country after the conquest may oblige us to adopt.

" With respect to the communications which I have attempted to open directly with the different Javanese chiefs, through the medium of native agents, I feel it necessary to state to your Lordship that these have been materially impeded by the position taken off Batavia, and along the coast of Java, by the different vessels of his Majesty's navy that have been lately employed on the Eastern station. I do not mean to insinuate that this has happened by a direct and intentional interference, but rather indirectly, by exciting an universal alarm in the minds of the natives, whether Malays or Javanese. As few of the Eastern nations are at all acquainted with the English language, and almost as few of the officers of his Majesty's navy are able to communicate directly with the natives in the Malay language, the danger of not being able to make themselves understood always appears very formidable to the natives, and there is reason to suppose that, in various instances, it has led to consequences of the most fatal kind. It must also be admitted that the objects of his Majesty's navy, in visiting the coast of Java, were calculated to excite in the minds of the Javanese and Malays a very different impression of the intentions of the English from that which it was my wish to convey to them, and which has not only excited in my mind considerable alarm for the safety of some of my native agents, but likewise the fear that these proceedings may render our proclamations susceptible of an injurious interpretation.

" Independently of the native agents employed to convey to the eastward favourable intimations of our intentions, I deemed it necessary to despatch directly to the Isle of Bali, in the first place, Lieutenant Smith in the Arethusa cutter, and afterwards Mr. Greigh of the brig Minto. For my instructions issued to Lieutenant Smith, and subsequently to Mr. Greigh, I beg to refer your Lordship to enclosure No. 1, which also contains translations of my letters addressed to the Bali Rajahs, and the different answers which have been received from them.

" Mr. Greigh's report on his return from Bali Baliling, as well as the letters of the Bali Rajahs, which evince the warmest and most sincere attachment of these chieftains to the English cause, will I have no doubt prove highly satisfactory to your Lordship. The Rajah of Bali Baliling, with whom I first opened a communication, has not only on all occasions exhibited the greatest demonstrations of friendship towards the English, but zealously co-operated with me in conveying letters and intelligence to the Eastern chiefs, with whom I have found it most difficult to open a communication, particularly the Susuhunang, the sultan of Mataram, the

sultan of Madura and the Panambuhan of Samanap. The sultan of Carang Asam and Lombok, to whom I had not addressed a letter in the first instance, as soon as he was informed of our intentions of invading Java, came immediately forward and offered his services in the most friendly manner. The other Rajahs of Bali, with whom a direct communication has not as yet been opened, are all I understand equally well affected to the English cause.

"As the success of the measures adopted with regard to the Bali Rajahs has been so complete, that we may safely count on every kind of assistance which the islands of Bali and Lombok are capable of furnishing, I think it of some importance to advert somewhat more particularly to their present state and resources, than in my former despatches to your Lordship.

"The island of Bali is inhabited by a peculiar nation, differing in language and manners from all the other races of the East, and very few of whom have ever adopted the religion of Islam. As a nation they are not so numerous as to be dangerous to the English, and yet sufficiently numerous to be in the highest degree useful. As the Dutch, from similar causes and motives of policy, chiefly employed the natives of Madura, who are likewise a peculiar nation, in maintaining Java, so we have it in our power to employ the Bali nation, who have never been on friendly terms with any European nation but ourselves, and who by their language and religion are separated from all other nations of the East Indies; the only people with whom they have any considerable correspondence or connexion, are the Bugis and Macassar nations, whose traders are in the habit of visiting the islands of Bali and Lombok, and with both of whom there are similar and obvious motives of policy for our cultivating the most intimate and close connexion. The religion of Bali, which insulates them almost entirely from either the Malays or Javanese, and which renders them proof against all the deceptions and influence of the Arab traders, tends materially to dispose them to enter into the most intimate connexions with the English.

"Another point of essential importance to the English is, that the island of Bali, which was first visited by the English, has never been conquered by any other nation, and even the Dutch have never been able to establish any claims to it, of either territory or authority. In 1684 they established a resident in Bali, for the purpose of trading in rice, cotton and slaves: but they speedily withdrew the residency. . The Rajah of Badong, on the south coast, has since that period allowed them several times to return and settle a factory, but in the course of a few years they have always found it necessary to abandon it. None of the other Bali Rajahs have ever permitted the Dutch to have any establishment among them, and therefore whatever connexions we form with the Bali nation at present, are the more likely to survive any arrangements which might be the consequence of a peace in Europe.

" The Rajah most respected for his antiquity on Bali, is the Rajah of Kasamba, who in ancient times had dominion over the whole island; at present his power is greatly diminished. The most powerful is the Rajah of Carang Asam, who possesses the island of Lombok, and can bring readily into the field upwards of 30,000 men in arms. After him ranks the Rajah of Bali Baliling, who can muster from 10 to 15,000 men. The other Bali Rajahs are those of Taman, Bali, and Badong. All these Rajahs, with the great mass of their subjects, adhere to the ancient and peculiar religion of Bali. The Rajah of Badong is the only one that has ever formed any connexion with the Dutch, and at the instance of the Rajah of Carang Asam, he lately seized every Dutchman, and every man in their interest, and sent them out of the island.

" In a political point of view, at the present juncture, I apprehend Bali must be admitted to be of the first importance. The facility of procuring from the islands of Bali and Lombok whatever quantity of fresh provisions and live stock may be required for our armies in Java, must be admitted to be a point of the first importance, especially if the campaign should be unexpectedly prolonged, or considerable supplies of men and arms be received from old France by the enemy, before it can be brought to a termination.

" In the event too of such an occurrence as the latter taking place, or from any other causes, our forces being greatly outnumbered by the enemy, there is no doubt that any number of men, certainly not less than 15,000, or perhaps 20,000, could be procured in Bali and Lombok with the utmost expedition, to co-operate with our troops, which might prove of the most essential service, in a war carried on amid the mountains and jungles, to which all the operations of Marshal Daendels indicate an intention of transferring it.

" Another advantage, however, which we have actually derived from the favourable disposition of the Bali Rajahs, is the good impression respecting our intentions which by their means has been conveyed to the more eastern nations, especially the Bugis and Macassar tribes, concerning whom I shall have occasion to say more in the sequel. But it is not confined to these tribes alone, but extends likewise to the tribes of Sambawa, Bima, Endé, and the whole chain of low islands which extend from Java to the Moluccas, while at the same time it puts us in condition to hold in check, should we find it necessary, the whole Dutch force of the division of Surabaya, by a comparatively small number of troops placed in Bali.

" With respect to the west of Java, it appears from the latest accounts that the Panambahan Anom and the Pangerang Ahmed, the near relations of the late king of Bantam, are still in sufficient force in the mountains to maintain a determined resistance to the Dutch, and even the Bantamese, who have ostensibly submitted to the Dutch, have taken every occasion to manifest their favourable disposition to the English, and only request that they would not land in the country till they land

in sufficient force. The same disposition has been manifested by the Lampungs on the east of Sumatra, who are intimately connected with the Bantamese. I have not hitherto been able to learn whether the communications forwarded by me to that quarter have reached the chiefs of Bantam, but the demonstrations of a favourable disposition towards the English, which they have made wherever an opportunity of communicating with the ships of his Majesty's navy has presented itself, is sufficiently satisfactory.

" With respect to my communications with Madura, Solo, and Mataram, though I can entertain little doubt that some of them have reached their destination, yet I have not been able to learn what effects they have produced, chiefly from the causes to which I have already alluded as increasing the natural difficulty of communication with these states. My Malay intelligence, however, states that a rumour prevails to the eastward that signs of disaffection and a refractory spirit have displayed themselves, not only in the island of Madura, but also in the interior of Java. Without attaching much importance to these reports, I presume, from the general accuracy of my Malay information, that they may not be entirely devoid of foundation.

" With regard to the military state of the island of Java, I am happy to find that the latest intelligence fully corroborates the details which I formerly had the honour of forwarding to your Lordship.

" Your Lordship is already acquainted with the fact of the French flag having been substituted throughout Java for that of the Dutch. It appears by the latest accounts from Batavia, which are as late as the 12th ultimo, that a small armed brig had arrived from France about a month previous to that date, bringing out instructions for this change, which was duly carried into effect by proclamation. The same brig is stated to have also conveyed to Java intelligence of the fall of the Mauritius; but it is not known where she had touched, or how she had contrived to obtain this information.

" The most active and unremitting exertions appear to have been made by Marshal Daendels towards securing his defences, and the fall of the Mauritius has no doubt fully confirmed his apprehensions of the nature of the intended attack. It seems currently believed in Java that the Marshal expects almost immediate assistance from France; and the circumstance of his being able to hoist the French flag at such a critical moment, and with so little opposition, strongly indicates that he relies on more than ordinary means of defence, and confides in resources which render the sentiments of the Dutch inhabitants of Java a circumstance of comparatively little importance. Indeed, it cannot fail to excite our surprise that a measure altogether so unprecedented in its nature, and which must of necessity be obnoxious to so considerable a part of the Dutch population of Java, should have been carried completely into effect with so little opposition, and nothing can more strongly illustrate the fact, that the reign of terror has extended its influence to Java. There is,

however, strong reason for thinking that the more respectable part of the Dutch community have been taken by surprise, and that they have in this instance been overtaken by a crisis, the possibility of which their national pride had scarcely ever suffered them to contemplate, however obvious it had been to the English nation. Rumours of strong private discontents have, however, reached Malacca, though there is no reason to think that any concert prevails among the individuals concerned in them, or that any thing of the kind will show itself openly till we appear in force on Java. By this unprecedented measure, the tie which bound the Dutch population of Java to their mother country is broken for ever, and Holland being annihilated, they have only to choose between the English and French nations, in which case we may confidently count that their own interest, if all other circumstances were out of the question, would be sufficient to determine them to adhere to the English. The information of your Lordship's intention of accompanying the present expedition to Java, of which I have taken care to convey them notice, will, I have no hesitation to say, tend materially to tranquillize the minds of the Dutch inhabitants, and to determine the part which they will take on the appearance of our armament.

"With respect to the actual force of the enemy, it does not appear that any very considerable augmentation, beyond what might have been calculated upon, has been made since the date of the last accounts which I had the honour to transmit. The reinforcements which the Marshal has received, both in officers and men, from the different garrisons at the Moluccas, have no doubt enabled him to complete several of his defective corps; and as he appears still to retain a very considerable force in native Javanese, his numbers in this description of troops may exceed the former estimate, and perhaps a general estimate may be taken at about 30,000 men, according to the following account, which may be taken as the stated strength of the army of Java, as it would be when completed agreeably to the accounts of the beginning of the present year:

Cavalry, one regiment, consisting of five squadrons . . .	1,200
Chasseurs, one regiment of two battalions of five companies each	3,007
Artillery, one regiment of two battalions of five companies each .	2,007
Three companies of Horse Artillery	720
Infantry, three regiments of the line, each regiment of three battalions of five companies each	9,024
Four garrison regiments of the same strength	12,032
	27,990

with about 2,000 Bugguese, Ballymen, and Timorese, armed as pikemen.

"The accounts last received of the particular disposition of these corps do not materially differ from those I formerly transmitted; on the whole, it appears abso-

lutely certain that Marshal Daendels is concentrating his best troops on the western part of the island and in the vicinity of Batavia. As to Batavia itself, it obviously holds no consideration either in the civil arrangements of the Marshal, or in his intended plan of defence. It has been dismantled of all its fortifications; its public stores, ammunition, and archives have all been removed, and every means have been employed to induce the inhabitants, both European and native, to desert it entirely. The temporary seat of government is established at Weld de Freeden, where the public functionaries of every description are obliged to reside for the present; but arrangements are making for the transfer of the whole administration to Buitenzorg, at the distance of about thirty-five miles from Batavia, in the vicinity of the Blue Mountains. Weld de Freeden, the first military post of importance on the rear of Batavia, can only be considered as a fortified camp; Cornelis, at the distance of a little more than five miles from Batavia, is the first fortified post of importance; it consists of a fort which stands on the centre of several batteries, the front covered by a canal and the flanks by a river, while a battery placed on a rising ground commands the rear. Buitenzorg is situated in a fine healthy position, on an elevated plain at the foot of the Blue Mountains, and its natural defences are susceptible of being greatly improved. Before the present crisis it was only defended by one heavy battery, but for some months it appears that great exertions have been made to fortify it, and that immense stores of ordnance and ammunition have been conveyed to the spot. It also appears that batteries of more or less strength have been very generally erected along the coast of Java, in the bays and inlets most likely to invite a landing; but the only other works of importance besides those already mentioned are the fortress of Marak Bay, on the west of Bantam, and that of Fort Ludowick, on the east of Java, which commands the channel of approach to Surabaya. The works of Merak were lately in an imperfect state, though great exertions were making to complete them, when they may probably be able to contain about three thousand men. Besides affording a rendezvous for the division of Bantam, Merak seems calculated for the protection of shipping or supplies which may arrive through the straits of Sunda. Fort Lodowick is completed, and capable of containing upwards of three thousand men. Besides serving as a depôt for the eastern division, and protecting the towns of Gressie and Surabaya, it is obviously calculated for the ready reception of supplies which may arrive through the straits of Bali. From this short view of the Marshal's military works an idea of his projected plan of defence may be deduced. As he has confined his defences almost entirely to mere strong posts, we may infer that he does not mean to stand a regular siege in any fortified place, but trusts to prolonging the campaign by a war of posts till the setting-in of the rainy season, or the arrival of his expected succours from France. This mode of warfare, it must be allowed, is well adapted to the nature of the country, provided he could depend on the fidelity of his troops and the attachment of the Princes of

the interior, particularly the Susuhunang and Sultan of Mataram. In order to secure this fidelity, he is represented to have collected and hoarded up for the present exigency considerable stores of gold and silver. We may therefore expect that a landing may be effected on Java without any very serious loss; and though every advantage will probably be taken of the ground to cut off our troops in detail, it is rather incessant and harassing skirmishes and night attacks, than a pitched battle, that we have to expect. When the enemy falls back on Buitenzorg, the resistance will probably be more obstinate; and if he is able so long to secure the fidelity of his troops, and the attachment of his allies, it will be in his power, when that position becomes untenable, to take refuge in the strong hill countries of Sukapura and Bagilen, on the southern side of Java, in order to await his supplies from France, to carry on a harassing and vexatious war in the difficult central districts of Mataram and Carta Sura, or passing through these countries, to renew the war in Surabaya, the eastern division of the island. The latter of these operations will probably be attempted at any rate, if the Marshal be seconded by a single officer of ability that can be detached from the main army. This is what an enterprising enemy might perform, commanding all the resources of the island of Java; but in the present case the fault would plainly be ours if he were permitted to avail himself of the whole, or even of any considerable part of these resources. This suggests the obvious propriety of endeavouring as soon as possible to establish an intercourse between the English and the two principal chiefs of the interior of Java, the Susuhunang of Solo, or Carta Sura, and the Sultan of Mataram, without the permission, or rather the co-operation of whom, it would be impossible for the Marshal's army either to take post amid the mountains, or by that way retreat to the eastern division of the island. To these may be added the Sultan of Madura and the Panambuhan of Samanap on the island of Madura, the junction of either of whom with us would neutralize a great part of the native force of Marshal Daendels, which are stated to be chiefly composed of Madurese. It is also to be considered, that however friendly disposed in the main, it is inconsistent with the long-established usages of the eastern states to make the first overtures to a power with which they are so little acquainted as with the English; but this custom is rather to be placed to the account of *mauvaise honte* than of haughtiness.

" There is another, circumstance, however, to which it is of the greatest importance to advert, and which is also suggested by the arrangements of the Marshal Daendels. His arrangements seems to indicate the expectation of receiving supplies from the back of the island of Java; yet, according to all the accounts which have been published, the southern coast is supposed to be rocky, dangerous, and devoid of roads, as well as totally unfrequented by shipping. It appears, however, that this is not exactly the case, and that there are at least three places on the southern coast which may be safely visited by ships. One of these is only ten miles south of

Mataram, another in the bight to the S.W. of the mountain Solah, and a third directly south of Buitenzorg. At the latter place a French frigate touched about eight months ago, and had some communication with Marshal Daendels. Indeed, if we only consult the map, it will appear that Buitenzorg is admirably situated for procuring supplies either from the southern coast or the straits of Sunda, and is, if there be any difference, situated nearer the southern than the northern coast of Java. It will therefore be of the utmost importance to take precautions that no supplies of either men or arms are thrown into Java from the southern coast of the island; and this can only be effected by stationing ships of war for the purpose on the south coast of Java.

" Another matter of very serious consideration is the impression which the conduct of our armies is likely to make on the Malays and Javanese, in commencing our operations in Java; and this deserves the more attention, because it may add very materially to the number of our enemies in the field, as well as abridge their comforts and increase the natural and necessary distresses to be encountered in the campaign. It must be admitted that we are going to commence our operations in Java with the majority of our troops, whether European or native, entertaining the most unfavourable ideas of the Malay character. These sentiments in the minds of our soldiers, will not naturally tend to induce a line of conduct on their part calculated to convey to the natives of Java any strong impressions either of our justice or humanity. It is not to my present purpose to enter into a vindication of the Malay character, and it may be proper to mention that these ideas of the Malays have in a great measure originated with the Dutch, who may be suspected, if the character be regarded as just, as having contributed eminently by their cruelty and oppression to its foundation. As the connexion of the English with the Malay states has always been the subject of the greatest anxiety and jealousy to the Dutch, it may be suspected that they have not given to the Malays and Javanese a more favourable idea of the English than they have given the English of the Malays. These untoward prejudices may certainly be attended in the ensuing campaign with very unpleasant and troublesome consequences, unless proper precautions be taken to guard against them from our very first landing in Java, and I therefore feel it my duty to direct your Lordship's attention particularly to this subject, for a tame submission to personal injury is certainly not characteristic of either the Malays or Javanese. All the eastern tribes are skilled in the use of the blow-pipe, or sumpit, for throwing poisoned arrows; and in the event of any retaliation, this weapon always becomes a most mischievous instrument of warfare in the hands of the most undisciplined savages.

" As your Lordship is already in possession of the latest accounts from Java, and the best information yet attainable respecting the roads and distances, the actual state of the military posts and fortifications, with the character, number, and distribution of the different corps of the enemy, it is unnecessary for me to exhibit them

here in detail, especially as they now fall more particularly under the attention of the engineer department, conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, to whom, since his arrival in Malacca, I have supplied every information regarding them that was in my power, and directed him to the best sources of intelligence.

" I shall reserve the remainder of the information I have to communicate for another letter."

The Reader must bear in mind that these Letters were written at a time when scarcely any thing was known either of the literature, or of the people, or of the countries, of this part of the East. It is necessary to recall this ignorance, fully to appreciate the numerous points, to which the inquiries were directed, the various objects which they embraced, the minuteness of the details, as well as the comprehensiveness of the views. When these are remembered, the correctness, as well as the mass of information collected, the discrimination, as well as the activity, of Mr. Raffles, will be acknowledged.

To Lord Minto.

" As soon as I was thoroughly satisfied that the principal force of the enemy was concentrated in the western part of Java, I directed my attention to the subject of ascertaining the best and safest mode of effecting the passage. Perceiving that the favourable monsoon would necessarily elapse before the arrival of the expedition at Malacca, to ascertain this became a matter of the highest importance, as it appeared obvious that any considerable delay would not fail to retard the campaign to the setting in of the wet season, which is also the unhealthy one in October and November; I therefore applied without delay to every person within my reach that seemed likely to be able to supply the requisite information, but here I was surprised to find the utmost degree of obscurity and contradiction prevail. The alternative of only two routes was presented, the first of which, or the direct course along the south-west coast of Borneo, was very generally represented as remarkably difficult and uncertain, if not altogether impracticable. The second course, round the north and east coast of Borneo, and through the straits of Macassar, though supposed to be practicable, was admitted by all to be eminently dangerous as well as tedious. Had the main force of the enemy been concentrated in the east instead of the west, perhaps it might have been advisable, if not absolutely necessary, to have attempted this passage at all risks; but as the disposition of the enemy did not require it, and the dangers of the passage did not appear to be aggravated by report, while the delay was pregnant with dangers of another kind, I endeavoured to avoid it, if it could be done without risking the success of the expedition. It was generally admitted that the N. E. passage could not be effected in less than two months; and when we take into consideration the dangers of the narrow passage of Balabac, the almost untried navigation of the Sulu Archipelago, amid innumerable rocks, shoals, and inlets, the excessive uncertainty of the winds and currents in the channel

between Sulu and Manado, as well as in the straits of Macassar, there appeared no probability whatever that this navigation could be effected by a large fleet even in the course of two months.

" With respect to the S.W. passage, its difficulties appeared from the very first to be greatly magnified through ignorance. Few of the eastern traders are in the habit of visiting these seas at the present season; yet it appeared clearly that it had been accomplished almost as frequently as it had been attempted. The principal difficulties obviously were the clearing the straits of Malacca and the Caramata passage off Sucadana in Borneo. The first, it was generally admitted, might be overcome, but the difficulties of the second were reckoned insuperable, because they were not understood. As Mr. Greigh, of the brig Minto, had procured some valuable information from the Bugis traders respecting this passage in his voyage to Bali, on his return I immediately despatched him to Pontiana with the necessary instructions, and a letter to the Sultan of Pontiana, requesting that Prince to furnish him with the requisite assistance for examining the passage between the island of Caramata and the main land of Borneo. The following instructions indicate the objects to which his attention was particularly directed.

" ' The object of ascertaining the nature of the passage between Caramata and the main is of such moment, that I think it cannot be confided to any person better than yourself, and as you are fully aware of my sentiments thereon, it is unnecessary that I should repeat them here.

" ' Enclosed you will receive two letters for the Sultan of Pontiana, the contents of which have been made known to you; and I recommend your employing the services of Captain Burn, now residing at Pontiana, should you be of opinion that they can be useful to the service on which you are proceeding. You can easily arrange with him with respect to the remuneration that he will be entitled to: and in the event of your enquiries and surveys being attended with success, and the safety and certainty of the passage being established, it may be advisable to leave him at Matan or Sucadana, to complete any points that may have been commenced, but left unfinished, by you from want of time.

" ' You should be most particular respecting the facilities for watering, and may go to the extent of advancing five hundred or a thousand dollars to individuals who may be likely to afford supplies.

" ' You should on no account delay your return beyond twenty days from this date, at which time the armament must no doubt be ready to start; should you be longer than that period, or than seventeen or eighteen days, I would recommend your touching at Rhio on your return, where intimation shall meet you respecting the movement of the fleet.'

(Signed) Thos. Raffles.

Malacca, 4th May, 1811.

"Soon after Mr. Greigh's departure, I fortunately procured the opinion of Messrs. R. Scott and Stewart, two of the best informed and most respectable of our Eastern traders in the Malay Seas, both of whom were decidedly of opinion that the S.W. passage was not only practicable at this season of the year, but infinitely less dangerous and tedious than the N.E. passage. Both of them had passed through the Caramata passage at different seasons of the year, and both of them affirmed the practicability of effecting a passage between Caramata and the main land of Borneo. The report of Mr. Greigh (which with the other papers connected with this short but very satisfactory voyage form enclosure No. 2) sufficiently establishes the practicability of the Caramata passage, and he has likewise ascertained both the facility of working along the coast of Borneo, by the sea and land breezes, and likewise that of making Borneo through the straits of Singapore. On the whole, therefore, I am happy to say, that no doubt can now be reasonably entertained, that the S.W. passage may be effected by the fleet sailing in divisions, in the space of a month or six weeks at farthest, although it will certainly be desirable in case of accidents, that the whole should be victualled and watered for two months.

"Such were the precautions which I deemed it necessary to take, in order to ascertain the practicability of the S. W. passage, but other measures were likewise requisite to secure to the armament provisions of live stock, wood and water, on its arrival at Malacca, and this appeared to be the more necessary, as Penang, from its very limited resources, as well as from its oblique situation, at the mouth of the straits of Malacca, seemed objectionable in many respects, and certain of producing considerable delay. The delay occasioned by entering the harbour at Penang, and the uncertainty of being able to work out again, is entirely avoided at Malacca, and indeed the disadvantages of the former are so well understood, that it may now be stated as a positive fact, that no vessel ever touches at Penang, unless from particular instructions or the expectation of procuring cargo; a ship touching at Malacca is generally able to procure water and necessaries, and get under way in the course of a single day; whereas touching at Penang, in common cases, generally causes a detention of five or six days. As a place of rendezvous, Malacca from its position so far up the straits, is obviously greatly superior to Penang. The supplies of live stock procurable at Malacca are very much superior to those which can be obtained at Penang, for Penang in reality possesses no resources of its own on the island, but is compelled to bring them from the territories of Queda, on the opposite continent. In the easy supply of water, perhaps Penang may be thought superior to Malacca, but this is not owing to any deficiency of water at Malacca, but from the difficulty of coming off to the shipping at low water. With regard to water, however, it is abundantly ascertained that it is to be procured on almost every island, either in the straits of Malacca or towards the eastward.

"Anxious, therefore, to avoid the delay which I foresaw would certainly be occa-

sioned by the fleet touching at Penang, I endeavoured to call forth the resources of Malacca, so as to meet the occasion, by encouraging the Malays and other inhabitants of Malacca to bring down ample stores of live stock, forage, and fire-wood, despatching agents into the interior for the same purpose, and communicating every information that might be deemed useful to the military commissaries that had been despatched before the army. The Malays are a people whose habits in many respects are so peculiar, and so little understood by the English in general, that without some precautions of the kind considerable embarrassments were likely to have occurred. The result has been that greater quantities, both of live stock and forage, have actually been provided than were requisite for the divisions of the armament that came direct to Malacca, and it has been demonstrated in the most satisfactory manner, that the whole army might have been amply supplied there without touching at Penang, by which means its subsequent detention might have been altogether avoided. This, however, at present can only be mentioned as a subject of regret.

" Having deemed it advisable, in order to secure the requisite supplies for the armament, to address letters on the subject to some of the Malay Rajahs, I beg to refer your Lordship to enclosure No. 3, for translation of these, and of the answers received in return.

" Having thus stated to your Lordship the result of the intelligence procured respecting the forces of the enemy, and his plan of defence, together with the measures taken to ascertain the practicability of the passage and ensure supplies for the troops, I have still to mention the result of the correspondence commenced with some of the native states.

" Palembang being one of the most important of the Malay states, I shall begin with stating the result of the negociation, which I mentioned in my last despatches as having commenced with its Sultan. Of the importance of Palembang to the Dutch government of Batavia, succeeding inquiries had only tended to convince me the more. Large balances had long been avowedly due to the Dutch regency; the Sultan of Palembang was known to be extremely rich in long-hoarded heaps of the precious metals, and it was greatly to be feared that the energy and vigour of Marshal Daendels might so intimidate him as to induce him to pay up these balances, which would have been of the utmost importance to the finances of the Marshal at the present crisis. I knew that the Marshal had not only severely threatened the Sultan, but was taking active measures to compel him to accede to his terms. Upon this circumstance I founded the project of opening a negociation, considering it as certain that, whether the Sultan accepted or refused the terms proposed, the proposal alone would be sufficient to prevent him coming to any accommodation with Marshal Daendels: a circumstance which was sure of inspiring fresh spirit into the Bantamese and Lampungs, disheartened by their recent defeat. If

the Sultan acceded to the propositions offered, we would not only acquire a powerful ally, by whose assistance a formidable demonstration might be made on the side of Bantam without weakening our main attack, and whose voluntary alliance would prevent his being subjected to the fate of war in Europe, but we would also be put in possession without further trouble of the grand monopoly of the tin trade. This, however, I was scarcely sanguine enough to expect, as I knew that not only several of the Sultan's ministers were decidedly in the Dutch interest, but that the whole state of Palembang had been too long accustomed to a contraband traffic to consent readily to resign its advantages. As I expected, the Sultan demurred and adopted a temporizing policy, endeavouring by every means in his power to spin out the negociation till he should perceive what was likely to be the course of events, although I had taken care to explain to him in the most particular manner the important difference that would occur in the political situation of a dependent state that should submit after the conquest of Java, and one that should voluntarily enter into an alliance with us previous to that event. Though I believe the fact to be incontrovertible, that the Sultan of Palembang is bound to the Dutch by various agreements and treaties, and though it is certain that various acts of hostility have been committed by the Dutch, in concert with his subjects, on the English shipping within his boundaries, yet he has assumed the character of an independent and neutral power; and because some of the English ships have at times managed to procure cargoes of tin at Banca, in spite of the Dutch prohibition, he wishes to avail himself of this circumstance, to represent that he has always been on terms of amity with the English. The true reason, however, I was soon informed of by means of my agent, Tunku Radin Mahammed, who states that some of the Sultan's counsellors, especially the Tamungung Lanan, had persuaded him that the English interests were in the utmost jeopardy, not only in Europe, but in Bengal and the rest of India, and that therefore we were anxious to acquire new settlements to the eastward. For the letters which I addressed to the Sultan, and the replies received from him, as well as some other papers connected with the subject of Palembang, I beg to refer your Lordship to enclosure No. 4.

"Suspecting from the procrastination of the Sultan of Palembang, the turn which the negociation was likely to take, and being aware of the immense importance of the island of Banca, I directed my agents to use every means in their power to obtain the most particular account of the island and its productions, as well as the nature of the government and the disposition of the inhabitants. The regular report on this subject I have not as yet obtained, but the following particulars relative to the island have been fully ascertained. Banca has a population of about 10,000 souls, who are a mingled mass of Malays, of Javanese, and Chinese, all of whom have been resident on the island for many generations. In some places, as at Minta, the Malay population is the most numerous, in others the Chinese. The

government of the island is entirely in the hands of the natives, and the Sultan of Palembang interferes no further with them than to secure a monopoly of the tin, for which purpose he has a resident on the island. The present resident is the Tamungung Hasein, an inveterate enemy of the English, and accused of having been lately concerned in various piratical practices, particularly in the late murder of Captain Ross, and the piratical capture of the ship Malacca belonging to Mr. Hare. The two datouks, Rangga and Songgar, who at present govern Banca, as well as the mass of the native inhabitants, are highly disaffected towards the Sultan of Palembang, and it is believed would claim the protection of the English Company, if there were any hopes of their being received, if it were only to secure them from the ravages of the pirates and Lanuns, who have desolated the eastern part of the island, and from which the Sultan of Palembang is altogether unable to protect them. Indeed, from what I have been able to learn, I think it most probable that an application to this purpose will be made at all events by the native inhabitants of Banca, who have no natural connexion with Palembang, and are more oppressed by the Sultan's monopoly than if they were under any European power.

"With respect to the resources of Banca, it produces rice, but not sufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants. Iron and loadstone are found on the island, but tin is the great staple which it produces, and in the production of this valuable metal there is probably no place in the world to be compared to Banca, for the whole island may be considered as an immense tin mine. The production of tin in Banca is only limited by the number of people employed in mining, but it is understood to be capable of producing at least 100,000 peculs per annum, on the most moderate computation. The miners at present are chiefly Chinese, and it is thought that by adopting more scientific methods, the expense of mining might be greatly lessened. It is said, however, that the Sultan of Palembang, under the present system of management, procures the tin at the expense of from five to six dollars per pecul. The ordinary selling price of tin in China is from twenty to twenty-five dollars per pecul, and it has lately risen from twenty-eight to thirty dollars. The consumption of tin in China, as well as of odoriferous gums in the religious ceremonies of the Chinese, amounts to a great extent every year, the tin being employed in coating the gilt paper, great quantities of which are burnt at all their festivals. Besides this, the tin is chiefly employed in the manufacture of cooking and domestic utensils, both for export and the home market in China. These circumstances may serve to convey some idea of the importance of Banca to the English. Palembang itself produces no tin, and the only other article which the Dutch derive from Palembang is pepper.

"Banca, however, demands our attention in another point of view as connected with our operations for the suppression of piracy, under which head I have several details to communicate to your Lordship since my last letter. The suppression of piracy has long been a subject to which the attention of the Dutch has been vigor-

ously directed, and this, with the suppression of contraband trade among the eastern isles, are the chief objects of the establishment of the Batavian marine of late years; however, from the preponderance of the English navy on the shores of all the eastern isles, the Dutch have been altogether unable to oppose any effectual restraint to the ravages of the Lanuns and other pirates, who have of course become more bold and daring in all the eastern seas. The name of Lanuns, accordingly, which was originally the appellation of those piratical adventurers from the Bay of Lano, in the great island of Mindanari, who formerly infested the coast of Borneo, has been extended to almost all the sea-rovers of the east, particularly to those which infest the straits of Banca and Sunda. The Lanuns, therefore, at present may be considered as an assemblage of the most daring and desperate adventurers from all the tribes of the east, and their principal haunts are the low eastern coast of Sumatra between Palembang and the Lampung country, the eastern part of the island of Banca, the island of Biliton, the eastern coast of Borneo, but especially Sambas on the N.W. of Borneo.

"On the eastern coast of Sumatra they have, or lately had, very considerable settlements, especially at a place named Ratch, where they have built houses and caused their captives to cultivate the ground. At Sambas too they have settled in great numbers, under the protection of the Sultan and the celebrated pirate the Pangeran Anom, his half-brother. The ravages which they lately committed on the eastern part of the island of Banca are stated to have completely interrupted the working of the tin-mines in that quarter, and caused them to be entirely deserted. I am at present unable to say whether they have formed any settlement on the island. One thing, however, may be considered as certain: they are privately encouraged by the Sultan of Lingen, and almost openly by the Rajah Mudah of Rhio, and no Malay hesitates to admit that these chiefs, with the Sultan of Sambas, are the real heads of the Lanuns. The Sultan of Lingen, however, does not avow the connexion, while the Sultan of Sambas admits it openly, and braves all consequences. No doubt can be entertained that in spite of all this, the Lanuns are permitted on all occasions to frequent both Lingen and Rhio, to provide themselves with all kind of stores, provisions and ammunition, and to dispose of their prizes. Of the number of the Lanuns it is difficult to form at present any particular estimate; I apprehend, however, they cannot in any way be estimated at less than 10,000 fighting men. I have heard those who are settled at Ratch mentioned as about 2,000 strong. The Lanun vessels are the best native craft that appear to the eastward; they carry very heavy guns, and have repeatedly succeeded, not only in taking stout merchantmen, but even Dutch cruizers. These are the class of pirates at Sambas.

"But there is another class of pirates on a smaller scale, who have carried their ravages even very lately up the straits as far as Malacca, though they are

neither very powerful nor possessed of large vessels. The chiefs of these are four brothers, the sons of the celebrated Rajah Ali, who was the cause of the Dutch formerly destroying Sucadana. The names of these are, Rajah Bassick, Rajah Isa, Rajah Indee, and Rajah Hamed. The most notorious of these is Rajah Bassick, though the whole of them have been engaged in piratical practices for the greater part of the last five years. As their depredations have been so very recent in the immediate vicinity of Malacca, and calculated, had they been suffered to pass unnoticed, to convey a very wrong impression of the English character, I beg to refer your Lordship to enclosure No. 5, for a translation of the letter which I thought it expedient to address on the occasion to the Rajah Mudah of Rhio, and which still remains unanswered. It is unfortunately the practice in some of the Malay states rather to encourage the young nobles of high rank, especially those of the Rajah's own extraction, whose maintenance would otherwise fall upon the Rajah himself, to subsist themselves by piratical practices than to discourage such proceedings. This may in some degree account for the countenance given to this horde of pirates at Rhio; but the Rajah Mudah of Rhio had perhaps some additional reasons for endeavouring to protect them. It is scarcely six years since his own brother, Rajah Edris, who in his absence at present is regent at Rhio, was also engaged in piratical practices. It is necessary to apprize your Lordship fully of the character of the present government of Rhio, as any strong measures which may be adopted in the eastern seas for the purpose of suppressing piracy, will require particular attention to be directed towards Rhio.

" One of the latest acts of piracy was the cutting off the ship Malacca, and the murder of Captain Ross at Minta, on the island of Banca, by the pirates Abang Rasib, Inchi Daud, and their confederates, who had afterwards carried the property to Sambas. In this transaction the Tumungung Hasan of Minta was accused of being concerned, which was confirmed by the subsequent cutting off the long-boat of the Thainstone, and the murder of the crew by Demen Minyah, one of his dependents; on which occasion Captain Tait, of the Thainstone, very nearly escaped being cut off himself. As the connexion of the Sultan of Sambas and the Pangeran Anom was not at this time explicitly known, in order to put the matter beyond all kind of doubt, I addressed both these chiefs by letter, requesting them to apprehend the perpetrators of this piracy and murder, the Abang Rasib and his confederates, and to seize the property for the use of the lawful owner. The Pangeran Anom, whom I first addressed on the subject, returned no answer whatever, but the Sultan of Sambas at last did, by explicitly avowing his connexion with the pirates and Lanuns, and positively refusing to comply with my request in any respect.

" Having learned that the ship Commerce had about the same time been disabled on the coast of Borneo by the loss of her rudder, and had drifted upon a small island near the coast, I addressed a letter to the Sultan of Pontiana, requesting

his assistance. The Sultan, in his reply, stated that this vessel had been seized by the pirates of Serawa, a small dependency on Borneo proper, in conjunction with those of Sambas. He also communicated various details concerning the operations of the Pangeran Anom, for the particulars of which I beg leave to refer your Lordship likewise to enclosure No. 5, which also contains the correspondence with the Sultans of Sambas and Pontiana. The principal facts alluded to in this correspondence are confirmed by the following extracts of letters addressed to me by Mr. Burn, a gentleman who had been for several years resident at Pontiana. The following extract is dated February 12th, 1811.

" ' Your letter to the Rajah of Sambas I had sent down to him by one of the Sultan of Pontiana's prows, and his answer to you I have delivered to Captain Tait. The Rajah of Sambas refuses to deliver up the pirates who cut off the Malacca brig; but I understand that he has obtained from them the greater part of the property. The amount of the tin which was sold at Sambas, and afterwards resold here, amounted to about 14,000 dollars; the piece goods, which amounted to about 5000 dollars, were disposed of at Sambas, the whole being taken from the Malacca brig—total 19,000 dollars; but I am credibly informed the pirates now retain only a small part, and have connected themselves with the Sambas people, who are now little better than open pirates. They have two small ships and two brigs, with a number of prows, and come out occasionally, plundering whatever they can lay hold of. The ship Commerce has been set fire to by the Rajah of Sarawa, named Panjeran Samewda; he is a relation of the Rajah of Sambas: the ship was left either in his possession or near to the place of his residence, by her commander Captain Chapman, together with forty-five of her crew and the second mate; I believe his name was Hopkins. The Rajah disposed of the cargo, set fire to the ship, and had the second mate put to death in a private manner, but the crew are sent to Borneo proper as slaves. Previously to destroying the ship, he offered to sell her to the Sultan of Pontiana: I myself saw his letter to him, offering to send her up here, but meeting a refusal, she was set fire to and destroyed.'

" The following extract is dated March 12th, 1811:

" ' A few days ago Pangeran Anom came out from Sambas with two small ships; one of them mounts ten guns, and the other eight guns, with some armed prows. Two Chinese junks just arrived from China, and then lying on the bar of Pontiana river, were attacked by their boats. One of these junks having a valuable cargo on board, was boarded and carried off instantly by them, the other was relieved by the Sultan's armed prows, who went out to their assistance. They made several attempts on the other, and some fighting took place, the Sultan being out also. These vessels are still cruizing off the coast: Assing Rasil, the man who cut off Captain Ross, is on board the smallest vessel that mounts eight guns. They some time ago sent up a formal challenge to Pontiana, declaring they would take not only

the China junks, but also any English vessel they could. This is what they often have done before, but little attention was paid to their threats; all English vessels now coming to this coast ought to be particularly on their guard against them. I imagine they will proceed to Banjar Massin river with the same intention, having done so last year, where they committed a great deal of mischief outside the bar.'

" Having communicated these facts, your Lordship will easily be able to determine the course of proceeding to be adopted, both with regard to the pirates and Lanuns themselves and their abettors, whether secret or avowed. It is necessary to add, that on the reduction of the Dutch power in the East, the increase of piracy must necessarily be contemplated, as well as the adoption of vigorous measures on our part for the protection of our Malay and Javanese subjects, and the security of the commerce of the Eastern Seas. For this purpose the maintenance of a marine establishment similar to that of the Dutch will probably be found absolutely necessary. Another measure of the greatest necessity will be to oblige every Rajah to refuse to every description of pirates and Lanuns any sort of assistance or protection in his own territories, and in particular to become accountable for the conduct of his own relations. At present piracy is considered as an honourable profession, especially for young nobles and needy great men. The numerous uninhabited islands and tracts of desert coast on all the Eastern Seas, render it very difficult to put a sudden and complete check to the practice; but that which chiefly upholds it is the encouragement given by the Eastern princes to their poor relations to subsist themselves by piracy. The Malay governments have this, in common with the feudal states of Europe, that the chiefs are only rich in hands and in the rough produce of their grounds. A prow, or war-boat, can easily be constructed wherever there are hands and timber, and to man her costs no trouble to the chief of the clan or any of his family. To go a roving is the next step, which implies no dishonour in the present state of the Malay morals; and having surprised some unsuspicious merchant, the pirate proceeds coolly to dispose of the goods which he has thus seized, wherever he can find a market.

" Having principally alluded to the more formidable pirates infesting the Eastern Seas, it would be unnecessary to notice those of a still smaller and insignificant class, had they not for many years been in the constant habit of cutting off the supplies which are on their way from Queda, and the small states of the Malay peninsula to Penang. These naturally owe their origin to the before-mentioned causes, and must increase in proportion with the decay of Queda, and its neighbouring states. The different establishments of police that have heretofore been formed at Penang, have been found wholly incapable of repressing them, and it is not long since the very guard-boat constructed and armed by government was attacked and carried by two or three of the most insignificant prows. The impunity with which these and similar offences have been allowed to pass has, I fear, much

committed our military character among the more western Malay states; for, however insignificant they may be, any degree of supineness on our part is inevitably referred to fear and want of confidence in our own resources.

" As soon as I received information of your Lordship's intention of proceeding to the eastward in person, I deemed it proper to communicate this intelligence to the different Rajahs and Chiefs with whom I had commenced a friendly correspondence, being aware that this would tend to secure their more active co-operation, and at the same time convey a higher idea of the projected enterprize. This intelligence was soon communicated to the Rajah of Queda, with whom I had not previously engaged in correspondence, considering him as in a particular manner connected with the government of Penang. The Rajah communicated with me by means of an agent and near relation named Tunkulung Putch, who formerly was sent as a vakeel to Penang, respecting the situation and circumstances in which he found his country placed from the hostilities between the Burmans and Siamese. I, of course, referred him to your Lordship. From the shortness of your Lordship's stay at Penang, the Rajah was disappointed in procuring the expected interview, which I am informed he regrets, not only as a serious mortification, but as an absolute misfortune. For his letter addressed to your Lordship on the occasion, and received a few days after your arrival in Malacca, I beg to refer you to enclosure No. 6. On this occasion he likewise addressed to me a letter of the same import, requesting me to state to your Lordship the unfortunate circumstances in which the land of Queda is at present placed. In the following statement and suggestions, therefore, I consider myself as merely complying with the request of the Rajah.

" The situation of Queda is briefly this. It is said to be stated in the Siamese annals that the Siamese have at several periods of their history overrun the whole of the Malay Peninsula, then inhabited by barbarous and savage tribes. This they have construed into a right of conquest, which has since been repeatedly asserted since the Malays occupied the Peninsula, whenever they found themselves sufficiently strong, and their neighbours sufficiently weak to be subjected to plunder and aggression without incurring serious danger. Sometimes they have been altogether baffled, as in their repeated attacks on Malacca some centuries ago; but though baffled, it does not appear that they ever formally renounced their claims even on Malacca, which has never been conquered by them, but on the contrary, they consider them as perfectly valid even down to the present day. Queda is one of the Malay states that appears at some period to have been overrun by the Siamese, and has accordingly consented to send, every third year, a gold and silver flower as a token of homage. The value of these articles is as trifling as need be supposed, the weight of the gold flower being only twelve dollars, and that of the silver one thirty-two dollars. There is therefore reason for considering the land of Queda as a dependency on Siam at present, but certainly none whatever for supposing that Siam has any right of sub-

jecting Queda to arbitrary impositions of any kind. During the former wars between the Siamese and Burmans it appears that the Rajah of Queda has presented the sign of homage, or the gold and silver tree, sometimes to the one power and sometimes to the other, but it does not appear that he has ever submitted to arbitrary exactions. In the late wars between the Siamese and Burmans, it is asserted that the Rajah of Queda furnished some of the Burman prows with provisions, and it is certain that a fleet of them did actually procure supplies at Penang. These circumstances strongly irritated the Siamese, who compelled the Rajah of Queda not only to furnish them with great quantities of supplies, but also with a thousand men, and this he was compelled to submit to last year to prevent his country being ravaged without mercy. This year the Siamese have reiterated the same demands, and the Rajah states that the country will be ruined and impoverished if he complies with the demands of the Siamese government, and not less certainly ruined by the Siamese armies if he refuses to assent to them. The question, therefore, between Queda and Siam is obviously a question of might and not of right, for it is not admitted by the Rajah of Queda that he is subject to the arbitrary exactions of the Siamese.

"About the period when Mr. Light first acquired the original grant of Pulo Penang from the Rajah of Queda, he was I believe directed by the Supreme Government of India to examine and report on the nature of the relation between Queda and Siam, and especially whether a grant of the island made by Queda could be considered as valid without the concurrence of the Siamese government, and from the following extract from his report it appears that he considered Queda as scarcely in any degree dependent on Siam.

"'I must now further trespass upon your patience to acquaint you with the relation Queda has to Siam. It does not appear either by writings or tradition, that Queda was ever governed by the Siamese laws or customs; there would have been some remains, had there been any affinity between them. The people of Queda are Mahommedans, their letters Arabic, and their language Jawee. Their Kings originally from Minankabu on Sumatra, but as Queda was very near Ligore, a Kingdom of Siam, they sent every third year a gold and silver tree as a token of homage to Ligore. This was done to preserve a good correspondence, for at this period the Siamese were very rich and numerous, but no warriors, and a considerable trade was carried on between Ligore and Queda. After the destruction of Siam, the King of Ava demanded the token of homage from Queda, and received the gold and silver tree; when Pia Tach drove away the Burmans, and built a new city on Siam, the King of Queda sent the trees to Siam, and has kept peace with both, paying homage sometimes to one, sometimes the other, and often to both.

"'Last year the preparations of the Burmans were so great that the King of Queda expected the total destruction of the Siamese. The Burmans sent to the King to demand a supply of arms and ammunition, which he complied with, though

in a very scanty manner, and very politically gave the prows which carried them two letters, one for the Burmans and one for the Siamese! One or two of the prows went to the Burmans while attacking Salang, the others meeting with the Siamese delivered their letters. This has been told to the Siamese General with much addition, so that it is yet a doubt if he will not destroy Queda, for taking and destroying is exactly the same with these savages.

" ' The Siamese General is extirpating Pattany; all the men, children, and old women, he orders to be tied, and thrown upon the ground, and then trampled to death by elephants.

" ' The King of Queda has reason to be afraid of such a tyrant, and hopes to secure himself by an alliance with the Hon. Company; yet so little confidence is to be placed in these people, that I should not be surprised at his offering to sacrifice this new settlement to the avarice of the Siamese, if requested.' * * * * *

" It is no new crisis for Queda to be involved in the hostilities of the Burmans and Siamese; but there is another cause which has given rise repeatedly to the interference of the Siamese government with Queda, and that is, the dissensions concerning the succession, which are constantly occurring there as in every other Mussulman government. Perhaps to this should be added the desire of the Siamese to acquire the immediate influence over Pulo Penang, which is now in the hands of Queda. This desire they seem, from the aforesaid extract of Mr. Light's report, to have been early suspected of entertaining, and the same opinions were held on the subject by the late Mr. Scott of Pulo Penang, than whom no European of the present day was better acquainted with the habits of the Siamese and the maxims of their policy, having resided in that country for the space of five years. The following observations on this subject, which may be deemed both important and curious, especially as they are corroborated by the suggestions in Mr. Farquhar's report on Pulo Penang, were communicated to me by that gentleman some time previous to his death, and I shall make no apology for their insertion.

" ' The dissensions among the late King of Queda's sons, and the separate negociations which the oldest three are carrying on with the King of Siam, directly or indirectly, through the government of Ligore and Soncra, promises to close in Queda becoming a province of Siam; a fear of this happening soon, has induced the younger of the King's sons to remove to the Company's territory, or its vicinity, and in the event of such a change taking place, all the Malays will remove as occasion offers.

" ' If this change is allowed to proceed without our taking any measures to provide against the consequences, we shall have the Siamese as our near neighbours, who, from the power of the empire, the rapacity of the governors, and routine of their laws and police, will be found both troublesome and useless.

" ' This will appear, if we advert that both persons and property are at the

command of the King, and of course at the command of his officers in succession from the lowest to the highest; hence no man will rear what he cannot call his own.

"'Certain months are allowed the many to plant and reap their paddy: and this when stored is sacred, and cannot be taken from their possession; with this exception, all the rest of their time, exertions or acquirements, may be taken by the King or his officers, if so inclined; hence a society so constructed, never can be subservient to the supply of the provisions which our population and shipping require, and thence to us useless neighbours; and as every Governor commands without restriction the population and produce of the country he governs, nothing restrains their being troublesome but a constant succession of sacrifices made to their avarice; and hence are they very troublesome neighbours.

"'The remedy which promises in some degree to prevent the near approach of such useless and troublesome neighbours, is to acquire, by purchase or otherwise, the lands of Queda, south of Gunung Gerai, which mountain forms a defined boundary to the northward; inland are the high mountains which divide Queda from Trangaro, and to the southward the rivers Carrian and Edjou; the whole comprehending a square of about twelve square leagues of fine lands well watered and diversified, with paddy and rising grounds, and equal to the reception of the Malay population of Queda, should a Siam government occasion them to remove, and this space so peopled would be equal to a supply of all our wants in cattle, grain, poultry, or roots.

"'Since our possessing Prince of Wales' Island, sundry occasions of acquiring this territory have occurred, which from some misunderstanding have been neglected.

"'The first was when the peace of Praiy was made.

"'The second, when the King died, and the sum of thirty dollars was due by the Company at this time; had Sir George Leith added seventy to the thirty due, he might have got a right to the lands in question, and liberated the Company from the annual payment of ten dollars; he was satisfied with a stripe three miles inland, from Quala Mooda River to that of Carrian, which being principally mangrove, is of little use.

"'What Sir George might have done, a fear of Siam, and the securing a retreat in case the King and brothers are superseded by a Governor, may now render practicable; and it ought not to be delayed an hour; for should the Siamese annex Queda to the empire, and send a Governor before it is accomplished, there would then be no hopes of such an acquisition.

"'As the Company now occupy Prince of Wales' Island, and the stripe opposite, under grants from Kings of Queda, without any caveat against such grants being brought forward by Siam, the same deference would be paid to a grant, if procured, before the King was deprived of his country, and as such a deprivation is apparently likely soon to happen, the right to the lands described should be immediately pro-

cured, if possible, leaving the expediency and mode of occupying it to future consideration.

" ' Because the having the right can do no harm, and as the purchase may be combined with the liberating the Company from the annual payment of ten dollars, perhaps the addition would not be much, especially as the King must be convinced, that in case of Siam occupying Queda, he could have no claim to the tenth, and therefore more likely to accept of a moderate equivalent; besides, if he granted the Company the lands described, he, his brothers, families, dependants, and adherents, would find a comfortable retreat as subjects, in lieu of a precarious one as Kings.'

" With regard to this important document, which details the opinion of one of the original founders of the settlement of Pulo Penang, to whose activity and resources, it is acknowledged on all hands, that Mr. Light was greatly indebted, it may be necessary to observe, in the first place, that the evils contemplated in prospect by Mr. Scott have now actually occurred, and have brought the affairs of Queda to the present crisis. It is perfectly well known that some time ago Rajah Bisnoi, the Rajah of Queda's half-brother, has retired to Siam for the express purpose of endeavouring to have himself appointed Rajah of Queda, and the present Rajah dethroned by the Siamese. The residence of this Rajah Bishnu was formerly at Sittool; he had contracts from the Penang government or their agents for procuring timber in the Queda country, and it may be inferred that it is through means of the money and authority which he has gained by means of these contracts, that he expects to supplant his brother in the government of Queda, and to procure it for himself.

" As to the opinion hazarded by Mr. Scott, with regard to the means of avoiding the evils consequent to a Siamese invasion, it is only necessary to state that the claims of the Siamese on Pulo Penang are quite as good as on any other part of the Queda territory; and that if Queda were subdued, and made a province of Siam, we would find it impossible to defend our thin stripe of mangrove marsh, three miles broad, and must consequently resign it with its inhabitants, amounting at present to the number of five thousand persons, to the devastation of the Siamese. I have no doubts but we should be able to defend our settlement of Pulo Penang against the whole force of the Siamese territory, but have very serious doubts that the defence of it would cost us quite as much expense as the defence of the Queda territory. The tenure by which we hold Pulo Penang at present, is that of a yearly tribute, which would by no means be creditable to the English Company or the English nation, if the obvious superiority of our force to that of Queda did not shew the whole world that the Rajah of Queda owes this to our national justice, and not to the power of his arms. This, however, would by no means be equally obvious if this yearly sum were to be paid to Siam, and would tend to depreciate our national character among all the nations of the Eastern Seas. The difficulty of negociating

with the Siamese government has always been acknowledged to be great, and the English in particular have been remarkably unfortunate in all their attempts to this purpose. The letter on the Negrai's expedition in 1753, with remarks on the adjacent countries, attributed to a Mr. T. Taylor, notices Siam in the following manner: 'The next adjacent country to be mentioned is Siam; it hardly merits notice, if their behaviour did not merit chastisement, which may turn to more advantage than the trade, while subject to such impositions as at present, under so injurious a government. The productions of the country are prodigious quantities of grain, cotton, benjamin, sandal, aquala, and sapan woods; antimony, tin, lead, iron, loadstone, gold, silver, sapphires, emeralds, agates, chrystal, and marble. Siam has no force, and would be a very valuable acquisition to any European nation, either in whole or in part, though the trade will yield but little advantage under the present circumstances.' These observations, made about sixty years back, apply with equal accuracy to Siam at present, and I have little doubt but the same difficulties must now be encountered in every attempt either to negociate or trade with Siam; unless, indeed, we were to negociate with arms in our hands, and most probably then likewise, after they have experienced the effects of them, Siam and Cochin China may be considered as miniatures of China. The people indeed are less civilized, and have made less progress in the arts of life; but the rulers and officers of government are equally besotted with childish pride and ignorance, and, if possible, more rapacious and venal. A different opinion, however, seems to have been entertained on this subject by Mr. Farquhar, in consequence of some communications with the Siamese governor of Legore, as appears from the following extract from his Report on Prince of Wales' Island:

" 'The measure most direct and effective for preserving the peace of Queda, would be a letter from the Governor-general to the King of Siam, requesting him to write to the head men at Sangora, called by the Siamese Son Kra Ligore Patawy, and Caleutan, not to molest the Queda empire, which the King would instantly comply with. The Siamese are from interest our firm allies, because they detest the Burmans, and entertain a hope that we shall one day or other be obliged to make war upon Ava. Several letters have been received from the Governor of Ligore, to send him early notice should such an event be likely to take place, and the Governor says he has orders to tender the provinces of Mergui, Tenaserun, Tavoy, and Martaban to the English as the price for their co-operation against Ava. The Siamese have never given up their claims to these provinces, which from time immemorial formed a part of their natural hereditary dominions, and were only lately seized upon by the Burmans.'

" Never having seen the letters of the Governor of Ligore referred to by Mr. Farquhar, nor knowing where to refer to them, I can neither pretend to judge positively of the crisis which produced such an offer from the Siamese government,

nor to suggest whether or not some misapprehension may have occurred on our parts. It must be admitted, however, that any cession of this kind is totally averse to the usual maxims of the Siamese government. It may, however, be observed, that if there ever was a crisis which could have induced the Siamese to renounce four of their ancient and native provinces in our favour, it would be comparatively easy to procure the cession of Queda. I may even venture to add that, in my opinion, the cession of all Queda would be procured with no greater difficulty than the cession of Penang alone, and the cession of the whole Malay peninsula with no greater difficulty than the cession of Queda. The only difficulty in the case will be to procure any species of cession which will be recognized by a government so constituted as the Siamese. If our negociations with Siam were for the present confined solely to the object of opening a trade with that country, I conceive that the very same difficulties would occur, and that no trade, except of the most limited nature, would be permitted, the obstructions arising equally from the Chinese maxims of government, which they have adopted, the ignorance of the Siamese ministers, their short-sighted rapacity and jealousy of Europeans, which jealousy will hardly fail to be increased by their becoming better acquainted with our naval and military resources. The opinion, therefore, which I venture to express on the subject is, that though numerous circumstances tend to render an alliance with Siam desirable, nothing is to be expected from any other than an armed negociation. Siam, situated between two powerful neighbours, the Burmans and Cochin Chinese, by each of which her political existence has been several times endangered, is our natural ally, and might derive the most essential advantages from forming intimate relations with the English; but she is by no means sensible of this, and I am persuaded no overtures on our part would be acceptable to that government at present, that had not for their basis the proposition of mutual hostilities against the Burmans. A proposition of this kind, I have little doubt, would be favourably listened to, and if such an occasion should occur, it would be of the highest importance to embrace it, in order to procure the complete liberation of the Malay peninsula from the influence of Siam, an arrangement which might be productive of the highest political consequences.

"In the present state of the matter the Rajah of Queda would certainly assent to any arrangement acceptable to the English; the whole difficulty will be in our being able to commence any kind of negociation with Siam upon a proper basis; but as this must probably be attempted soon, we ought certainly to avail ourselves of the interim to make ourselves accurately acquainted with the territory and resources of Queda, and to obtain more minute information concerning the nature of the connection which has subsisted between Queda and Siam. With regard to these points, the government of Penang might immediately procure materials for, and prepare a report to the Governor-general, for I am pretty certain there are no materials in the

records of that government which can much illustrate the subject. It may, however, be proper to add, that during the temporary government of the late Colonel Macalister an unsuccessful attempt was made to negociate with the Rajah of Queda for the lands in question. Mr. Lawrence, the Malay translator at Penang, who was deputed to proceed to Queda for the purpose of effecting this object, may be able to state the reasons which occasioned the failure; for as the proceedings were carried on solely by the directions of the Governor, I had not the opportunity of official reference to the particulars.

" The following further extract from Mr. Farquhar's report, will, I apprehend, tend to elucidate the view of the subject which I have taken the liberty of submitting to your Lordship, and point out the advantage of a more intimate connexion being formed between Penang and the Malay peninsula.

" ' In all its extensive plans and operations, the British government at Prince of Wales' Island should keep in its recollection that the immediate wants of the settlement have considerably increased, and are likely to become greater every day, and the government should then advert to the important circumstance of supplies from Queda being more within its reach, cheaper to the community, and subject to fewer failures than supplies, which by exertions might be elsewhere acquired. Now as these supplies cannot long be depended upon, under the present conflicting authorities of five or six brothers and an uncle, all equally oppressive and independent, the Company, in order to command provisions for Penang adequate to any demand, must adopt one or other of the following alternatives, *viz.* They must take such a share in the politics of Queda, as to give such a decided preponderance to Tuanku Pau Erang, as will enable him effectually to curb his brothers, and give efficacy to the laws for the security of the ryots; or they must obtain the twelve square leagues opposite this island, and pursue such measures for its government, as promise, with the greatest celerity, to be the means of peopling and cultivating it. Were my opinion asked, in regard to the choice of these alternatives, I should certainly adopt that which places Queda under our own control and management, but both will best secure the object.'

" As your Lordship last year despatched Mr. Campbell as your agent to Acheen, I did not deem it necessary to commence any particular negotiations with that state; but having reason to think that some mark of attention would be agreeable to the young King, I wrote to inform him of the object of the expedition, and to apprize him of your Lordship's intention of accompanying it; and beg leave to refer you to enclosure No. 7, for his Majesty's reply. After the information which your Lordship must have received concerning Acheen, it will, I conceive, be needless for me to enlarge on that topic. The state of the country is still very similar to what it was last year. The power of the King is daily becoming more precarious, and the government rapidly breaking up. Almost all the powerful Chiefs, whether of the

coast or interior, have assumed a virtual independence without formally renouncing the King's authority; while the power of the young King is too much enfeebled to be able either to compel obedience, or to levy the usual taxes and duties for the support of his dignity. One of the principal of these refractory Chiefs is the Pangulu of Susa, one of the districts formerly most productive in pepper. The young King of Acheen is by no means deficient in general abilities, but has been designedly deprived of a proper education by his mother, whose influence in the country is still superior to his own. This circumstance has thrown the Prince, in a great measure, into the hands of about half a dozen of half-caste Portuguese and French; these personages in themselves are of little ability or influence; the most important of them are L'Etoile, a half-caste native of Tranquebar, who is his chief adviser, and chief of the marine, with the title of commodore; and Silveira, a Brazilian, formerly engaged in trade at Macao, but who took refuge at Acheen, or rather Talesimo, on becoming insolvent. The former of these is by no means disaffected to the English; the second is their decided and inveterate enemy, and suspected of being a French agent. His being permitted to reside in the Acheen territory must inevitably prove injurious to the English interests, while to remove him would be very easy, as some of his late proceedings have been very obnoxious to the King. As the country of Acheen, however, cannot possibly be omitted in the general line of policy which it becomes necessary to adopt towards the Malay states, I feel it incumbent on me to state to your Lordship, that without our particular interference to support the influence of the King, nothing can prevent the breaking up of this state in a few years; in which case it will cost us as much trouble, and more expense, to free the coast from the pirates who will rise from its ruins, as constantly happens in the event of the breaking up of any Malay state, than it would cost us, at present, to give effective support to the ancient government, and obtain on amicable terms from the King, any arrangements that we may deem satisfactory and advantageous. These arrangements will probably relate chiefly to two objects, the cession of the port of Acheen, and the farming of the import and export duties of the country. Now, if on the present occasion it shall be our object as far as regards Acheen, merely to prevent the French or other European nations from settling in the country, or deriving any advantages from the resources of the country, the latter must be admitted to be the most simple, easy, and effectual mode of accomplishing that object. The present juncture is the most fortunate that can be conceived for possessing ourselves of this advantage, and not more than two hundred men would certainly be adequate to the attainment of this object, placed under the charge of a resident that could be confided in. The King upon a proper agreement being made would, I have every reason to think, assent to the measure; and by this means we should equally preserve the tranquillity of the country, prevent it from becoming a nest of pirates, and cut off a vast source of illicit trade, which after

our acquiring the dominion of the eastern isles, is more likely to be increased than impaired.

" I have now enumerated to your Lordship the result of my proceedings with regard to the different eastern Rajahs, as connected with the objects of the expedition; but I have still to solicit your attention to several subjects, which require almost immediate consideration; of these, none of the least important is the great island of Borneo. But I have already made this letter too long, and shall only add that I am, &c. &c."

CHAPTER III.

Account of the Eastern Islands—Products of Borneo—Settlements of Europeans in the Island—Celebes—Traffic in slaves—Policy of the Dutch, different policy of the English—Dutch factory at Japan—Trade with—Views connected with the acquisition of Java—Countries from the Bay of Bengal to New Holland—Proposed policy, chain of posts—Chinese in Java—Monopoly of farms, &c.—Arabs, use they make of their religion—Americans, regulation of trade—Dutch orders respecting trade and navigation—Means taken to keep up their monopoly of spice—Cause of the failure of their trading ports—Former policy of the English objected to—Neglect of the British government—Dutch views of Colonies—Causes of deterioration of Malay character—Piracy—Laws—Slavery, sources of in the Malay countries—Laws, want of—Propagation of Christianity—Advantages likely to accrue to the British nation from the acquisition of Java and the Eastern Isles.

To Lord Minto.

" In my last letter (1811) I referred to the island of Borneo, which is not only one of the most fertile countries in the world, but the most productive in gold and diamonds. The camphor which it produces is the finest in the world, and it is thought that it is capable of growing every species of spice. Its eastern coasts, which abound in sago, also produce a greater quantity of birds' nests, sea slug, and other commodities in great demand in the Chinese market, than all the other islands of the East; but the interior has never been explored by Europeans. It may be conjectured that this ignorance of the state of the country is one of the principal causes that no European settlement has hitherto proved advantageous; but has generally been abandoned after a short trial. The only exception to this observation is the Dutch settlement of Banjar Massing, which continued from 1747 to nearly three years ago, when it was abandoned by Marshal Daendels to the Rajah, by agreement, for the sum of 50,000 dollars. The Rajah soon after sent an embassy to the government of Penang, inviting the English to settle in their place; but this application not being attended to, they applied to me on my coming down to Malacca last December, as I had the honour of stating in my former despatches. I shall only add, that during the continuance of the Dutch settlement at Banjar Massing, the expense and revenue were always supposed to be very equally balanced,

and that the abandonment of the settlement was strongly opposed by many of the Dutch.

" The only other territory to which the Dutch have any claim on the island of Borneo, is the coast from Sacadana to Mampawa, Pontiana, which lies about twelve miles up the river, and Landa, which lies about seventy miles up the river of that name, navigable by large boats. This territory they acquired in virtue of a cession from the Sultan of Bantam in 1778; they destroyed Sacadana, and established factories at Pontiana and Mampawa, which they abandoned as unproductive after a trial of fourteen years.

" No other part of the island of Borneo has been settled by Europeans. The English in 1772 intended to have established a factory at Passir, but abandoned the design on some commotions taking place in that state. Its object was to make Passir a depôt for opium and Indian piece goods, and for the contraband trade in spices. In 1774, a short time after the first settling of Balambangan, Mr. Jesse was deputed as resident to Borneo proper, with which state he concluded a treaty, by which the settlement of Balambangan acquired the exclusive trade in pepper; stipulating, in return, to protect Borneo from the piratical incursions of the Sulu and Mindanawi men; neither of the parties, however, fulfilled their agreements, though the residency at Borneo was continued for some years after the first breaking up of the Balambangan settlement in 1775.

" On the N. E. of Borneo proper lies a very considerable territory, the sovereignty of which has been long claimed by the Sulu government, and a very considerable part of which, together with the islands off the coast, have been for upwards of forty years regularly ceded to the English by the Sulus, and has also at different periods been occupied by the English, without any objection on the part of the government of Borneo proper. This ceded district, which extends from the river Kio-manis on the north-west, which forms the boundary of Borneo proper, to the great bay of Towsan Abia, on the north-east, is undoubtedly a rich and fertile country, though in a rude and uncultivated state; and it is admirably situated for commerce, though the different failures of the settlement of Balambangan may seem to indicate the contrary. Balambangan is one of the small islands off the northern extremity of the island of Borneo, and included in the Sulu grant to the English. It would be foreign to the present object, to enter into any details concerning the history of the settlement of Balambangan; but it may be proper to mention, that all the gentlemen who were engaged in the last attempt, were convinced that the bottom of the great Malluda bay would have been infinitely preferable as a settlement, in every respect.

" Balambangan is, in almost every respect, analogous to Penang; it does not admit of territorial extension, and must exist, if it exists at all, by commerce solely. Malluda, on the other hand, is a deep bight in the island of Borneo, which admits of

any degree of territorial extension; may always subsist any number of inhabitants by its own produce; and communicates with the great lakes in the centre of Borneo, in the vicinity of the gold countries, by a land carriage of little more than forty miles. From the inquiries which I have taken every opportunity of making respecting the island of Borneo, I feel perfectly satisfied that no settlement is likely to succeed in that quarter, which is founded on a commercial, instead of a territorial basis. We have already acquired territorial rights, and are likely to acquire more; and, therefore, the only question at present seems to be, whether these can be turned to advantage, either by cultivation or commerce. To this I should have no hesitation whatever in answering, yes; finding the Dayak, or original inhabitants of Borneo, not only industrious in their habits, but particularly devoted to agriculture, and so manageable, that a handful of Malays have, in numerous places, reduced many thousands of them to the condition of peaceful cultivators of the ground. Indeed nothing seems wanting to effect this on a great scale, but a strong government, which can afford efficient protection to property, and safety to the individuals; and in the case of the Dayak, I regard it as an advantage, that they have not hitherto adopted the religion of Islam, and would be ready, from the first, to regard us as their friends and protectors. Another great advantage which attends the formation of settlements in Borneo, is, that there are no territorial claims upon it from any European nation but ourselves. To recommend, however, any thing of the kind immediately, would obviously be premature; as, notwithstanding the length of time which we occupied Balambangan, not only the interior of Borneo is almost unknown, but even a great part of its coasts. This supineness in the government of Balambangan, is perhaps not wholly unexampled; and I fear, it must be admitted that the government of Penang have not been much more active in illustrating the state of the Malay peninsula, or even the provinces of Mergui and its vicinity, to which their attention was particularly directed in the instructions of the Court of Directors to the late Mr. Dundas, on establishing the presidency of Prince of Wales' Island. The want of local information is, indeed, the rock on which the infant settlements of the English have at all times been wrecked; and the fate of several of our eastern settlements were, so early as the year 1759, ascribed to this cause, by the author of the letter on the Negrais expedition: ' Colonies and settlements of every kind must, at first, be attended with many difficulties, which, however, a judicious perseverance will surmount, if there be not some original default in the establishment. It must be obvious to every one, that the English never made a settlement in which they were not impeded by some unforeseen difficulties, so as at last frequently to make abandoning the infant establishment appear the most prudent step, without even hoping any return for the prodigious expense which may have been incurred by the undertaking. Various reasons,' adds that author, ' may be ascribed for this event; but incapacity in the person entrusted with the management, and the want of proper previous

examination of the place, seem to me the most common, and most considerable. Without stopping to inquire how far the want of success in our several attempts to settle Balambangan, may have been fairly attributable to either of these causes, I may safely venture to assert, that it failed the last time chiefly from its being solely a military establishment, without either professional merchants or mercantile adventure being attached to it. The observations which I have submitted with respect to Malluda, apply to it chiefly as a territorial establishment; but there is no doubt that it would speedily attain commercial importance. The contraband trade in spices, which was a principal object in the former attempts to settle Balambangan, is no longer any object to the English. Many commercial views, however, which influenced the original establishment of Balambangan, still exist in equal or superior force, especially those which related to Cochin China, Champa, and Camboja. There are some additional reasons which, perhaps, should require us to direct our attention towards Cochin China. The present King of Cochin China is the true heir and only lineal descendant of the ancient royal family of Siam, which was extirpated by the Burmans about the year 1765, and is considered as such by a considerable part of the Siamese nation; and as the present Siamese government is weak and distracted, it has for some years been considered as a very probable occurrence, that he will soon find or take an opportunity of asserting his claims to the throne of Siam. Though this Prince has derived great assistance from the French in his dominions, on many former occasions, he is obviously jealous of all European interference, and may be considered as more under the influence of the maxims of Chinese policy, than of any European power. He formerly treated our advances with something more than marked indifference; and his disaffection has been so much increased by the result of some transactions with a mercantile house in Madras, that he has lately ordered that no Englishman shall be permitted to set foot in his country. As it is understood by the Portuguese, the only nation to whom any considerable degree of intercourse with his dominions is permitted, that he has lately conquered some districts belonging to the Chinese empire, perhaps an overture to a treaty might be made to him, for the purpose of establishing a tea trade with his dominions, an object which has formerly been conceived to be practicable. It is not, however, probable that any thing more than a very limited and hampered trade would ever be permitted with Cochin China; and this will be the more apparent, if we consider the slavish and humiliating manner in which all traffic still is, and has been, carried on, both with Cochin China and Siam, by the few ships that frequent their ports from Surat and Macao, carrying chiefly gold and silver brocades, chintzes, and the finest cloths of Indian manufacture, Arabian gums, and China ware, with the richest silks. On arriving in port, the most valuable part of the cargo is immediately presented to the King, who takes as much as he pleases; the remaining part is chiefly consumed in presents to the courtiers and other great men, while the refuse of the cargo is then

permitted to be exposed to sale. The part which is consumed in presents to the great men, is entire loss: for that which the King receives, he generally returns a present, which is seldom adequate to the value of the goods which he has received; but by dint of begging and repeated solicitation, this is sometimes increased a little. It is obvious that a trade of this strange nature is by no means accommodated to the habits of Englishmen; and I do not hesitate to say, that it is with the almost unknown countries of Champa and Camboja alone, that we have much chance of establishing an advantageous trade, in the present state of affairs; and before that can be done to advantage, we must make ourselves better acquainted with them.

"This observation might be extended to the Sulu Archipelago, and the great island of Mindanawi, but with respect of both of these, there are other considerations connected with the extirpation of the eastern pirates, which imperiously demand your Lordship's attention. The Sulus are a bold and enterprising race, apparently of the mixed Malay and Philippine breed. They have had frequent wars with the Spaniards of Manilla, and have never acknowledged their authority. The Sulu islands are numerous, but individually of small extent, and situated between the Philippines and the island of Borneo. They have generally adopted the religion of Islam; and though active and enterprising, are in point of character extremely vicious, treacherous, and sanguinary. They are not very numerous, as the inhabitants of the Sulu islands, in their most flourishing state, could not be estimated at more than 60,000 souls, and if we add their dependencies, at about 100,000 souls. About fifty years ago they were much devoted to commerce, and we had a commercial resident in Sulu for some time, about the period of the first settling of Balambangan; it was soon, however, found that the government was too weak to yield any efficient protection, and was forced to be withdrawn. Since that time, it has been subject to constant civil commotions, and the breaking down of the government has covered the Sulu seas with fleets of formidable pirates.

"With respect to the great island of Mindanawi, it is the original source of the Lanuns, the most formidable of all the eastern pirates. This island lies between the Moluccas and the Philippines. The northern coast of this island is under a precarious subjection to the Spaniards. The great Lanun bight is occupied by a number of small chieftains, who have in every age been greatly addicted to piratical practices. The most powerful state on the island, however, is that of Mindanawi, governed by a Sultan of the religion of Islam, though the great mass of his subjects are pagans, in almost every respect similar to the aboriginal inhabitants of Borneo. The state of Mindanawi has repeatedly, on former occasions, attempted to open an amicable intercourse with the English on the most liberal terms. For the present Sultan's sentiments, I need only refer your Lordship to his own letter lately received, in enclosure No. 8, and I allude to it in this place because, from information received from that

quarter, there is great reason to apprehend that the military stores which your Lordship despatched to this Prince by Captain Masquerier, of the brig Jane, have never been delivered. I am informed that the Mindanawi state is at present torn with factions, but that the Sultan still retains his authority in a considerable degree; and I have no doubt that your Lordship's countenance extended to him would, without much trouble, give it tranquillity and stability, and prevent the Lanuns and pirates being augmented by the whole force of Mindanawi, which must be the inevitable consequence of the breaking up of this state. Some explanation of the measures which we may find it necessary to take in this quarter, as well as concerning the general maxims of our policy to the eastward, may probably be due to the Spanish government of Manilla.

" With respect to the island of Celebes, and in particular Macassar, its principal settlement, it will be obvious to your Lordship, that the same reasons which induced the Dutch to occupy and retain it, do not exist for the English. From its situation in the vicinity of the spice islands, and from the spirit of the tribes which inhabit it, their activity and commercial turn, this island has long been a subject of such jealousy to the Dutch, that they have been content to support upon it a losing establishment, for the purpose of repressing the native trade of the inhabitants, and preventing other European nations from forming establishments upon it. But though the Dutch establishment at Macassar, was a losing concern in the hands of that government, it is by no means obvious that this would be the case under a different system of management; the high population of the island, the riches of many individuals, and their expensive taste in dress and other luxuries, would seem to indicate precisely the contrary. It is possible, therefore, that various weighty reasons may be found, independent of the motives which influenced the Dutch, to induce us to retain their establishments on Celebes, or even to enlarge them. Even in its present state the island of Celebes may be reckoned populous, if compared with many of the islands of the East. It has, however, greatly declined since it was settled by the Hollanders, who have not only followed their constant practice of fomenting civil wars, and exciting rebellions and commotions of every kind in Celebes, but have encouraged and carried to a greater extent the traffic of slaves than in almost any other of their eastern possessions. About the period of the first arrival of Europeans in the East, the Macassar and Bugis tribes were among the principal dealers in spices, and the island of Celebes was nearly under the authority of a single sovereign. On the breaking down of this great empire, several lesser states rose from its ruins. By exciting dissensions among these states, and aiding one against another, the Dutch at last contrived to render all the states of the island subservient to their views. The policy which I conjecture we shall subsequently find it proper to follow, is exactly the opposite of this. We may, with great facility, and without much trouble, employ our influence and mediation to heal the dissensions

of the native princes, to establish firmly ancient authorities, check innovations, and prevent civil wars as much as lies in our power; at the same time seizing every opportunity of prevailing on them to discourage and abandon the destructive traffic of slaves. To this nefarious trade, which has desolated this island, as well as all the small islands in its vicinity, the Bugis men and Macasar men have in a great measure been driven by the monopolies of the Dutch, which have, in a great degree, driven the fair merchants from the seas, and left the main to kidnappers and pirates. The increase of security in the country, will produce the increase of both wealth and population, which will of course cause an increase of the consumption of opium, piece-goods, and other Indian commodities. Had it not been for the contraband trade which the English carried on at almost all times, with the states of Wajjo and Mandhar, little doubt can be entertained that the trade of Macasar, in these articles alone, would have compensated the loss which the Dutch assert that they have always sustained from this establishment. Notwithstanding some late disagreements of the English with the Bugis tribes, arising from the impossibility of explaining to the eastern nations the English system of blockade, I do not hesitate to affirm, that the inhabitants of Celebes are generally well affected to the English nation, to which they have always had a strong attachment; and since my return to Malacca I have, to a considerable extent, in several instances, derived essential advantage from the exertion of some of their most respectable traders, in communicating with the native princes. The effect of a liberal line of conduct and policy adopted towards the tribes of Celebes, would certainly be to create a powerful and active nation in the centre of the Eastern Islands, attached to the English by benefits, and looking to them in a great measure for protection; who, without becoming formidable to ourselves, might easily be rendered formidable to any other nation.

" There is likewise another consideration with regard to Celebes, which deserves attention. The Macasar and Bugis tribes are the most bold, adventurous, and enterprising of all the eastern nations, and extremely addicted to a military life. They are equally celebrated for their fidelity, and their courage, and for this reason they have long been employed as the Swiss in Europe, not only in the armies of Siam, Camboja, and other countries, but also as the guards of their princes. They can be recruited with facility, and easily submit to military discipline, and it is probable that better mercenaries could not be found for maintaining several of our Oriental possessions.

" The observations that I have taken the liberty of suggesting to your Lordship, respecting the island of Celebes, apply with nearly equal force to the island Jelolo, or Halamahera, which is situated between the Moluccas and the Papua Islands, as Celebes itself is situated between the Moluccas and Borneo. Jelolo has sometimes, from its form, been denominated Little Celebes; with the western coast of this island

we are at present little acquainted; but the inhabitants of the western coasts, especially those of Osso and Maba, with their Sovereign, the son of our old ally the Sultan of Tidore, have lately taken every means of evincing their tried attachment to the English nation. It appears they have lately afforded every sort of supply, in the most liberal way, to some English whalers, and are proud to declare, on all occasions, that they owe their existence to the liberal supplies which your Lordship was pleased to afford them in their extreme necessity. This nation, like those of Bali and Bugis-land, seems worth the encouraging; and the determined perseverance with which they opposed themselves to all the efforts of the Dutch and their auxiliaries, cannot fail to excite the sympathies of the English nation. The three islands of Bali, Celebes, and Jelolo, occupy the most commanding positions in the centre of different groups of islands, and each of them, without becoming formidable to ourselves, is capable of being rendered extremely formidable, through our means, to any other European power. The different nations which occupy them have always been particularly attached to the English; and no European nation, with the exception of the Dutch in Macasar, have claims on any considerable portion of their territories. I therefore beg leave to submit to your Lordship's particular consideration, whether or not every practical means which may tend to attach and affiliate these nations to the English, will not materially tend to strengthen our interest to the eastward, and even tend to render our influence permanent in these regions, and independent of any arrangement which may take place subsequent to a general peace.

" The only remaining Dutch possession to which it is necessary at present to request your Lordship's attention, is the factory at Japan. The information which I have been able to procure, relative to this factory, is of a very general nature, and my observations, therefore, shall be confined to a very slight sketch of its general management. The empire of Japan has for a long period adopted and carried into effect all the exclusive maxims of Chinese policy with a degree of rigour unknown even in China itself. Previous to the expulsion of the Portuguese and the extirpation of Christianity in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Japanese trade was reckoned by far the most advantageous which could be pursued in the East, and very much superior to either the Indian or Chinese trade. After the expulsion of the Portuguese, a very extensive trade was for some time permitted to be carried on by the Dutch, on account of the benefits which the Japanese conceived they had received from that nation during the Portuguese war, and especially the detection of a formidable conspiracy of some of the Japanese princes to dethrone the emperor, which was detected by the Dutch intercepting the ship which conveyed the correspondence of the conspirators. It was for these reasons that the Dutch originally procured the imperial edict by which they were permitted to trade to Japan to the exclusion of all other European nations. This public act of their ancestors, the Japanese have

repeatedly declared that they will not cancel, but they have done every thing but formally cancel, for a more limited and less free trade was never carried on by one rich nation to another. For more than half a century, the Dutch trade has been limited to two yearly ships from Batavia, the cargoes of both of which scarcely ever exceed 200,000 dollars, and their only profitable returns are in Japan copper and a small quantity of camphor. To shew themselves impartial in their restrictions, the Japanese have limited the traffic of the Chinese, the only eastern nation whom they suffer to trade with them at all, in a similar manner to that of the Dutch, and they suffer no more than six Chinese junks to visit Nangasaki in the year. The trade of the two favoured nations, the Dutch and the Chinese, is also limited to the single port of Nangasaki. In pursuance of their exclusive maxims, and conformably to the terms of their agreement with the Dutch, the Japanese have on every occasion followed an uniform line of conduct, and rejected in the most peremptory manner the various overtures of different nations of Europe, refusing equally to have any intercourse, negociations, or commerce with any of them; it must also be admitted, that the whole foreign trade of Japan, compared with the riches of the country, is absolutely trifling, nor is there any rich or powerful body of men, like the Hong merchants of China, at all interested in its continuance. The yearly presents, whether offered to the governor of Nangasaki or the emperor, are of no great value, and rigidly limited by law and usage, and as the government of Japan is much stronger and more vigilant than that of China, no such abuses can be ventured on at Nangasaki as take place at Canton. From these reasons there is great cause to think, that if the Japanese fully comprehended the nature of the events which have taken place in Holland, and now threaten Batavia, that all intercourse between the Japanese and Europeans would immediately be brought to a termination. The Japanese conceive that they have entered into engagements with the Dutch only while they exist as a nation, and there is the utmost reason to think that in the event of the Dutch merging in any other nation, they would by no means consider these engagements as of any force. Their foreign trade supplies them with no articles of imperious necessity, and is of no advantage to any great national body. Indeed the only persons who have any serious interest in it, is the corps of Dutch interpreters, a small body who follow this hereditary occupation, and have no important influence in the state, and who are required to study Dutch, and to transact business in it, in order that Europeans may have no occasion or opportunity of acquiring the Japanese language; as Japan, however, is almost totally secluded from the rest of the world, it is not probable that these events will be speedily communicated to them by the Dutch factory. A more probable event is, that immediately on the fall of the Island of Java, the Dutch factory at Canton will endeavour to avail themselves of the opening, in conjunction with the Americans, and perhaps the Portuguese, to invest a part of their dormant capital for the Japan market, and advise the Dutch factory of

Nangasaki to keep up the deception, and put the Japanese on their guard against the overtures of the English. Certain it is, that in the case of Japan our superior force can be of no avail to us, but rather on the contrary may excite the greater jealousy.

" The situation of the Dutch factory at Japan is very similar to that at Canton in China, which, as far as regards the establishment in China, may survive all the disasters of both Batavia and the mother country. The Japanese are acquainted with the English, but they have only become acquainted with them from the Portuguese and the Dutch, both of whom were interested in engrossing the Japan trade, and have therefore, no doubt, taken care to prepossess the Japanese in the strongest manner against the English. Indeed, when Captain Pellew visited Nangasaki, about three years ago, though he might have plundered the Dutch factory had it contained any thing valuable, he found that the Japanese would listen to no overtures of intercourse; about the same time they rejected, with equal steadiness, the Russian embassy despatched directly to Japan, refusing equally to admit of any overtures on the part of the Russians, and to accept of the valuable presents brought by the ambassador. The same fate has attended some late attempts of the Americans to establish an intercourse with Japan; and I am strongly of opinion that there is not the least reason to hope that any of our overtures would meet with a more favourable reception, if not supported by the representations of the Dutch who are at present residents in the factory at Nangasaki. I therefore beg leave to state to your Lordship, as my decided opinion, that the only chance which we have for retaining the Japanese trade, is by gaining to our interest the present Dutch residents at Japan, and the Japanese corps of Dutch interpreters, at whatever price it may cost. With respect to the means by which this may be best accomplished, it is probable that better information than we yet possess may be procured at Batavia, before it become necessary to despatch the yearly vessel for Japan, which is about the beginning of March. Every precaution must doubtless be used to secure the reception of an English agent in the first place, and to make the transition as imperceptible as possible from the Dutch to the English. The last Japanese invoices of articles required by the Board of Trade will be found at Batavia, and may be answered exactly; and it will be requisite for the English agent, if received at all, to reside in Japan till the return of the ship next season, according to the Dutch ceremonial; and if in the interim he could acquire the Japanese language, and ingratiate himself with the Bonzes, or religious of the Buddhist sects, much might probably be done to open the Japanese trade on a more liberal scale, especially during the yearly journey to the court of the emperor, when the Japanese nobles and princes are accustomed to visit the envoy in disguise. With regard to the present Japanese trade, it certainly is by no means equal to that of many neglected countries in Asia; but the principal inducement to make efforts for its continuance,

is the prospect of its being opened on a more extensive scale; an event which is very likely to be accelerated by the aggressions of Russia on the Kurile Islands, which properly belong to Japan, and several of which the Russians have already reduced.

"Having thus stated to your Lordship the foregoing observations on specific topics connected with the acquisition of Java, and the fall of the Dutch possessions to the eastward, I shall now briefly advert to some more general views, which appear to be inseparably connected with them, and seem entitled to early attention.

"The annexation of Java and the Eastern Isles to our Indian empire, opens to the English nation views of so enlarged a nature, as seem equally to demand and justify a bolder policy, both of a commercial and political kind, than we could have lately contemplated. The countries which must, directly or indirectly, fall under our influence and authority, form a range of possessions which, with intervals of no great importance, extend nearly from the Bay of Bengal to our settlements on the continent of New Holland. These are occupied, excepting where the Dutch have taken the territorial possession into their own hands, by several small groups of principalities, none of which, taken separately, have any pretensions to the rank of a powerful or independent state. The tribes of which they are composed, though varying radically in customs, manners, religion, and language, and possessing very different degrees of civilization, have long been confounded by Europeans under the general appellation of Malays, a term which may still be retained for convenience. It may be safely affirmed, that about the period when the Europeans first began to frequent these countries, they were not only much more populous, but the governments were more strong and steady, and the inhabitants in general much farther advanced in civilization. The Dutch, solely attentive to their own commercial interests, have, in their intercourse with these regions, invariably adhered to a more cold-blooded, illiberal, and ungenerous policy, than has ever been exhibited towards any country, unless we except the conduct of the European nations towards the slave-coast of Africa. In some instances, as in the case of the clusters of the Isles of Banda, the original inhabitants, when they opposed a resolute resistance to their encroachments, have been entirely extirpated. Whenever the natives have displayed great courage and magnanimity of character, as in the case of the Macasars of Guah, and the Bugis of Soping, these natives have been hunted down with a perseverance worthy of a better cause. Indeed, the domination of the Dutch in the Malay countries, seems to have been maintained in direct opposition to all principles of natural justice and sound policy, and which amply deserves a degree of reprobation little short of their transactions at Amboyna and Batavia, with regard to the English. But however their policy may be characterized, I apprehend that their claims to territorial right in the Eastern Isles, in which all the nations of Europe have so long and so blindly acquiesced, will be found to be very much inferior to what is generally supposed, unless, perhaps, in the

Isle of Java itself. As their claims, of whatsoever kind, must now revert to the French nation, it will be of the utmost importance to ascertain from the original Dutch records, how far their territorial cessions and exclusive privileges do actually extend; also, how far these are absolute, and how far revocable; and, in short, to obtain a complete code of the Dutch treaties with all the Malay princes, since the first commencement of their establishments in the Eastern Isles. The diplomatic importance of such a code will be readily recognized by your Lordship; and in the event of any future negociations in Europe, may prove of the most essential importance. The line of policy which on the present occasion we ought to adopt towards the Malay states, should be as uniform in its features, and comprehensive in its extent, as possible. The various groups of states to which, what may be emphatically termed our Malay policy, may extend, are the following:

"1st. The states of the Malay peninsula. 2d. The states of the Island of Sumatra. 3d. The states of the Island of Borneo. 4th. The states of the Sunda Isles, comprehending the chain of islands which extend from the Straits of Sunda to Timor and Celebes, exclusive of Java, which we may except for the present. 5th. The states of Celebes. 6th. The states of Sulu and Mindanawi. 7th. The states of the Moluccas, comprehending Ceram and Banda. 8th. The states of Jilolo, or Little Celebes. 9th. The Black Papua States of New Guinea, and the Papua Islands in its vicinity.

"These states I shall only enumerate here, as requiring distinct reports on the nature of their connexion with the Dutch, or, as we may now state it, with the French; after which, it will probably appear to be our soundest policy to form the most intimate connections, by treaty, with those which have indisputable pretensions to independence. This policy will, I flatter myself, appear obvious, whether we contemplate the maintaining the Malay isles in permanent possession, or the possible transferring of the Dutch possessions to the enemy in the event of a peace in Europe; in the event of the first alternative, it will enable us to turn these possessions to the greatest advantage, whether a respect be had to our European trade, or the general benefit of our Indian possessions. In the event of the second, we shall secure such a footing among the Eastern Isles, and such a favourable regard among the bravest races, as will baffle all the attempts of the enemy to dislodge us. By fixing ourselves in Banca, Bali, Celebes, and Jelolo, we should have a chain of posts which would prevent the enemy entirely from attaining very formidable power, or deriving his former advantages from the possession of Java and the Moluccas; and by forming a settlement in Borneo, connected with the interior of that country, so fertile, and so rich in the precious metals, we should soon be in a condition to compete with them on equal terms. The whole of the states which I have now specified, have been so much accustomed to European interference and control, that the greater part of them are by no means fitted for the enjoyment of a fair and liberal

independence, nor are they likely to become so for a series of years. At the same time, the treatment which they have experienced from the Dutch has been in general so extremely galling and oppressive, that a more liberal policy can hardly fail of conciliating their affections in a high degree; sufficiently conscious of their inability to stand alone, and warned by the breaking up of some of the oldest and most powerful states, they would gladly ally themselves to so powerful a nation as the English on any thing like fair and equitable terms, by which they might be secured from civil commotions and the oppression of foreigners, without being deprived of all their natural advantages, as under the Dutch domination. Now, as our principal political embarrassment with regard to Java and the Eastern Isles, arises from the danger of these being given up to the enemy, in the event of a peace in Europe, I beg leave to suggest to your Lordship a method of avoiding a part of this danger, which by no means appears impossible, or even arduous to carry into execution, though it is not likely to occur to the Malay chiefs, unless it should be suggested to them. In ancient times, the Malay chiefs, though possessing the titles of Sultan, or Rajah, and in full possession of authority within their own domains, yet all held of a superior, or Suzerain, who was King of the ancient and powerful state of Majopahit, on the island of Java, and who had the title of Bitara. Malacca was one of the first states that shook off this allegiance, and became in the end so powerful as to hold a great part of the Malay peninsula, and of the opposite coast of Sumatra, in a similar dependence, though the sovereigns of these states retained the titles of Rajahs, or Sultans, and exercised their authority within their own territories. Now, though the present Malay chiefs are jealous and punctilious in a high degree about their own titles, they are by no means equally so respecting holding of a superior whose title would save their own dignity; and, I conceive, they might easily be prevailed upon by suggestions to invest the Governor General of India with the ancient title of Bitara, equivalent to Lord Protector, which has become obsolete among them for nearly three centuries, and which would not, I conceive, be reckoned injurious to the dignity of any modern chieftain, whatever titles and epithets he might bear. This would give a general right of superintendence over, and interference with, all the Malay states, which might be acted upon when circumstances should render it necessary; and might be so limited by treaty, as to remove any occasion of suspicion from the native powers. It is of importance, however, that this should appear to be the spontaneous and voluntary act of the Malay chieftains, as by this means it would be less liable to modification in the event of any treaty which may be concluded in Europe with the enemy; but I shall here confine myself solely to the bare statement of the idea, and leave for future consideration its different limitations, and the means which might be proposed for carrying it into execution.

" In the districts that may be reduced under the sole authority of the English,

little doubt can be entertained that we shall best consult our own interests, by a line of policy radically different from that of the Dutch. In all the eastern Dutch settlements, their favourite policy has been to depress the native Malay or Javanese inhabitants, and give every encouragement to the Chinese, who are only itinerants, and not children of the soil, and who follow the general practice of remitting the fruits of their industry to China, instead of spending them where they were acquired. The Chinese, in all ages equally supple, venal, and crafty, failed not at a very early period to recommend themselves to the equally crafty, venal, and speculating Hollanders. They have, almost from the first, been the agents of the Dutch, and in the island of Java in particular, they have almost acquired the entire monopoly of revenue farms and government contracts. At present many of the most respectable Dutch families are intimately connected with the Chinese in their contracts and speculations, and it is only very lately that Marshal Daendels sold the whole provinces of Pasuki to the Capitan China, or head Chinaman of Surabaya. It is even rumoured, that this is not the only instance in which the Marshal has assigned whole provinces over to the unfeeling oppression of the Chinese, for the purpose of raising temporary resources in money. The Chinese have, in Java, been generally left to their own laws, and the regulations of their own chiefs; and being merely temporary residents in the country, they devote themselves entirely to the accumulation of wealth, without being very scrupulous concerning the means. When, therefore, they acquire grants of land, they always contrive to reduce the peasants speedily to the condition of slaves. The improvement of the people, which has never been an object with the Dutch, is much less so with the Chinese; and the oppression which they have exercised in the vicinity of Batavia, has not failed to open the eyes of the Dutch themselves. A late report of the counsellors of Batavia on this subject, accordingly states, that "Although the Chinese, as being the most diligent and industrious settlers, should be the most useful, they are, on the contrary, become a very dangerous people, and are to be remarked as a pest to the country; and that there appears to be no radical cure for this evil but their extermination from the interior, a measure which cannot now be effected." Of the degree of oppression which they are in the habit of exercising towards the peasants, some idea may be formed from the following fact:—The staple grain of Java is rice, and the established rate of ground-rent for rice-grounds in Java, is 1-10th of the crop. Wherever the Chinese are the land-holders, however, they exact, as rent, 5-8ths of the produce of the ground. Wherever they have formed extensive settlements in Java, accordingly, the native Javanese have no alternative but that of abandoning the district, or becoming slaves of the soil; besides, the monopolizing spirit of the Chinese frequently exercises a very pernicious control over the necessaries of life, and the produce of the soil, even in the vicinity of Batavia. If we consider the suppleness and insinuating address of the Chinese, how apt they are on all occasions to curry favour, how ready they are to proffer assistance when there is no danger, and when

they perceive that it falls in with their own interest, we may depend upon their utmost efforts being used to ingratiate themselves with the English. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance to be early on our guard against this pernicious and increasing influence, which preys on the very vitals of the country, draining and exhausting it for the benefit of China. In all the Malay states, the Chinese have made every effort to get into their hands the farming of the port duties, and this has generally proved the ruin of the trade. In addition to these circumstances, it should be recollected that the Chinese, from their peculiar language and manners, form a kind of separate society in every place where they settle, which gives them great advantage over every competitor in arranging monopolies of trade. It also gives them an opportunity of aspiring after political ascendancy, which they have often acquired in the inferior Malay states. This ascendancy of the Chinese, whether of a commercial or political nature, should be cautiously guarded against and restrained; and this perhaps cannot be better done, than by bringing forward the native population of Malays and Javanese, and encouraging them in useful and industrious habits.

" The observations which I have suggested to your Lordship regarding the Chinese, are in a high degree applicable to the Arabs who frequent the Malay countries, and under the specious mask of religion, prey on the simple unsuspicious natives. The Chinese must, at all events, be admitted to be industrious; but the Arabs are mere drones, useless and idle consumers of the produce of the ground, affecting to be descendants of the Prophet, and the most eminent of his followers, when in reality they are commonly nothing more than manumitted slaves; they worm themselves into the favour of the Malay chiefs, and often procure the highest offices in the Malay states. They hold like robbers the offices they obtain as sycophants, and cover all with the sanctimonious veil of religious hypocrisy. Under the pretext of instructing the Malays in the principles of the Mahomedan religion, they inculcate the most intolerant bigotry, and render them incapable of receiving any species of useful knowledge. It is seldom that the East is visited by Arabian merchants of large capital, but there are numerous adventurers who carry on a coasting-trade from port to port; and by asserting the religious titles of Sheikh and Seyyad, claim, and generally obtain, an exemption from all port duties in the Malay states. They are also very frequently concerned in acts of piracy, and great promoters of the slave trade. This class of adventurers it will be our object sedulously to repress, but a regulated trade with any of the commercial states of Arabia, as Muscat, Mocha, or Jidda, may prove extremely advantageous to the Malay countries. The old Sultan of Pontiana, who was on his guard against the machinations of the Chinese, and took effectual means to prevent their either farming his port duties or engrossing his trade, suffered himself to be constantly circumvented and duped by the Arab adventurers who frequented Pontiana. The errors of the father, however, have served in some degree to open the eyes of his son, the

present Sultan; yet he still continues to suffer Arab traders, direct from Arabia, to trade at Pontiana, duty free; and last year this port was visited by two Arab vessels direct from Muscat. This may serve, in some degree, to illustrate the necessity of our establishing an equal and uniform system of port regulations through the whole of the Malay countries; for if the Chinese, on the one hand, are permitted to farm import and export duties, in different ports, they have every facility allowed them to form combinations, in order to secure a monopoly to Chinese traders; and if, on the other hand, the Arabs, under religious pretext, are entirely exempted from duties, they may baffle all competition, and the Malay countries will inevitably be exhausted and drained, and the English deprived of the fruits of conquest merely to the advantage of two foreign nations, that are equally devoid of claims on the English and the Malays. Let the Chinese and the Arabs, as well as the Americans, trade to the eastward, but let their trade be regulated, and above all, let them not be left in the enjoyment of exemptions and advantages which are neither possessed by the English nor the Malays. Since the reduction of the Dutch influence in the East, several of the ports formerly dependant on them have almost become Arab colonies, as Palembang, Tringano, and Telawany on Sumbawa. The evil is obviously increasing every day, and can only be checked by encouraging the native Malays, and regulating on equal terms, the duties of the Malay and other eastern ports.

"Another class of commercial interlopers, who will require our vigilant attention, is the Americans. Previous to the late embargo they were beginning to frequent the islands of Ceram, Goram, and Ceram Laut, with other islands to the eastward of the Moluccas, for the purpose of picking up articles for the Chinese market, such as birds'-nests, sea-slug, or tripang, tortoiseshell, &c., and occasionally engaging in the contraband trade of spices. Of late they have become still better acquainted with many of these islands, from their vessels having been employed by the Dutch. If such active and enterprising traders, who are certainly not particularly well affected to the English, be permitted to trade to the Eastern Islands on equal terms with the English, it will inevitably be injurious to our commercial interests; but if they are permitted the free range of the Eastern Archipelago, perhaps it would be difficult to devise a measure more injurious to our political influence, as well as our commercial interests. The Americans, wherever they go, as they have no object but commercial adventure, and as fire-arms are in the highest request, especially among the more Eastern Isles, these would be considered as the most profitable articles. They have already filled the different clusters of islands in the South Seas with fire-arms, and they would not fail to do the same in the different Eastern Islands. These considerations seem obviously to point to a line of policy, respecting the trade of the Eastern Islands, which in some respects coincides closely with that adopted by the Dutch, while in others it differs from it entirely in ultimate principles.

"In many respects, the commercial policy adopted by the Dutch, with regard to the Eastern Islands, and the Malay states in general, was not only contrary to all principles of natural justice, and unworthy of any enlightened and civilized nation, but characterized by a degree of absurdity, for which it was scarcely worth taking the trouble of being so preposterously wicked. Thus in the Dutch orders, respecting trade and navigation, in the very first article it is stated, that 'All persons whatever are prohibited, under pain of death, from trading in the four fine kinds of spices, unless such spices shall first have been brought from the Company.' After the enactment of a penalty so outrageously disproportioned to the offence, the authentic accounts of their attempts to destroy and eradicate from a vast range of extensive countries, the most advantageous produce of the land, in order to favour their own petty traffic, and their burning a large proportion of the residue, in order to keep up their monopoly price in Europe on a small proportion of this produce, must be viewed by all liberal-minded and intelligent men, with sentiments of equal contempt and detestation. Against errors of this kind, your Lordship's presence in the East will be an effectual preventive; but it may still be questioned whether, in the present state of these countries, it may not be necessary, in the first instance, to retain some traits of Dutch policy. One feature of Dutch policy to the eastward seems to have been the entire exclusion of all other powers, whether native or European, excepting at certain specified ports, under their own immediate influence and control. This policy was as much connected with the political government of the country as with the commercial profits of the Company: for in an Archipelago of such an unparalleled extent, inhabited by tribes of such various character, formidable in a high degree from their very want of civilization, it was necessary to bring forward some of the most powerful and most favourably situated of these numerous states, and to hold them answerable for the proceedings of the smaller districts under their influence. This policy gave rise to the establishment of certain regular and determined trading-ports, and the vigilant suppression of all attempts at competition and independence in the inferior states. Had this measure been conjoined with a liberal policy, tending to facilitate the home trade, as we denominate it, between these privileged ports established by the Dutch, and the various countries under their influence, I apprehend that little doubt can be entertained, that it would have tended materially to promote the civilization and general improvement of all the Eastern nations. Very different, however, was the object of the Dutch agreements with the different Rajahs of the Eastern Archipelago. In some cases it was to secure a monopoly of all the tin, pepper, camphor, or other saleable articles that the country produced; in another, it was to bind the chiefs of the country to destroy the only saleable articles that the country produced, lest the monopoly price of the Dutch should be injured by a greater quantity of such produce being brought to market. The Dutch genius, though exclusively devoted to commerce, has never yet been able to discover, that

in the long-run it must be more profitable 'to make smaller profits on a larger capital, than larger profits on a smaller capital;' and their policy has been not unaptly compared to a man putting out one of his eyes, in order to strengthen the sight of the other. Against the policy of establishing certain determinate and regular ports as emporiums of trade, it does not appear to me that there are any valid objections to be stated: and I therefore submit this measure to your Lordship's consideration, as the most effectual method of preventing the Eastern Islands from being overrun by a multitude of unprincipled adventurers, chiefly Chinese, Arabian, and American, whose presence in these countries will neither tend to strengthen the interest of the British nation, nor ameliorate the condition of the natives.

"If this measure, however, should approve itself to your Lordship, it may still be proper to inquire, in what respects our policy may be considered as superior to that of the Dutch, and how it is calculated to promote the improvement and advantage of the Malay nations in a higher degree than theirs. It must be admitted that the policy which we have hitherto pursued, with regard to the Malay nations, has been by no means of a conciliating or prepossessing nature. Our intercourse with them has been carried on almost exclusively by adventurers little acquainted with either the country or people, who have frequently been more remarkable for boldness than principle. Indeed, the want of any settled basis of traffic, and the long indifference of the British government to the complaints of either party, had produced so many impositions, reprisals, piracies, and murders, that it has fairly been observed, that every eastern trader must have been himself very much in the situation of a trader in spirits, tobacco, and blankets, among the Indians of North America. It was properly remarked by Mr. Farquhar, in his report on Prince of Wales' Island, that this indifference of the British government must have originated solely from the want of information, or from its incorrectness, since little doubt can be entertained that the riches of Sumatra and Borneo are equal to either Brazil or South America, and it is only from the disadvantages, under which we have hitherto entered into the competition, that these great sources of wealth have been so long engrossed by the Dutch, Spaniards, and Chinese. But this previous neglect of the British government we may confidently expect will form no rule for the future, and the benefits which the Malay nations may derive from a close connexion with the British government and nation, are such as there is no probability of their ever deriving from the French or Dutch.

"The doctrine that a colony should always be considered as a distant province of the mother country could never have been received by the Dutch, and the radical want of strength in the government of Batavia must always have prevented them from venturing to act upon it. Of course they must always have contemplated the prosperity of the eastern tribes with the invidious regret of a rival shopkeeper, and regarded their progress in civilization with the jealousy of a timorous despot, which

in point of fact we know they actually did. The power of the English in the East enables them to employ a less timid policy; humanity imperiously requires that they should employ it, and fortunately their own interest coincides with these as an additional inducement.

"The causes which have tended most to the depression of the Malays, and the deterioration of their character, are the following: the civil commotions to which every state is liable from the radical want of strength in the sovereign, and the constant wars between petty chieftains, and heads of villages or districts: the ill-defined succession to the throne, from the doctrine of primogeniture being imperfectly recognized in the Malay states: the prevalence of piracy in all the eastern seas: the system of domestic slavery, with all its concomitant evils, as wars for the purpose of procuring slaves, and the want of general confidence between family and family, man and man: the want of a generally established and recognized system of laws regarding all questions, civil and criminal, in the Malay states: the want of a similar system of commercial regulations respecting port duties, anchorage, and other charges, to prevent arbitrary exactions in the various Malay ports: the discouragement given to regular trade by the monopolies of the Malay Rajahs: the redress of these evils is, in a great measure, in the power of the English nation; it is worthy of their general character, and there is no other nation that possesses the means in an equal degree, even if it possessed the inclination.

"With regard to the feudal wars of petty chieftains, and the civil commotions which constantly agitate the Malay states, these have been greatly increased by the policy of the Dutch, whose authority has been in a great measure maintained and supported by the dissensions which they were in the habit of exciting in the more powerful Malay states. In consequence of this, we find that scarcely a single powerful state now subsists, which was in existence when the Dutch settled in the East. This, however, must not be entirely imputed to the machinations of the Dutch, but originates in part from such radical defects in Mahomedan law. The principal of these are the expiation of murder by paying the price of blood, and a fine to the prince, and the want of an express provision in law against treason and rebellion, and the consequent opinion which is generally entertained among Moslems, that whoever possesses the power of assuming independence possesses the right of declaring it. This evil may be easily corrected by supporting the legitimate authority by our influence, and by that means subjecting the private quarrels of head-men gradually to the general system of established law.

"The want of a well-defined rule of succession to the government in the families of the different Malay Rajahs is constantly productive of innumerable parties, divisions, and civil agitations in every state. This, however, is an evil common to all governments where the Mahomedan religion prevails, though its evils are most felt in a comparatively rude state of society, such as exists in the

Malay countries. This evil was prevented effectually during the Dutch domination, by their assuming the paramount right of granting investiture to every prince who succeeded to the government of a country, and if such a plan, as I have alluded to, were to be adopted by the English, a similar policy, either by granting investiture, or by recognizing the heir apparent, would naturally require to be followed. A regulation of this kind, I have the utmost reason for thinking, would be highly acceptable to all the Malay nations, for among a great number of them, at present, the death of a prince is regarded with horror by all his subjects, as the signal for intestine war, ruin, and devastation.

"Of the prevalence of piracy on the Malay coast, and its being regarded as an honourable occupation, worthy of being followed by young princes and nobles, I have already had occasion to speak. This is an evil of ancient date, and which has struck deep on the Malay habits. The old Malay romances, and the fragments of their traditional history, constantly refer to piratical cruizes. In addition to the cases which I have already enumerated, it may be proper to add, that the state of the Eastern population, and the intolerant spirit of the religion of Islam, have eminently tended to increase this practice. The Arab Sheikhs and Seyyads, whatever doctrines they failed to inculcate, did not neglect the propagation of one, the merit of plundering and massacring the infidels; an abominable tenet, which has tended more than all the rest of the Alcoran, to the propagation of this robber-religion. Numerous and various are the tribes of the Eastern Isles which have not embraced the religion of Islam to this day, and consequently are reckoned infidels. All the great nations of the continent are in the same predicament as the Siamese, Cochin-Chinese, and Chinese themselves. Cruizes against the infidels were, and are, constantly certain of receiving the approbation of all the Arab teachers settled in the Malay countries. The practice of piracy, however, is now an evil too extensive and formidable to be cured by reasoning, and must, at all events, be put down by the strong hand; though precautions against its recurrence may be taken in the system which shall be adopted with regard to the Malay states, by rendering every chieftain answerable for his own territory, and punishing in an exemplary manner refractory chiefs.

"Connected with this evil, though of much wider extent, is the system of slavery in the Malay countries, which, to apply the energetic language of Mr. Pitt to this subject, has been none of the least efficient causes of keeping down these regions in a state of bondage, ignorance, and blood. On the grand evils of the system of slavery, and its necessary concomitant, the man-trade, and its pernicious consequences, whether personal or civil, social or domestic, it is fortunately, at the present period, unnecessary to expatiate, since, by the late 'Act for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade,' that system of crimes is prohibited in all territories in his Majesty's possession or occupation. In the beginning of the year 1806, the Marquis Wellesley abolished slavery throughout India; and your Lordship, by your order of June 4th, to emanci-

pate all the government slaves at Malacca, and to direct that hereafter no slaves shall be purchased or received on account of government, has already given all the Malay nations an earnest of your Lordship's sentiments of the subject. It is certainly to the credit of our countrymen in the East, that they have, at the most early periods, opposed all attempts to introduce the abominable slave traffic into our settlements in the East; and in proof of this, it is only necessary to refer to an act of the Governor in council of Madras of so early a date as 1682, prohibiting this nefarious traffic at that presidency.

" The sources of slavery in the Malay countries are chiefly the following:— piracy, captivity in war, man-stealing, and the penalties enacted in the Malay law respecting debts and sundry misdemeanors. Piracy is often a distinct source of slavery, the surviving crews of vessels which fall into their hands being generally disposed of by sale at the first market, as in the instance of the ship *Commerce*, the crew of which, consisting of Bengal Lascars, are reported to have been publicly sold for slaves at Borneo Proper and Sambas. In many instances they have employed such crews as slaves, both on board their own vessels and on their own settlements, in cultivating the grounds, as at *Ratch*, on the east coast of Sumatra. The numerous chieftains in the Malay countries, and the constant wars which they carry on against each other, is another great source of slavery; the captives taken in such wars are generally employed in domestic occupations, tending cattle, and cultivating the ground, when there is no opportunity of bringing them to market, a circumstance which seldom occurs, since such numbers are constantly required by the Arabs and Chinese traders, as well as the Dutch, that the market is seldom overstocked. Many of the Arab trading-vessels are almost entirely navigated by the slaves of the owners; and in their progress from island to island, they find little difficulty in recruiting their crew, by receiving presents of slaves; or, if that should fail, by kidnapping or man-stealing. This forms a strong argument against prohibiting the range of the islands to either the Chinese or Arab traders; for if this were permitted, the abolition of the system of kidnapping would be absolutely impossible. The pagan tribes in the vicinity of the Moslems, such as the Bali, and some of the tribes of the Bugismen, the Harafuras, the Black Papuas, or Oriental negroes, the original inhabitants of Seram, Goram, and other easterly nations, are, in a great measure, the victims of the man-stealing or kidnapping system; and, as they are only infidels, they are considered as fair booty. Farther inquiries, however, are necessary, in order to ascertain the probable extent of the kidnapping system. But another source of this evil is the nature of the penalties established in the *Undang Undang*, or system of Malay law, respecting debtors and persons guilty of various misdemeanors, by which these are liable to become slaves. As I hope to be able to lay shortly before your Lordship a translation of the Malay laws relative to this interesting topic, I shall not enlarge upon it at present, especially as this brings me to the subject of general

reform of the system of Malay law. It is, however, necessary to mention, that your Lordship's attention will unavoidably be called to the subject of the relief of slave debtors, and perhaps the mitigation of the slave system in the Eastern Islands. On the subject of slave debtors, there is reason to apprehend that the greatest abuses exist, even in the district of Malacca itself, especially among that unfortunate class of men who have become bondmen to the Chinese, and who have very little chance of ever recovering their liberty, however small their debts may originally have been. As the most minute local inquiries must be necessary before any efficient measures can be taken for palliating or removing these evils, I shall, in the present case, content myself with requesting your Lordship's attention to this most serious and important subject.

" Nothing has tended more decidedly to the deterioration of the Malay character than the want of a well-defined and generally acknowledged system of law. The Malay nations had in general made considerable progress in civilization before the introduction of the religion of Islam among them. They had, accordingly, regular institutions of their own, some of which were probably of considerable antiquity, as those of the Javanese, Bugis, and Macasar tribes. As these appear to have been generally derived from the Indian nations, and were radically different from those of the Arabs, some difficulty appears to have occurred in adapting them to the general tenor of Mahomedan law, and divers anomalous institutions appear accordingly to have sprung up in different states. These occur in every department of public law, whether commercial, civil, or criminal, and are recited in the Undang Undang and Addat Malayu, which are the systems of national law among the Malays, and which vary considerably in different states, and still more from the generally acknowledged principles of Mahomedan law, as received by the Arabs. Hence there is in almost every state a constant struggle between the adherents of the old Malay usages and the Hajis, and other religious persons, who are desirous of introducing the laws of the Arabs, in order to increase their own consequence. The evils which result from this complex and ill-defined system, are both numerous and important, as they respect the most essential interests of society, and afford an opening for the caprice and tyranny of their rulers, and general insecurity both of person and property. The Malays are at present in a very different situation from any of the old Moslem states, such as Persia, Arabia, or Turkey. The Moslem religion has hitherto taken only a very partial and superficial root in many of the Eastern Islands. In the interior of all the large islands paganism still prevails; in many districts there are considerable numbers professing Christianity: the Chinese swarm in every Malay country, and live intermingled with the Moslems. This mixture of religions and tribes has tended, in some degree, to soften the intolerance of the Moslem religion among the Malay nations, and neither the positive authority of Islam, nor the persuasions of their Arab teachers, have hitherto been able to

induce them to abandon their own peculiar usages and customs. Considering the Malays, therefore, as more open to instruction than the votaries of Islam in general, I beg leave to submit to your Lordship's consideration, whether the present opportunity might not be taken advantage of to invite the Malay chiefs to a revisal of their general system of laws and usages. This I conceive might be done, even on a great scale, without exciting any umbrage or suspicion in the minds of the people in general, for with some of these usages, especially those which relate to wrecks on the Malay shores, and the commercial regulations of the different ports, it will be absolutely necessary for us to interfere at all events. These commercial regulations form a part of the general Malay laws, and as we must in some degree interfere with these, the same opportunity may perhaps be taken to procure the abandonment of some of those maxims and usages which have the strongest tendency to prevent their progress in information and the habits of civilized life. When the seven Ionian islands were lately ceded to France, the president of the senate offered a prize for the best dissertation on the following question:—" Why do the Ionian islanders occupy themselves only with frivolous and unimportant objects, and by what means may their attention be drawn to things of consequence?" Such are the questions regarding the Malay islands, which now invite your Lordship's attention, and in answer to them the reform of the Malay laws may certainly be specified as one of the most important, and as one of the means by which the benefit of the Malay nations will be secured from their connexion with the English. With respect to the mode in which this may be with greatest facility accomplished, I shall only venture to suggest, that every Malay chief might be requested to furnish a copy of the Undang Undang current in his own state, and to send at some fixed time one or two of the learned men of the country, best versed in the laws, to a congress which might be appointed for the purpose of revising the general system of Malay laws. Such a plan might be attended, perhaps, in the first instance, with certain difficulties; but none, as far as I can judge, which are by any means insurmountable. It would be proper to begin with settling the regulations of a commercial kind; and as these, though copied in many respects from the regulations of the Portuguese and Dutch, are considered as a part of the Malay law, it might be both useful and popular among the Malays to call in the assistance of their learned men.

" Another of the customs injurious to the Malay nations, is the trading monopoly which in most of the Malay ports is actually assumed, or attempted to be assumed, by the Malay chiefs. Of this monopoly there is no trace in the Undang Undang of the Malays, or in the fragments of their history which I have seen, such as the traditional annals of Malacca, and after an attentive consideration, I am induced to think that this pernicious practice has been entirely copied from the monopoly regulations of the Dutch. Where this system has been fully carried into effect, it has generally succeeded effectually in repressing industry and commercial

enterprise : and where it has been for some time established, its evils have been felt deeply, so that there is no doubt but the Malay chiefs could easily be induced to relinquish it in favour of a regulated commerce. The Malay laws and maxims are fortunately of a very different kind from those which have been adopted and systematized among the great nations of the Continent in their vicinity. These nations, especially the Siamese and Cochin Chinese, have long been accustomed to look up to the Chinese, with whom they coincide in religion and manners, and from whom they have adopted their exclusive maxims of foreign intercourse. The Malays, on the other hand, though accustomed to look up to the Arabs as their religious instructors, seldom hesitate to admit the superiority of both the Europeans and Chinese, either to themselves or the Arabs, in the arts of life and general science, and it is certainly our interest to prevent the increase of the Arab influence among the Malay nations.

" From similar considerations, as well as in conformity to the instructions issued from home, the Dutch nation appear to have pursued as a principle of policy, the propagation of Christianity among the Eastern Islands. The same plan had been previously followed by the Portuguese in their various eastern possessions with great success, and there are now several small islands in the Malay archipelago, inhabited almost entirely by Christians of the Catholic persuasion, as the islands of Sanggir and Siaŭk, situated between Jelolo and Mindanawi. In many other islands the Protestant persuasion has made very considerable progress, and teachers in the flourishing times of the Batavian regency were dispersed over all the low chain of islands which extend from Bali and Lambok to the great island of Timor. The islands in which the Christian faith has been most extensively diffused are, the great island Endé, or Manggerai, the isles of Solor Salerang, Lomblim, and Ombai, the great island Timor, and the several small islands in its vicinity, as Savo, Roti, and Samba. In many of these islands the natives, having no written character of their own, have been instructed in the Roman character, and taught to read Malay and other dialects in it. There have also been various religious formularies printed for their use, and translations have been executed for the use of these Christians in some of their languages, which have little or no affinity to the Malay. The propagation of Christianity among these islands is obviously liable to none of the objections which have been urged against it in our Indian possessions. A great proportion of the natives are still Pagans, under the influence of a wild, and almost unintelligible superstition, the principles of which are not recorded in books, but are handed down like stories of ghosts, fairies, and witches, with all the uncertainty of tradition. Accordingly, in most instances, the people, though they stand in great awe of the priests, as enchanters, or dealers with the invisible spirits, are very little attached to the superstition. Many of them are said to be very desirous of procuring instruction, and in some places they look up with a degree of veneration to the Moslems, as a people who

have received something which they still want. Besides, the attachment of the Malays to the religion of Islam is by no means of that strength as to emancipate them from their old usages, nor to inspire them with that contempt and hatred for other religions which is found in many of the older Moslem kingdoms. On the advantages which must accrue from protecting Christianity in these Eastern Islands, and by favouring its propagation in preference to the doctrines of Islam, where it may be so easily propagated, it is unnecessary to enlarge, in addressing your Lordship. Permit me, however, to allude to one remarkable fact, which may serve to illustrate the necessity of attending to the subject as a matter of public importance. In our present settlement of Malacca, the impossibility of procuring servants for wages compels almost every person to have recourse to slaves, and a considerable proportion of these are Pagans, being chiefly Battas from the centre of Sumatra, Balis from Bali, Dayaks from Borneo, besides natives of Timor and the more easterly islands. Of all these slaves that fall into the hands of the English, there is perhaps not a single one that becomes a Christian, but the whole of them become Moslems, and despise and hate their masters as infidels. Such is the woeful effect of our supineness and indifference, which, if they should extend to the East, would certainly not tend to the progress of general improvement among the Malays.

" In these observations I have in some degree avoided alluding to the advantages which may be expected to accrue to the British nation itself, and also to the British possessions in India, from the acquisition of Java and the Eastern Isles, because I am persuaded that the real advantages which these countries possess will be found, under a liberal and enlightened system of management, vastly to exceed any expectations which may be formed in the present state of our information concerning them. In their present state, with the exception of Java, these countries are poor in respect of general wealth, and can only pay in rude produce for the articles which they require from other countries. The rude produce, however, of the Malay countries is of various kinds, some of which are extremely valuable, and equally calculated for the European, the Indian, and the China market. The intercourse between countries rich in manufacturing industry and countries rich in raw produce is universally admitted to be of equal benefit to both. In respect of the Malay islands, India must long be regarded as a manufacturing country, and is particularly fitted to supply a variety of articles in general request among the Malays, without interfering with the industry of the mother country. The trade from India to the Malay countries has hitherto chiefly consisted in opium and piece-goods, for which India has chiefly received back gold-dust, spices, gums, and coffee. I omit the mention of copper, as it is not a native Malay production, but chiefly derived from Japan. The circumstance, however, under which the Indian trade to the eastward has been hitherto carried on, and the insecurity and want of protection under

which it has always laboured, renders the past no criterion of the future, and I have no doubt it may be improved to an almost indefinite extent, as the Malay countries advance in civilization. The Java sugar is at present reckoned nearly on a par with the fine sugar of Manilla, and the Java coffee next to the coffee of Mocha and Bourbon. Either of these productions are capable of being greatly extended. The Dutch, in their usual way, restricted the cultivation of coffee to about ten millions of pounds, though it has been stated that the island of Java is capable of producing at least fifty millions of pounds. The extended cultivation of these articles must, however, be matter for future consideration. Coffee, at present, is chiefly produced in the provinces of Cheribon.

" With regard to the Chinese market, the Malay countries furnish a variety of articles of the most general use and constant demand, and which do not affect either the products or manufactures of either Great Britain or British India. Tin is one of these products, which finds a constant and almost indefinite demand in China, and which is solely produced in the Malay countries and some of the dependencies of Siam. Pepper, which after the acquisition of the Dutch eastern settlements, we shall have the command of, almost as much as of nutmegs, cloves, mace, and cinnamon, is in a considerable demand for the Chinese market, as well as for Arabia and Persia. The quantity of pepper yearly required for the Chinese market has been estimated at 50,000 piculs, that of sandal-wood about 6,000 piculs, besides camphor and benjamin, and a variety of valuable gums, the production of which is nearly confined to the Malay countries. The quantity of pearls, mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell, ivory, birds'-nests, sea-slug, fish-maws, shark-fins, ebony, black and coloured woods, for furniture and dye-stuffs, yearly imported to the Chinese market from the Malay islands, is admitted to be extremely great, but the trade having never been well regulated, it might be difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, to attempt subjecting it to calculations.

" In the present unparalleled state of the European market on the Continent, it is hazardous to venture to allude to it. It may, however, be stated generally, that the acquisition of the Dutch possessions in the East, places the command of the spice trade, together with that of pepper and coffee, besides a variety of other eastern produce, entirely in our hands, and that the Continent must either do without these articles, or submit to purchase them from the English.

" The valuable forests of teak and other ship timber in Java and the other Eastern Isles are acquisitions of the highest national importance in the present state of European politics, and promise to render our navy independent of the stores formerly derived from the precarious friendship of the northern powers. Nor is the acquisition of a range of countries, apparently possessing the most valuable gold and diamond mines in the world, an object unworthy of our notice in our present situa-

tion, in which the drain of our specie has been great in an unprecedented degree, and when for the restoration of the precious metals among us, as a circulating medium, we are likely to be left in a great measure to our own resources.

" To dilate any further on these topics is unnecessary, as on your Lordship's approach to Java, every day will bring forward information to which it is not now in my power to allude. The suggestions which I have already offered may perhaps have already appeared to your Lordship unnecessarily prolix; but in putting you in possession of all the information which I have been able to obtain, and of all the views of the subject which I consider as meriting attention, I have only endeavoured to reply to that confidence which your Lordship reposed in me, in appointing me your Lordship's agent to the Malay states.

" I have now only to congratulate your Lordship on the most splendid prospect which any administration has beheld since our first acquisition of India: the pacification of India completed, the tranquillity and prosperity of our eastern possessions secured, the total expulsion of the European enemy from the Eastern Seas, and the justice, humanity, and moderation of the British government, as much exemplified in fostering and leading on new races of subjects and allies in the career of improvement, as the undaunted courage and resolution of British soldiers in rescuing them from oppression.

" I have the honour to remain, with the highest respect and consideration,

" Your Lordship's most faithful and devoted humble servant,

(Signed) " Thos. Raffles,
" Agent to the Governor-General
" with the Malay states."

Malacca, the 10th June, 1811.

CHAPTER IV.

Lord Minto's great anxiety as to the passage from Malacca to Batavia Naval men opposed to Mr. Raffles—Lord Minto confides in Mr. Raffles—New passage attempted—Arrival off Batavia—Mr. Raffles gives a sketch of the events which led to his being employed in the expedition—Establishment of the French power in Java—Sir Samuel Achmuty's account of the capture of Batavia, and of the battle of Cornelis—Capitulation of the Island—Intercepted letters from Governor Jansens—Lord Minto's opinion of the value of the conquest—Death of Dr. Leyden—Lord Minto places Mr. Raffles in the government of Java—Leading principles of the Dutch government—Projected change of system—English Residents appointed at the native courts—Ancient temples—First Colony of Hindus—Upas poison—Journey to the eastern district.

Lord Minto, in his letter of the 11th of March, 1811, manifested great anxiety regarding the route to be pursued by the expedition on quitting Malacca. Mr. Raffles deeply participated in this feeling.

The difficulty was great of making a passage with a large fleet through an Archipelago, where the wind blows strongly from one point of the compass for several months, where the passage between the islands is often so narrow, that only one ship can pass at a time, and then so close to the land, that the sides of the vessel are shadowed by the luxuriant vegetation extending to the water's edge.

It was found impossible to obtain any positive information; every account was obscure and contradictory. The alternative of two routes presented itself: first, the direct route along the south-west coast of Borneo, which was represented as very difficult and uncertain, if not altogether impracticable. Secondly, the passage round the north and east coast of Borneo, and through the straits of Macasar—this, though supposed to be practicable, was considered eminently dangerous, as well as tedious.

Mr. Raffles thought the difficulties of the south-west passage appeared to be greatly magnified; it had been attempted, and succeeded as often as the attempt was made; he therefore decided strongly to recommend the passage between Caramata and Borneo, and was so satisfied of the correctness of the information which he had obtained, and the eligibility of the course which he had selected, that, in his

own words, he "did not hesitate to stake his reputation on the success which would attend the expedition, if the route he pointed out should be followed."

On the arrival of the expedition at Malacca, this point was to be instantly settled: but very considerable difference of opinion existed. The naval authorities were opposed to the attempt of a new passage; but Lord Minto proved his confidence in the judgment and local information of Mr. Raffles, by embarking with him in his Majesty's ship the Modeste, commanded by Captain the Honourable George Elliott, on the 18th of June, 1811, and leading the way by the route marked out on Mr. Raffles' sole responsibility.

This route was followed with so much success, that in less than six weeks after quitting Malacca, the fleet, consisting of upwards of ninety sail, was in sight of Batavia, without accident to a single vessel. Mr. Raffles often spoke in after times with animated expressions of the pleasure he felt on witnessing this happy termination of the voyage.

The following memorandum on the subject, referring to an intended work on the Eastern Islands, was found after his death, written in pencil by Mr. Raffles:

Opinions as to the Passage.

"The northern route round Borneo was considered the only practicable one, especially for a fleet; but no one could suggest any way of avoiding the dangers of the Bartabac passage, where only one ship could pass at a time with any chance of safety: neither could they demonstrate how it was possible to pass through the Sulu Archipelago, of which very little was known, without being entirely separated; nor, supposing this effected, how the Straits of Macasar could be passed at all, where the winds are proverbially variable, the currents strong, the Borneo coast covered with shoals, and the Macasar coast entirely devoid of soundings. Five weeks was the shortest round Borneo, sailing the 1st of June; but it was just as likely to be eight.

"On the northern passage being given up, no doubt existed, that if the passage could be made on the western side of Borneo, it would be best: the passage between Caramata and Borneo was at length adopted."

Lord Minto, after announcing that he had arrived off the coast of Java, and that the passage was completed during the height of the south-east monsoon, by a fleet of upwards of ninety ships, adds,—

"The expectations which had been formed were verified in every part of the passage, and every thing turned out precisely as had been foretold and proposed, with the exception of finding less difficulty than had been looked for, and the voyage proving shorter than could have been hoped. The whole fleet had assembled on the coast of Java by the 30th of July, forty-two days, or exactly six weeks: the Modeste, if alone, would have done it a fortnight sooner.

" I have been the more particular in detailing these circumstances, because this expedition must have been abandoned for the present year, (an earlier departure than actually took place from India having been found totally impracticable,) if I had yielded to the predicted difficulties of the passage."

The following letter to an intimate associate of Mr. Raffles' early years, was written when the fleet reached the coast of Java, and shews his buoyancy of spirit even in seasons of the greatest anxiety:

" You are, either from inclination or habit, so bad a correspondent, that I barely get an acknowledgment of my letters, much less an assurance that they are well received. However, *coûte qu'il coûte;* be it as it may, I'll speak to thee, call thee Friend, dear Ramsay, be thy intent wicked or charitable.

" You always said I was a strange wild fellow, insatiable in ambition, though meek as a maiden; and perhaps there is more truth than otherwise in what you said; but with all, I will assure you this, that although, from want of self-confidence and from natural shamefacedness, (for I will not call it modesty or bashfulness,) I am as unhappy at times as any poor wretch need be, I have times in which I am as happy as I think it possible for man to be; and it is one of these life-inspiring moments that I now purpose passing with you *à la distance;* and notwithstanding my inclination of hearing, rather than being heard, I must for once venture to be the historian of my own tale.

" You shall have an account since I quitted Penang in June, 1810, and that in as few words as possible.

" My friend, Admiral Drury, our late naval Commander-in-chief, informed me by letter in June, last year, that he had exerted all his interest with Lord Minto, the Governor-General, to obtain for me the situation of Governor of the Moluccas. That his Lordship was most favourably disposed towards me; and that, as far as it rested with Sir George Barlow, or the Governor-General, I might be satisfied they wished to avail themselves of my services.

" The expedition against the Isle of France was about to sail. On its success depended a still greater expedition—the attack of Java. To the latter, therefore, I attached myself; was admitted to the fullest and most unreserved confidence of the Supreme Government, and in due time proceeded on a political mission to the Eastern Isles, as the *Avant Courier* of the expedition. I fixed my head-quarters at Malacca, made the political impressions and intimations that were necessary, and furnished the requisite information. The expedition, consisting of about ninety sail, arrived at Malacca the end of May; and on the 18th of June, having seen the whole off, and having been previously joined by the Governor-General, I embarked with his Lordship in the Modeste frigate, acting in the capacity of his chief secretary. We are now off the coast of Java, having come a-head of the fleet; but we expect them to-morrow, and the attack will be made in the course of the week.

" Of the importance of this conquest, the views that naturally present themselves on such an occasion, and the share I have had in bringing the important point so near a conclusion, I need not speak; you have the opportunity of seeing the government proceedings, which will be sufficiently satisfactory.

" I beg that you will write me to Batavia by any vessel coming direct, or by way of India or China—if you really knew the pleasing satisfaction I derive from having even three words from you, I think you would not decline; at the same time, I must say, that you are the most famous hand for a short letter that I ever knew, and in truth this is hardly reasonable, for in comparison you cannot have much to do—I have, on the contrary, my hands full at all times, witness the papers sent in by me on record, and reflect on the numerous papers and affairs that I get through which never reach England.

" I wish very much to hear what is said of my political ideas respecting the government of the eastward. Adieu, my dear Ramsay, for the present, my paper is out, and dinner is announced, so farewell—I will write you more fully after we are settled. Conquer we must.

" Your's always.

" T. S. R."

Still further light may be thrown upon the views and motives by which Mr. Raffles was influenced in these important proceedings, and the feelings of satisfaction which, at the interesting moment of his arrival off Batavia so powerfully possessed his mind, by the following letter from him to Dr. Raffles, though written after a lapse of several years.

" Some months had now elapsed, and it was to be feared that arrangements for the administration of the Malaccas were already in progress. Yet the chance of being in time, and the expectation of still further advancing my interests with Lord Minto, weighed with me in the resolution I took, of proceeding in person to Bengal. My attention had long been directed to the state of the Dutch possessions to the eastward, and as rumours were afloat of a projected armament going against the Isle of France, it occurred to me that the information I possessed respecting Java might be useful, and possibly turn the attention of our Government in that direction. I accordingly left my family and proceeded to Calcutta in a small and frail vessel, the only one which offered, but in which all my future prospects had well nigh perished. On my arrival in Bengal I met with the kindest reception from Lord Minto. I found that though the appointment to the Maluccas had not actually taken place, it was promised to another. I in consequence relinquished all idea of it, and at once drew his Lordship's attention to Java, by observing that there were other islands worthy of his Lordship's consideration besides the Maluccas; Java, for instance. On the mention of Java his Lordship cast a look of such scrutiny, anti-

cipation and kindness upon me, as I shall never forget—' Yes,' said he, ' Java is an interesting island—I shall be happy to receive any information you can give me concerning it.' This was enough to encourage me; and from this moment all my views, all my plans, and all my mind were devoted to create such an interest regarding Java as should lead to its annexation to our Eastern empire, although I confess that I had never the vanity to expect that when this object was accomplished, so important an administration would have been entrusted to my individual charge, that I should have been entrusted with what Mr. Marsden emphatically observes, was ' as great a charge as a nation could entrust to an individual.'

" It is unnecessary to enter on the detail which followed—the fall of Bourbon, and the anticipation of success at the Isle of France, encouraged a plan for the conquest of Java. As it in a great measure originated with me, and as it was almost entirely on my information that the decision was taken, I naturally took a conspicuous part, although little or nothing met the public eye. Perhaps no secret was ever better kept than the projected scheme against Java, for until it was publicly announced, and the intention of the Governor-General to proceed in person was made known, not a word was surmised or whispered on the subject.

" As an *avant courier,* and to prepare the way for the expedition, I was appointed Agent to the Governor-General with the Malay states, and took up my head-quarters at Malacca, where the rendezvous was fixed. I remained here as representative to the Governor-General until his Lordship arrived, when, instead of the designation of Agent, I was styled Secretary to the Governor-General; in this capacity I accompanied his Lordship to Java. Various doubts, difficulties, and I might say, insurmountable obstacles, had been started to prove the impossibility of the expedition proceeding to Java during the present season. The opinion of the naval Commander-in-chief, and indeed of all constituted authorities, was decidedly against it—it was in fact pronounced impracticable. Lord Minto alone stood firm, and placed his entire and unreserved reliance in the opinion which I had given him on the subject. I had ascertained the practicability by an experiment in a small vessel, ' the Minto,' commanded by Captain Greigh, a most intelligent and zealous officer, who had been placed under my orders, and to whom I am indebted for the discovery of the passage by the coast of Borneo. At the period that the expedition sailed from Malacca, it was uncertain by which route it would proceed. I really believe no fixed route was determined on, and Lord Minto had too much judgment and precaution to interfere. He placed the information he possessed within the reach of the senior naval officer, and fortunately it was acted upon. On the 4th of August, 1811, the whole of the fleet, consisting of upwards of ninety vessels, arrived off the coast of Java, without the loss of a single spar, or slightest accident, having passed by a route previously almost unknown, and accomplished a passage declared to be impracticable. I will not attempt to say what my feelings were on the occa-

sion. We had separated from the fleet for a few days, and it was only when we again joined them that we saw all the divisions united, at the close of one of the finest days I ever recollect, and this in sight of the *land of promise.* Lord Minto, while at Malacca, had communicated his intention of appointing me to the government, in case of success, and as I had nothing to do with the military operations, I now looked upon my part as completed; perhaps so great a responsibility was never for so long on the head of a single individual, and the relief which I felt was proportionate."

Before the expedition sailed from Malacca, it was ascertained that Marshal Daendels had been succeeded in the government and command of Java by General Jansens, who was making all preparations within his power to meet the expected invasion by the English.

The following letter from Sir Samuel Achmuty to Lord Minto contains an account of the capture of Batavia.

To the Right Honourable Lord Minto, Governor-General, &c. &c. &c.

Head Quarters, Weltevreeden, August 31, 1811.

" My Lord,

" After a short but arduous campaign, the troops you did me the honour to place under my orders, have taken the capital of Java, have assaulted and carried the enemy's formidable works at Cornelis, have defeated and dispersed their collected force, and have driven them from the kingdoms of Bantam and Jacotra. This brilliant success over a well-appointed and disciplined force, greatly superior in numbers, and in every respect well equipped, is the result of the great zeal, gallantry, and discipline of the troops, qualities they have possessed in a degree certainly never surpassed. It is my duty to lay before your Lordship the details of their success, but it is not in my power to do them the justice they deserve, or to express how much their country is indebted to them for their great exertions.

" Your Lordship is acquainted with the reasons that induced me to attempt a landing in the neighbourhood of Batavia. It was effected without opposition, at the village of Shillinching, twelve miles east of the city, on the 4th instant. My intention was to proceed from thence, by the direct road to Cornelis, where the enemy's force was said to be assembled in a strongly fortified position, and to place the city of Batavia in my rear, from whence alone I could expect to derive supplies, equal to the arduous contest we were engaged in.

" As some time was required to make preparations for an inland movement, I judged it proper to reconnoitre the road by the coast leading to Batavia, and observe how far it would be practicable to penetrate by that route. I was aware that it was extremely strong, and if well defended nearly impracticable. Advancing with part of the army, I had the satisfaction to find that it was not disputed with us, and the only

obstacle to our progress was occasioned by the destruction of the bridge over the Aujal river. I approached the river on the 6th, and observing, during that evening, a large fire in Batavia, I concluded it was the intention of the enemy to evacuate the city, and with this impression I directed the advance of the army, under Colonel Gillespie, to pass the river in boats on the succeeding night. They lodged themselves in the suburbs of the city, and a temporary bridge was hastily constructed on the morning of the 8th, capable of supporting light artillery. On that day the Burghers of Batavia applied for protection, and surrendered the city without opposition, the garrison having retreated to Weltevreeden.

" The possession of Batavia was of the utmost importance. Though large storehouses of public property were burnt by the enemy previous to their retreat, and every effort made to destroy the remainder, we were fortunate in preserving some valuable granaries and other stores. The city, although abandoned by the principal inhabitants, was filled with an industrious race of people, who could be particularly useful to the army. Provisions were in abundance, and an easy communication preserved with the fleet.

" In the night of the 8th, a feeble attempt was made by the enemy to cut off a small guard I had sent for the security of the place, but the troops of the advance had, unknown to them, reinforced the party early in the evening, and the attack was repulsed. The advance, under Colonel Gillespie, occupied the city on the 9th.

" Very early on the morning of the 10th, I directed Colonel Gillespie with his troops to move from Batavia towards the enemy's cantonment at Weltevreeden, supported by two brigades of infantry that marched before break of day through the city, and followed his route. The cantonment was abandoned, but the enemy were in force a little beyond it, and about two miles in advance of their works at Cornelis. Their position was strong, and defended by an abbatis, occupied by 3000 of their best troops, and four guns of horse-artillery. Colonel Gillespie attacked it with spirit and judgment, and after an obstinate resistance, carried it at the point of the bayonet, completely routed their force, and took their guns. A strong column from these troops advanced to their support, but our line being arrived, they were instantly pursued, and driven under shelter of their batteries. In this affair, so creditable to Colonel Gillespie, and all the troops of the advance, the grenadier company of the 78th, and the detachment of the 89th regiment, particularly distinguished themselves, by charging and capturing the enemy's artillery. Our loss was trifling compared with the enemy's, which may be estimated at about 500 men, with Brigadier-General Alberti, dangerously wounded.

" Though we had hitherto been successful beyond my most sanguine expectations, our further progress became extremely difficult, and somewhat doubtful. The enemy, greatly superior in numbers, was strongly entrenched in a position between the great river of Jacotra, and the Sloken, an artificial water-course, neither

of which was fordable. This position was shut up by a deep trench, strongly palisadoed. Seven redoubts, and many batteries, mounted with heavy cannon, occupied the most commanding grounds within the lines. The fort of Cornelis was in the centre, and the whole of the works were defended by a numerous and well organized artillery. The season was too far advanced, the heat too violent, and our number insufficient to admit of regular approaches. To carry the works by assault was the alternative, and on that I decided. In aid of this measure, I directed some batteries to disable the principal redoubts, and for two days kept up a heavy fire from twenty eighteens, and eight mortars and howitzers. Their execution was great, and I had the pleasure to find, that though answered at the commencement of each day, by a far more numerous artillery, we daily silenced their nearest batteries, considerably disturbed every part of their position, and were evidently superior in our fire.

" At dawn of day on the 26th, the assault was made, the principal attack was entrusted to that gallant and experienced officer, Colonel Gillespie; he had the infantry of the advance, and the grenadiers of the line with him, and was supported by Colonel Gibbs, with the 59th regiment, and the 4th battalion of Bengal volunteers. They were intended to surprise, if possible, the redoubt constructed by the enemy beyond the Sloken, to endeavour to cross the bridge over that stream with the fugitives, and then to assault the redoubts within the lines; Colonel Gillespie attacking those to the left, and Colonel Gibbs to the right. Lieutenant-Colonel M'Cleod, with six companies of the 69th, was directed to follow a path on the bank of the great river, and when the attack had commenced on the Sloken, to endeavour to possess himself of the enemy's left redoubt. Major Yule, with the flank troops of the reserve, reinforced by two troops of cavalry, four guns of the horse-artillery, two companies of the 69th, and the grenadiers of the reserve, was directed to attack the troops at Campong Malayu, on the west of the great river, and endeavour to cross the bridge at that fort. The remainder of the army, under Major-General Wetherall, was at the batteries, where a column under Colonel Wood, consisting of the 78th regiment, and the 5th volunteer battalion, was directed to advance against the enemy in front, and at a favorable moment, when aided by the other attacks, to force his way, if practicable, and open the position for the line.

" The enemy was under arms, and prepared for the combat, and General Jansens, the Commander-in-Chief, was in the redoubt where it commenced. Colonel Gillespie, after a long action through a close and intricate country, came on their advance, routed it in an instant, and with a rapidity never surpassed, and under a heavy fire of grape and musketry, possessed himself of the advanced redoubt. He passed the bridge with the fugitives, under a tremendous fire, and assaulted and carried with the bayonet the redoubt, after a most obstinate resistance. Here the

two divisions of this column separated. Colonel Gibbs turned to the right, and with the 59th, and part of the 78th, who had now forced their way in front, carried the redoubt. A tremendous explosion of the magazine of this work (whether accidental or designed is not ascertained) took place at the instant of its capture, and destroyed a number of gallant officers and men, who at the moment were crowded on its ramparts, which the enemy had abandoned. The redoubt, against which Lieutenant-Colonel M'Cleod's attack was directed, was carried in as gallant a style; and I lament to state, that most valiant and experienced officer fell at the moment of victory. The front of the position was now open, and the troops rushed in from every quarter.

" During the operations on the right, Colonel Gillespie pursued his advantage to the left, carrying the enemy's redoubts towards the rear, and being joined by Lieutenant-Colonel M'Cleod, of the 59th. With part of that corps, he directed him to attack the park of artillery, which that officer carried in a most masterly manner, putting to flight a body of the enemy's cavalry, that formed and attempted to defend it. A sharp fire of musketry was now kept up, by a strong body of the enemy, who had taken post in the lines, in front of Fort Cornelis, but were soon driven from thence, the fort taken, and the enemy completely dispersed. They were pursued by Colonel Gillespie with the 14th regiment, a party of Sepoys, and the seamen from the batteries under Captain Sayer, of the Royal Navy; by this time the cavalry and horse-artillery had effected a passage through the lines, the former commanded by Major Travers, and the latter by Captain Noble; and, with the gallant Colonel at their head, the pursuit was continued till the whole of the enemy's army was killed, taken, or dispersed.

" Major Yule's attack was equally spirited; but after routing the enemy's force at Campong Malayu, and killing many of them, he found the bridge on fire, and was unable to penetrate further.

" I have the honour to enclose a return of the loss sustained, from our landing on the 4th to the 26th inclusive. Sincerely I lament its extent, and the many valuable and able officers that have unfortunately fallen; but when the prepared state of the enemy, their numbers, and the strength of their positions are considered, I trust it will not be deemed heavier than might be expected. Theirs has greatly exceeded it; in the action of the 26th, the numbers killed were immense, but it has been impossible to form any accurate statements of the amount. About 1000 have been buried in the works; multitudes were cut down in the retreat; the rivers are choked up with the dead, and the huts and woods were filled with wounded, who have since expired. We have taken near 5000 prisoners, among whom are 3 general officers, 34 field-officers, 90 captains, and 150 subaltern officers. General Jansens made his escape with difficulty during the action, and reached Buitenzorg, a distance of thirty miles, with a few cavalry, the sole remains

of an army of 10,000 men. This place he has since evacuated, and fled to the eastward. A detachment of our troops is in possession of it.

" The superior discipline and invincible courage, which has so highly distinguished the British army, were never more fully displayed; and I have the heartfelt pleasure to add, that they have not been clouded by any acts of insubordination.

" I have the honour to enclose a copy of the orders I have directed to be issued, thanking the troops in general for their services, and particularizing some of the officers, who from their rank or situations were more fortunate than their equally gallant companions, in opportunities of distinguishing themselves, and serving their sovereign and their country.

" But I must not omit noticing to your Lordship, the very particular merit of Colonel Gillespie, to whose assistance in planning the principal attack, and to whose gallantry, energy, and judgment in executing it, the success is greatly to be attributed. To the general staff of the army, as well as my own staff, I feel myself particularly indebted. The professional knowledge, zeal, and activity of Colonel Eden, Quarter-Master-General, have been essentially useful to me; but I cannot express how much I have benefited by the able assistance and laborious exertions of Colonel Agnew, the Adjutant-General, an officer whose active and meritorious services have frequently attracted the notice, and received the thanks of the Government of India.

" It is with particular pleasure, I assure your Lordship, that I have received the most cordial support from the Honourable Rear-Admiral Stopford, and Commodore Broughton, during the period of their commanding the squadron. The former was pleased to allow a body of 500 seamen, under that valuable officer, Captain Sayer of the Leda, to assist at our batteries. Their services were particularly useful; and I have the satisfaction to assure you, that both the Artillery and Engineers were actuated by the same zeal in performing their respective duties, that has been so conspicuous in all ranks and departments, though from the deficiency of the means at their disposal, their operations were unavoidably embarrassed with uncommon difficulties.

" I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,
" Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) " S. Achmuty,
" Lieutenant-General."

The troops were landed on the 4th of August, 1811; the battle of Cornelis was fought on the 26th; Lord Minto published his Proclamation on the 11th of September; but the final capitulation of the island was not signed till the 18th September, 1811, by General Jansens and Sir Samuel Achmuty, at Samarang, whither General Jansens had retreated after his defeat at Cornelis.

The following is a literal copy of a letter from General Jansens to a Dutch gentleman employed in a public capacity, which was intercepted, and is a curious specimen of official correspondence:

Samarang, le 2 Septembre, 1811.

" Avec indignation, j'ai reçu votre précédente lettre et la derniere du 30 d'Août de Samarang.

" Si la Trésorerie du gouvernement, si celle des veuves et orphélines sera perdu, alors cela sera uniquement à attribuer à votre lâche, des-obéissant, et infame comportement.

" Vous avez aucun ami, jamais on ne rencontra personne, qui ne vous portât de haine ou ne vous méprisât, par expérience j'ai su, mais, hélas! trop tard, qu'on vous a rendu justice, en vous détestant.

" Votre beau frère repond avec activité à ses devoirs, il aura pour cela dans une âme calme, la recompense, mais cela sera toujours un creve cœur, d'avoir un indigne frère comme vous.

" Que vous ayez peur pour des soldats sans subordination et pour des brigands, cela je ne prend pas de mal, mais vous saviez qu'il y avoit un centaine d'officiers en arrière de vous, et pour cela vous n'auriez pas dû abandonner contre votre serment et devoir, votre poste, mais rester dans le voisinage de ces officiers.

" Mon devoir m'appelloit périr ici, pour rassembler tous les ressources qui existent encor, vous auriez dû faire autant, dans votre situation et les chefs de l'intérieur seroient certainement restés fidèles.

" On se comptoit pour le plus grand malheur d'être votre subordonné, il est aussi bien misérable de vous avoir eu pour subalterne.

" Le Gouverneur-Général.

" A Monsieur Vickens." " Signed, W. Jansens."

(Intercepted at Cheribon, 11th September, 1811.)

Lord Minto announced the capture of Java to the authorities in England, in the following terms:

" An Empire, which for two centuries has contributed greatly to the power, prosperity, and grandeur of one of the principal and most respected states in Europe, has been thus wrested from the short usurpation of the French government, added to the dominion of the British crown, and converted from a seat of hostile machination and commercial competition, into an augmentation of British power and prosperity."

The government of this Empire was bestowed, with a feeling and confidence honourable to the giver, and no less gratifying to the person on whom such a high and noble trust was reposed.

Though partly pledged to another, Lord Minto declared he could not conscientiously withhold it from him who had won it; and, therefore, "as an acknowledgment of the services he had rendered, and in consideration of his peculiar fitness for the office," he immediately appointed Mr. Raffles to it, under the title of Lieutenant-Governor of Java and its Dependencies.

The charge was of the most extensive, arduous, and responsible nature, comprising, on the island of Java alone, a population of six millions, divided into thirty residencies, under powerful chiefs, who had been long desirous of throwing off the European yoke, and who were consequently by no means disposed to submit quietly to the rule of their new governors.

Before the conquest of Java by the English, the Dutch had only subdued, unconditionally, one of the four principal kingdoms into which the island was divided. The small kingdom of Jakotra, extending from Cheribon to Bantam, and in which the city of Batavia, so long the admiration and dread of the Eastern States, is situated, alone acknowledged the sovereignty of the European power; so that, in fact, the principal part of the island was still to conquer.

An event occurred at this time to interrupt the satisfaction, and humble the heart that might have been too much elated at the success which had crowned the expedition. Dr. Leyden was seized with a fever a few days after he reached those shores, on which he hoped to *slake his ardent thirst for knowledge,* and expired in the arms of his friend.

This loss was deeply mourned by Mr. Raffles, who had anticipated the happiness of having, as an inmate of his family, one with whom he could take counsel both in public and private; whose judgment would aid, whose affection would cheer, and whose society would brighten the care and troubles of the responsible situation he was about to undertake.

Lord Minto remained in Java six weeks, and was incessantly occupied in arranging the form of government, laying down the principles upon which it was to be conducted, forming plans for the suppression of piracy, and consulting with the future Governor of the island on various points of anticipated difficulty. One of two courses was to be taken: either to abandon the island to the natives after having plundered it, or to retain it in our own hands.

It is difficult to imagine that the first-mentioned plan was ever agitated; but truth requires it to be stated, that it was seriously contemplated, and checked only by the energy and determination of Lord Minto. It has been already said, that he took upon himself the responsibility of acting on a more benevolent principle, and determined to do all in his power to promote the happiness of those whom the fortune of war had placed under his orders.

Mr. Raffles communicated to Mr. Marsden his appointment to the government of Java in the following letter:

From Mr. Raffles to Mr. Marsden.

Weltevreeden, (near Batavia,) Java, October 5th, 1811.

" My Dear Sir,

" The press of public business at the present moment is so great, that I am sure you will excuse me from entering at length into any subject. The public prints will inform you of the great and invaluable conquest which we have made, and I shall only add that, after having been employed for above a year as agent to the Governor-General in obtaining information, forming plans, and bringing to a focus the intentions of government against this place, I have now the satisfaction to be installed Lieutenant-Governor of the Island of Java and its dependencies.

" No man better than yourself can appreciate the value of this new acquisition to the British empire—it is in fact *the other India.*

" My time has been so completely taken up in political operations, that I have been compelled for many months to leave my literary labours on the shelf untouched; but my present situation, and our new conquest, afford such a wide and unparalleled field for research, that I should be worse than Goth or Vandal if I allowed it to remain untried even in the literary way.

" Lord Minto is now here, and we have it in contemplation to bring forward the Batavian Asiatic Society as soon as circumstances admit. I do not know whether you have heard that we held a meeting of the Asiatic Society at Malacca on our way down. I sent you from thence a paper of mine intended for the next volume of the Researches.

" If it were possible to get it copied in time I would send you by the present conveyance a copy of my last report to Lord Minto on the eastward. I hope I shall be able to send it by the next ship, as it will put you in full possession of the enlarged views which have lately opened to us in the East.

" You will, I am sure, condole with me, as the friend of literature and virtue, in the loss I have lately sustained in the death of my dear friend, Doctor Leyden;—he died at this place on the 27th of August, of a fever. We have lost in him a host of men. Had you known him, you would never have ceased to deplore his death.—Eastern literature has lost in him its firmest support.

* * * * * *

" I am happy to inform you that I have large and valuable collections on various points connected with your favourite studies; these I shall, as soon as possible, put into some kind of form.

" I hope by the first arrival to receive your new edition of Sumatra. How goes on the Dictionary?

" Your's faithfully,

" T. S. R."

Lord Minto, during his stay in Java, made several arrangements for the suppression of piracy; and having, whilst he was at Malacca during the progress of the expedition, received ambassadors from the state of Banger Masing, courting the alliance of the English, his Lordship appointed Mr. Hare resident of this place, with the view of checking this destructive system of native warfare.

In order to appreciate the difficulties of the situation in which Mr. Raffles was placed, the extent of the changes which it was requisite to introduce, and the views which he formed of the principles of government, it will be necessary to advert very briefly to one or two leading principles of the Dutch rule.

One of the chief sources of the Dutch revenue was the monopoly by government of the grain and other produce of the land, which the cultivators were required to deliver at an inadequate and arbitrary rate, which articles were afterwards dealt out to the consumer at a far higher price, so that, in fact, the whole body of the people depended on the government for their very subsistence. The principle of encouraging industry in the cultivation and improvement of the country, by creating an interest in the effort and fruits of that industry, was wholly unknown.

The mode of collecting this revenue in kind remained with the Regent of the district, leaving the cultivators no security beyond the claims of usage and custom; and although custom prescribed a certain portion only of the crop to be delivered, there were no positive means of preventing a greater levy. Thus, while the power and influence of authority could be successfully exerted to stifle complaints, the peasant, though suffering the greatest injustice, despairing of relief, would endure almost any privation and suffering rather than quit the land of his forefathers, to which he felt himself attached by the strongest ties of religion, of habit, and of affection.

Feudal service was another of the grievances and oppressions under which the natives groaned. No means existed of affording a direct controul on the demands for labour. The public officers of the Dutch government universally employed the services of the people without regular hire. Their demands were unlimited. The native chiefs followed the same system. No check existed; and thus the energies of the people were crushed, and their labour frittered away, becoming productive neither to themselves nor to the state. In short, they were reduced to the lowest state of vassalage and subjection. To this ruinous system was to be added the pressure arising from the failure of external commerce.

The Dutch government, forced to look within itself for relief, discovered the embarrassments to be daily increasing. Under this exigency, the funds of public societies were appropriated to the government treasury; and the private property of individuals was forcibly borrowed in the same manner. An arbitrary increase of paper-currency was issued, to provide for the daily expences of the State; and this being found inadequate, the government were compelled to deliver a proportion of colonial produce in payment of these establishments, or, in other words, to pawn the

produce in store, to satisfy the current demands upon the public treasury. Such was the financial state of the country at the period when the English assumed the administration of Java.

It would be endless to notice the difficulties and obstacles which occurred in the establishment of a pure and upright administration. Not only was the whole system previously pursued by the Dutch to be subverted, but an entire new one substituted, as pure and liberal as the old one was vicious and contracted; and this was to be accomplished and carried into effect by the very persons who had so long fattened on the vices of the former policy. Some few were sufficiently enlightened to perceive the advantages of the new system: two of these, Mr. Cransen and Mr. Muntinghe, on this account, were regarded by Mr. Raffles with the highest esteem.

Those who know how difficult it is to carry on a government, even where the choice of agents is great, where each well knows the duty which he has to perform, and where the state of society is such, that every man acts as a check upon his neighbour, will be able to appreciate the labour and the anxiety which devolved on Mr. Raffles, when Lord Minto left him to arrange the details of that system of which they had together formed the outline.

Buoyant in spirit and firm in courage, when once he had adopted a right principle of action, Mr. Raffles was keenly alive to the difficult and arduous task which he had to perform; responsible for all, at a distance from any superior authority, without one individual with whose principles he was acquainted, and of whose abilities he had any experience; yet forced to set the wheel of government in motion, and to watch its progress with unceasing attention, whilst all the details of every department were to be formed by himself; nothing but the facility of arrangement which he possessed could have accomplished so much with so little assistance, and in so short a time.

The manner and time of bringing about this change, however, required the most serious consideration; and before he took any decided step in the new organization, he instituted statistical enquiries in every district, and collected the most detailed information in every department; the result of which convinced him that a thorough change in system was not only advisable and practicable, but indispensable, no less for the interests and honour of the British Government, than for the happiness and prosperity of the country at large. He examined minutely every department; drew up himself every detail and instruction for the agents which he employed, and with all the courage of a pure and ardent mind, commenced that thorough reform, which with unwearied assiduity he laboured to establish during the whole period of his administration.

The result fully equalled the highest expectations and estimates which had been formed of its success; and so judiciously was the change introduced, that not a single individual, high or low, felt aggrieved by it; the native population, chiefs,

subordinates, and people, with one accord, hailed the new order of things as a boon conferred upon them by British philanthropy, and entered on the enjoyment of its advantages with confidence and improving industry.

The first act of Mr. Raffles was to send English Residents to the native courts, and in the course of a month most of the expensive establishments of government were discontinued; the departments of revenue, commerce, and judicature, were materially reformed, and new arrangements adopted by the 1st of January, 1812. In connection with these important changes a general survey was made of the whole island; and detailed information collected in most of the districts of the lands attached to each village, while a body of valuable statistics was compiled and arranged, as well for the immediate use of Government as for future historical reference. The labour attending the performance of such varied and extensive duties was naturally very great; Mr. Raffles had, fortunately, at this time sufficient vigour of body as well as of mind to devote himself to them from daylight until midnight.

The following is an extract from Captain Travers' Journal:—

"The official documents, already published, give a full, clear, and satisfactory account of the zeal and ability evinced by Mr. Raffles in the administration of Java, whilst few, perhaps, are aware of the application and attention which he devoted to his public duties. With a constitution already impaired by climate, every one was astonished at the exertion and fatigue he underwent; and the Dutch, who were altogether unaccustomed to witness such activity of mind and body, were unable to keep pace with him.

"The government of such an island as Java, with its dependencies, was a charge of no trifling responsibility, and not the less so during the time of war; but Lord Minto judged correctly when he told Mr. Raffles that it was not 'so much as an acknowledgment of his past services, as in consideration of his peculiar fitness for the office,' that he appointed him to the charge of such a government. Mr. Raffles was fully aware of the trust, and with all the ardour peculiar to himself commenced the task.

"His mild, conciliating, and unassuming manners, obtained for him the respect and confidence of the Dutch, whilst the natives, who had been led to form the highest possible opinion of his character, looked with anxious hope for that amelioration in their condition which they afterwards experienced, and which will make his memory adored on the island of Java for ages to come.

"Soon after the capture of the island, and when Lord Minto had gone to Bengal, Mr. Raffles removed from Ryswick to Buitenzorg, the country residence of the former Governor, distant forty miles from Batavia, and here he kept a most

hospitable table. He went to Ryswick every week to attend the council, consisting of General, then Colonel, Gillespie, Commander of the forces, with Mr. Muntinghe and Mr. Cransen, Dutch gentlemen, who had held high situations under the former government. At Ryswick he remained a day or two, according to circumstances, and occasionally saw company there; but the climate at Buitenzorg being so far superior, he was always anxious to return, and seldom lost much time on the road, performing the journey in four hours. He was most attentive to the members of the former government, who were constant guests at his table."

In a private letter dated Batavia, in March 1812, to his friend the late Mr. Ramsay, Secretary to the East India Company, Mr. Raffles touches upon the internal arrangements connected with the government of Java.

" In this respect stand foremost the judicial and police arrangements. Previous to the establishment of the British government in Java, there was no distinction known between the police and the judicial administration of justice. At Batavia, however, there existed a Supreme Court of Judicature and a Bench or Court of Aldermen, called the College of Schepmen; and at Sourabaya and Samarang inferior courts of justice had been established; and in each district a court termed the Landrost, consisting of the Landrost, Regent, and Highpriest, exercised both the police and judicial jurisdiction; the only distinction which existed was that all the Company's servants should be amenable to the regular courts of justice, or to the Supreme Court at Batavia, while all other persons of every description were under the jurisdiction of the Schepmen. A difference of persons was altogether so strongly against our principles of public justice, and public and individual right, and the principle on which such distinction might originally have been founded had so entirely ceased by the abolition of all distinction between the servants of the late Company, and all other individuals, that an entire change and separation of the police from the judicial authorities became necessary, and was directed by the instructions left with me by the Governor-General.

" The copy of the proclamation published in our first government gazette will sufficiently explain the principles on which we proceeded; and I flatter myself with the approbation, not only of the Governor-General, but of the authorities in England, of the measure taken by us of establishing the trial by jury, which I am happy to say has given universal satisfaction here; and although, with the other new arrangements, giving rise to new difficulties, is not likely to meet with any serious obstacle. The courts of justice and police, as new modelled, are now in full exercise; and I hope this colony may receive all the advantages of British jurisprudence, without entailing on it the disadvantages of a judicial establishment from England, of all things the most to be dreaded for the general prosperity and happiness of the population. The British courts of justice fit with difficulty our permanent English

establishments in India; but here their introduction would only lead to anarchy, vexation, and trouble without end.*

* "PROCLAMATION.

"For the satisfaction of the inhabitants and people of Java, the following provisions are made public, in testimony of the sincere disposition of the British Government to promote their prosperity and welfare. The refusal of their late government to treat for their interests, although disabled by the events of war from affording them any further protection, has rendered the consequent establishment of the British authority unconditional. But an English government does not require the articles of a capitulation to impose those duties which are prompted by a sense of justice and a beneficent disposition. The people of Java are exhorted to consider their new connection with England as founded in principles of mutual advantage, and to be conducted in a spirit of kindness and affection.

"Providence has brought to them a protecting and benevolent government: they will cheerfully perform the reciprocal duties of allegiance and attachment.

"1. His Majesty's subjects in Java will be entitled to the same general privileges as are enjoyed by the natural-born subjects of Great Britain in India, subject to such regulations as now exist, or may hereafter be provided, respecting residence in any of the Honourable Company's territories.

"2. They will have the same privilege and freedom of trade to and with all countries to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, and also with His Majesty's European dominions, as are possessed by natural-born subjects of Great Britain.

"3. Dutch gentlemen will be eligible to all offices of trust, and will enjoy the confidence of Government according to their respective characters, conduct, and talents, in common with British-born subjects.

"4. The vexatious system of monopoly which is understood to have heretofore prevailed in some instances to an oppressive and inconvenient extent, will be revised, and a more beneficial and politic principle of administration will be taken into consideration as soon, and to such extent, as full information on the subject can be obtained, as established usage and habit may admit, and as may be consistent with a due regard to the health and morals of the people.

"5. The Dutch laws will remain provisionally in force, under the modifications which will be hereinafter expressed, until the pleasure of the supreme authorities in England shall be known; and it is conceived that no material alteration therein is to be apprehended.

"The modifications to be now adopted are the following:

"First. Neither torture nor mutilation shall make part of any sentence to be pronounced against criminals.

"Secondly. When a British-born subject is convicted of any offence, no punishment shall be awarded against him more severe than would be inflicted by the laws of England for the same crime. And in case of doubt concerning the penalty by English law, reference shall be made to the Honourable the Recorder of Prince of Wales' Island, whose report shall be a sufficient warrant for awarding the penalty stated by him to be agreeable to the laws of England. No sentence against any British-born subject for any crime or misdemeanour shall be carried into execution until a Report shall have been made to the Lieutenant-Governor.

"Thirdly. No sentence of death against any person whatever shall be carried into execution until Report shall have been made to the Lieutenant-Governor.

"Fourthly. The Lieutenant-Governor will have the power of remitting, moderating, or confirming all penalties, excepting inconsiderable fines, short imprisonment, or slight corporal punishment.

"Fifthly. British-born subjects shall be amenable to the jurisdiction of the Dutch tribunals, and to the Dutch laws, in all cases of civil complaint, or demands, whether they be plaintiffs or defendants.

"Sixthly. All British-born subjects shall be subject to the regulations of police, and to the juris-

" The Dutch law is directed by the proclamation of the Governor-General to be continued; but, in explanation of this law, it is necessary I should state, that the law of Java is not so much the national law of Holland as a colonial law. The foundation of this law is certainly that of the twelve tables. The civil law, or Roman code, and some of the general laws of the States-General, are made to apply; but the ordinary statutes, and those which apply in most instances, are either the statutes passed in Holland, or by the Supreme Government from time to time; these form a body of regulations and laws peculiarly adapted to the place, and if divested, as they are now directed to be, of cruelty and torture, and modified in some instances wherein the punishment of death may be considered to exceed the offence, perhaps the best that could be devised for this place. Whatever, therefore, may be necessary to be done in this respect, should be well considered and matured. The principle of the British law is acted up to in most cases, and it is only in local and provincial occurrences that this principle can be interfered with. In many instances the Dutch law, as it is termed, might be more properly called the common law, and at all events it is from its antiquity and long authority considered through the eastward as the law of the land.

" In the collection of the revenue, the obnoxious system of farming has been

diction of the magistrates charged with the execution thereof, and with the maintenance of the peace, and with public tranquillity and security.

" Seventhly. All persons belonging to, or attached to the army, who are by their condition subject to military law, shall for the present be tried for any crimes they may commit only by courts martial, unless sent by the military Authorities to civil courts.

" Eighthly. It being necessary in all countries that a power should exist of forming regulations in the nature of legislative provisions adapted to change of circumstances, or to meet any emergency that may arise; and the great distance of the British authorities in Europe rendering it expedient that the said power should for the present reside in some accessible quarter, it is declared that the Lieutenant-Governor shall have full power and authority to pass such legislative regulations as on deliberation, and after due consultation and advice, may appear to him indispensably necessary, and that they shall have the full force of law. But the same shall be immediately reported to the Governor-General in Council in Bengal, together with the Lieutenant-Governor's reasons for passing the said regulation, and any representations that may have been submitted to him against the same; and the regulations so passed will be confirmed or disallowed by the Governor-General in council, with the shortest possible delay. The mode in which the Lieutenant-Governor shall be assisted with advice, will hereafter be made known; and such regulations will hereafter be framed as may be thought more conducive to the prompt, pure, and impartial administration of justice, civil and criminal.

" Regulations respecting the paper-currency, as well as the relative value of coins circulating in Java, will be published in a separate paper of this date.

" Done at Molenvliet the 11th September, 1811.

" By His Excellency the Governor-General of British India.

(Signed) " MINTO."

abandoned as much as possible, and regular custom-houses have been established at Batavia, Samarang, and Sourabaya.

" A system of duties has been established, founded, in some measure, on the extent of the duties heretofore collected, and with reference to the support of the dependant situations of Penang, Malacca, Bencoolen, and the Moluccas, which sooner or later must fall under the immediate government of this place, if Java continues a British settlement. The great quantity of prize property, and particularly of coffee, which still remains on this island, renders any change in the present system of coffee culture, as recommended by Lord Minto, impracticable; but I have great hopes that the accomplishment of the grand plan of amelioration in this and other respects, respecting the agriculture and cultivation of this island, is not far distant. I have an intelligent committee, of which Colonel Colin Mackenzie has done me the honour to be President, now sitting on the eastern part of the island, and from the result of their labours I trust to be possessed of such additional lights as may lead eventually to a complete change of the present system of landed property, without which little can be expected. With the exception of the estates in the neighbourhood of Batavia, and of a few lately sold at Sourabaya, the whole landed property in Java is held on an acknowledged feudal tenure. The Soosoohonan and Sultan are the lords paramount in their districts; and although the Company are literally so in the districts properly termed the Company's provinces, the power is transferred universally to the Regents, who on condition of furnishing a certain quota or contingent of produce, and in some cases of money, and rendering with their people certain feudal service when required, are possessed of absolute authority within their respective districts, keeping the common people throughout in the most abject state of vassalage. A material change was however effected with regard to the Regents by Marshal Daendels. Previous to his organization of the eastern districts, the Regents had been supposed to hold their authority of right, and their agreement with government was considered as a contract; but the Marshal, by a very laudable stroke of policy, rendered them immediately dependent on the European government, by giving them commissions and instructions as officers of government. This system has been followed up by the British government, and each Regent has received his commission, and taken an oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, and of obedience to the government of Java.

" By the next opportunity I shall have the satisfaction of forwarding to the authorities in England several reports, from Dr. Horsfield and other scientific gentlemen, on the natural history of this island, and as the Batavian Literary Society have solicited that I should take that institution under the protection of government, I trust that by uniting our efforts with those of the Asiatic Society in Bengal, very considerable light may be shortly thrown on science and general knowledge. The numerous remains of Brahminical structures, in every part of the island, prove,

beyond a doubt, that a colony of Hindus settled on this island about the first century of the Christian era; and the materials of which they are constructed, induce the belief that this colony must have emigrated from the Coromandel Coast.

" The beauty and purity of these structures are entirely divested of that redundancy of awkward and uncouth ornaments and symbols which are found in India. The interests of science and literature are by no means neglected on this island, and a valuable and highly interesting stock of information may be contemplated. A very extensive collection has been made by Dr. Horsfield, on account of government, of the objects in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, which are peculiar to this place; and the museum at the India-house will not be forgotten, as soon as occupations of a more pressing nature afford adequate leisure for an arrangement of our collections.

Mr. Raffles wrote at the time on the same subject to Mr. Marsden.

From Mr. Raffles to Mr. Marsden.

Buitenzorg, Java, 22d October, 1812.

" In one of your communications you desire to receive information respecting the Bohun Upas, which appears to have, of late, been brought particularly to notice. I have now the pleasure to transmit to you a full and satisfactory report on the subject by Dr. Horsfield, a gentleman whose attention has long been devoted to botanical discoveries in the natural history of this island.

" Interested as you are in every thing which concerns the further East, it will be satisfactory to you to know, that by the present opportunity I have forwarded to the Court of Directors specimens of many of the plants of Java, as well as of many new animals. I have also forwarded to them a short account of the medical plants of Java, as well as a general mineralogical account of the island by Dr. Horsfield.

" I find it difficult to procure copies of these papers for you, in consequence of the distress for copying-clerks; but I hope you will be able to obtain the perusal of them.

" The Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences is reviving, and I hope in another year the world will be presented with an additional volume of its transactions.

" I am collecting for you a variety of inscriptions found in different parts of Java, and in Madura and Bali; and, if possible, some of them shall be sent by the present conveyance. Drawings of all the ruined temples and images are in hand, and it will not be long before I shall have it in my power to communicate to you fully, after surveying the whole. Vocabularies in the Javanese, Madurese, Bali, and Bugis languages are already completed, and others in hand.

" Until I may be able to write to you more at length, the enclosed is a report of the small district of Pagitan, and affords a view of the habits and institutions of some of the Javanese."

A short extract from Dr. Horsfield's account of the Upas may be interesting:

"The tree which produces the Upas poison grows in the eastern extremity of Java; it belongs to the 21st class of Linnæus, the Monæcia. The male and female flowers are produced in catkins (cementa) on the same branch, at no great distance from each other; the female flowers are in general above the male. The characters of the genus are: male flower, *calix* consisting of several scales, which are imbricate; *corol* none; *stamens*, filaments many, very short, covered by the scales of the receptacle anthers. The receptacle on which the filaments are placed has a conical form, abrupt, somewhat rounded above. Female flower, catkins ovate, *calix* consisting of a number of imbricate scales, (generally more than in the male,) containing one flower; *corol*, none; *pistil*, germ single, ovate, erect; *styles*, two, long, slender, spreading; *stigmas* simple, acute; seed-vessel an oblong drupe, covered with the calix; *seed* an ovate nut, covered with one cell. This tree is one of the largest in the forests of Java; the stem is cylindrical, perpendicular, and rises, completely naked, to the height of sixty, seventy, or eighty feet. Near the surface of the ground it spreads obliquely, dividing into numerous broad appendages, or wings; it is covered with a whitish bark: near the ground this bark is, in old trees, more than an inch thick, and upon being wounded, yields plentifully the milky juice from which the celebrated poison is prepared. The sap is contained in the tree-bark (or cortex.) The inner bark (or liber) of young trees is employed by the poorer class of people in making a coarse stuff, which they wear when working in the fields; but persons wearing this dress, on being exposed to the rain, are affected with an intolerable itching, which renders their flimsy covering almost insupportable. The deleterious quality of the poison exists in the gum; the preparation of a poison from which is an exclusive art of the inhabitants of the eastern extremity of the island.

"In clearing new grounds near the tree, the inhabitants do not like to approach it, as they dread the cutaneous eruption which it is known to produce when newly cut down. But, except when the tree is largely wounded, or when it is felled, by which a large portion of the juice is disengaged, the effluvia of which mixing with the atmosphere, affects the persons exposed to it with the symptoms just mentioned, the tree may be approached and ascended like the other common trees in the forests. Like all other trees in its neighbourhood, it is surrounded by shrubs and plants.

"One of the Regents had caps, or bonnets, prepared from the inner bark, which were stiffened in the usual manner with rice-water, and handsomely painted, for the purpose of decorating his attendants; but they all refused to wear them, asserting that they would cause their hair to fall off.

"The following is a description of the mode of preparing this poison. About eight ounces of the juice from the tree, which had been collected during the preceding evening, and preserved in a joint of a bamboo, was carefully strained in a bowl. The sap of the following substances, which had been finely grated and bruised, was

carefully expressed and poured into it; viz. arum, ammonium, common onion, and garlic, each about half a drachm; the same quantity of finely-powdered black pepper is then added, and the mixture stirred. A single seed of the capsicum fructicosum was then placed on the fluid, in the middle of the bowl; the seed began to reel round rapidly, now forming a regular circle, then darting towards the margin of the cup, with a perceptible commotion on the surface of the liquor, which continued one minute. Being completely at rest, the same quantity of pepper was again added, and another seed of the capsicum laid on as before: a similar commotion took place in the fluid, but in a less degree, and the seed was carried round with diminished rapidity. The addition of the same quantity of pepper was repeated a third time, when a seed of the capsicum being carefully placed in the centre of the fluid, remained quiet, forming a regular circle in the fluid resembling the halo of the moon. This is the sign that the preparation of the poison is complete."

The common train of symptoms, is a trembling of the extremities, restlessness, erection of the hair, affection of the bowels, drooping and faintness, slight spasms and convulsions, hasty breathing, an increased flow of saliva, spasmodic contractions of the pectoral and abdominal muscles, retching, vomiting, great agony, laborious breathing, violent and repeated convulsions, death.

The action of the Upas poison is directed chiefly to the vascular system. The volume of the blood is accumulated in a preternatural degree in the large vessels of the thorax.

The circulation appears to be extracted from the extremities and thrown upon the viscera near its source. The lungs in particular are stimulated to excessive exertions. The vital viscera are oppressed by an intolerable load, which produces the symptoms above described, while in the extremities a proportionate degree of torpor takes place, accompanied by tremors, shiverings, and convulsions.

The natives of Macasar, Borneo, and the Eastern Islands, when they employ this poison, make use of an arrow of bamboo, (to the end of which they attach a shark's tooth) which they throw from a blow-pipe or sompit.

The Upas appears to affect different quadrupeds with nearly equal force, proportionate in some degree to their size and disposition.

As soon as Mr. Raffles could command sufficient leisure he visited the Eastern Districts, and gave the following short account of his journey to Lord Minto:—

"I shall only say I was most highly gratified and satisfied with every thing I saw; it is impossible to conceive any thing more rich than the country, both in cultivation and scenery. I was happy to perceive that between Samarang and Sourabaya neither the country nor the establishments had suffered from the effects of the expedition, and that every thing was going on as if nothing had happened. I left Batavia on the 28th November, 1811, and landed at Samarang, after a tedious passage, on the 4th December; from thence I visited Sourabaya and Madura on my return, and

reached Buitenzorg on the 1st of January. To give an idea of the high state of the roads, and of the facility of communication in every part of the island, it may be sufficient that I inform you, that from Sourabaya to Samarang, 200 miles, I was only twenty-four hours on the road, and from thence to Buitenzorg only two days and a half, and this without any fatigue."

CHAPTER V.

Expedition to Palembang—Arrival of the Troops—Gallantry of the attack—Horrors of the scene—Colonel Gillespie's account of the Sultan—Measures adopted by Colonel Gillespie—Sultan of Djoejocarta—Mr. Raffles collects troops, and proceeds to Samarang—Account of treaties with the Sultan—General confederacy of the native states—Unexpected and fortunate return of Colonel Gillespie—Assault and capture of Djoejocarta—European power first paramount in Java.

The apparent tranquillity which followed the success of the British arms (1812) was but of short duration. The state of some of the native powers on Java, particularly that of Djoejocarta, and the proceedings of the Sultan of Palembang, a dependency situated in the island of Sumatra, soon called for prompt and decisive measures, as will be seen by the following extract of a letter from Mr. Raffles to the Governor-General, dated the 7th March, 1812:

"I have the honour of reporting to your Lordship, that on the 2d November last, finding that the season of the year afforded the probability of communicating with Palembang, I despatched a commission to that place, consisting of Captain Phillips, Mr. Wardenar,* and Mr. Hare,† for the purpose of taking charge of the Dutch factory there, in pursuance of the capitulation, and of delivering the same over to Lieutenant Jackson, whom I had appointed provisionally to act as Resident.

"From a perusal of the documents now transmitted, your Lordship will observe, that the importance of the island of Banca and of the tin-trade occupied at an early period after your departure my most serious attention. Desirous of avoiding any unnecessary breach with any of the Eastern chiefs, I endeavoured to attain the object which government had in view by an amicable arrangement, on terms far more advantageous and liberal to the Sultan of Palembang than he had enjoyed under the Dutch government. The residency of Palembang, as a former dependency of Java, having by right of conquest, and by the express articles of the capitulation, fallen under the British dominion, the object of the commission was to have this right acknowledged by the Sultan, and the privileges stipulated by the

* Late Member of the Supreme Council of Batavia.

† Appointed by Lord Minto Resident of Sambas in Borneo.

former contracts transferred to the British government. This being effected, it was intended to grant more liberal terms than ever were enjoyed by the Sultan, previous to the conquest of Java.

" The commission, however, instead of meeting with such a reception at Palembang, as from the nature of their appointment they were entitled to expect, found the Sultan not only averse to acknowledging any of the claims on which this negociation was founded on the part of the British government, but in such a disposition as rendered all attempts to enter into a new contract with him fruitless and abortive. He not only treated with a kind of ridicule and neglect the claims of the British government to the contracts which subsisted with the former government before the conquest of Java, but rejected with disdain the new terms which were offered to him. The Sultan altogether disregarded the representations on the part of the British government, until he received authentic accounts of the fall of Batavia; and then, instead of listening to the demands of my agents, Toonkoo Radin Mahomet and Syed Abu Bakir, that he should consider the Dutch property and inhabitants as under the protection of the English, who had conquered Java and all its dependencies, he declared in a haughty manner his intention of maintaining his entire independence of any power on earth. Struck, however, by the sudden, and to him certainly unexpected news, of the complete conquest of Java by the English, the Sultan became anxious for his future fate, and by threats and force compelled my agents to sign and seal false reports, forged by the Sultan and addressed to me, in which it was stated that the Dutch garrison had, agreeably to their request, been sent to Batavia, and the fort razed to the ground, long previous to the attack upon the island of Java by the British troops; and to cover the falsehood of this report (on the faith of which he had laid the foundation of his future independence), he formed the diabolical plan of destroying every witness who might hereafter appear against him, sending the Dutch inhabitants in small prows down the river, where they were murdered by order of the Sultan, and ordering my agents to appear before him, that they might share the same fate.

" Considering all these facts, the evident hostile manner in which the Sultan behaved to the acknowledged native agents from the British government; the treacherous and barbarous manner in which he destroyed the property and murdered the presumptive subjects of this government; the arrogant and offensive manner in which he rejected the most liberal proposition for an amicable arrangement, which this government, ignorant of the events which had taken place, made to him by means of the commission, and the consequent certainty therefrom that all further attempts for an amicable arrangement would be as vain in effect as they would be unbecoming in principle to the character of the British nation, it has been left for me to resolve upon some immediate and decisive measure, consistent with the dignity and interests of government.

" A commanding force under Colonel Gillespie will embark in two days, and I trust, in less than a month, that I may be in possession of satisfactory accounts of the result. I am aware that I have taken much responsibility on myself in the adoption of hostile measures against Palembang, without previous reference to Bengal; but so many favourable circumstances concurred to induce the measure, and so many obstacles in the way of its final success appeared to present themselves in the event of delay, that I should not have felt myself justified to have lost the opportunity of so much larger a force than could ever have been subsequently left at our command. In fact, the expedition must either have taken place now or been delayed another year, and this consideration of itself was enough to outweigh every objection; the passage to Palembang from Batavia may at the present season of the year be effected in five or six days, and the returning voyage may be accomplished during the same period. I have provisionally appointed a Resident for Banca, and I trust my next letter will communicate favourable intelligence on this point. There is one thing I have never noticed regarding Banca, and that is, the harbour of Klabbat, stated to be the most secure in India, and capable of every defence—the entrance to the harbour being between two rocks or promontories, not half-pistol-shot from each other, and a bason within, with fine bottom and deep water, capable of containing, it is said, the navy of England. It is directly in the route for our trade through the China seas, and the situation of Minta, on which it is projected to form the first settlement in Banca, is perhaps the most commanding that could be chosen for the Eastern Seas. If possible, I will forward more particulars, but the total want of clerks who can copy English legibly, forms at present a serious obstacle to the transmission of all papers."

An expedition was accordingly fitted out under the command of Colonel Gillespie, who was entrusted with the execution of the views of government, and who had the whole management confided to his individual judgment and direction. The fleet consisted of his Majesty's ships Cornelia, Captain Owen; Bucephalus, Captain Drury; sloop Procris, Captain Freeman; the Honorable Company's cruizer, Teignmouth, Captain Howitson; Mercury, Captain Conyers. Gun-boats: schooner Wellington, Captain Cromy; Young Barracouta, Captain Lynch. Transports, Samdany, Minerva, Matilda, and Mary Ann.

Captain Bowen, of his Majesty's ship Phœnix, meeting it at sea, took the command of the fleet as senior officer.

Troops embarked.

Detachment of His Majesty's 59th regiment, three companies, rifle and flank companies.

Ditto 89th regiment, five companies.

Ditto, Madras horse-artillery and hussars dismounted.

Detachment of Bengal artillery; detail and detachment of sepoys, 5th and 6th battalions.

Ditto, Amboynese.

A considerable number of guns and military stores, intended for the new settlement of Banca, were put on board the transports.

Contrary winds and currents, which during the western monsoon are violent and unchangeable, still maintained their influence at this advanced season, and considerably retarded the progress of the expedition which reached Nanka Island on the 3d of April, 1812, where it continued a week at anchor. Tents were pitched on shore, and all the artificers were employed in the completion of the boats intended for the passage up the Palembang river, by constructing platforms for the field-pieces, and making coverings to shelter the troops as much as possible from the burning violence of the solar heat, and the inclemency of the nocturnal air.

The fleet was supplied with water of a very good quality at this island, which is covered with wood, and inhabited by bears, monkies, and wild-hogs. Fish was in great abundance, and pirates frequently visit the place to take in water and fuel.

The armament got under weigh on the 10th of April, and came to an anchor on the 15th at noon, opposite the west channel of Palembang river.

The unavoidable delay which the expedition experienced, by encountering contrary winds and currents in the straits, afforded ample time to the guilty Sultan to prepare either for resistance or flight. With a view to the latter course, he had removed his treasure and women, at a very early period, into the interior; whilst himself and his ministers sent message after message to the British Commander, filled with expressions of respect, and framed with apparent candour, but hypocritical in their language, and treacherous in their object.

The continuance of the ebb tide during the whole of the 19th of April, obliged the fleet to remain stationary till about four in the afternoon, when a gentle sea breeze favouring its progress, enabled the flotilla to move, though it was only for a short distance, as the wind soon failed, and the flood tide being very slack, some of the vessels got entangled among the branches of the trees and bushes, which therefore it was necessary to cut away. At the turn of the tide, which was about six on the following morning, the flotilla came to an anchor.

In the early part of the day Pangarang Sheriff arrived from the Sultan of Palembang, begging to know the intention of the British Commander in thus advancing with such a force; to which Colonel Gillespie returned for answer, that he must acquaint the Sultan in person with the propositions he was entrusted with on the part of his government, and the messenger returned immediately.

At five in the evening the fleet proceeded on its passage; but the tide becoming slacker every day in proportion to its distance from the sea, and the wind being

adverse, it did not gain above six miles all night; the ebb tide occurring at six the next morning, the 21st of April, it anchored near the junction of False River.

Another messenger, Pangarang Pranah, arrived in the morning from Palembang, bringing with him a letter from the Sultan, to whom he was related. In this epistle the crafty monarch congratulated the Commander on his arrival in the river Soosang, professing at the same time to be the friend of the English, the design of which was too obvious to impose upon those who were acquainted with the writer's character. Colonel Gillespie replied that he meant to be at Palembang in two days, where he expected to see the Sultan, having matters to disclose to him in person of the greatest consequence; and at the same time assuring the inhabitants of Palembang of the protection of the British Government. Before the ambassador could receive this reply in writing, another messenger arrived with a similar letter from the Sultan, requesting an immediate explanation. Both the Sultan's agents, therefore, returned together, about five in the evening; and as soon as the tide permitted, at seven, the flotilla got under weigh. At sun-rise, on the 22d April, the batteries at Borang were descried.

In the course of the forenoon Captain Owen, of the royal navy, with Major Thorn, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, reconnoitered the batteries and armed prows stationed there, which had been joined by a large Arab ship, armed for the occasion, and sent down from Palembang by the Sultan to add to the defence of this post. These vessels, with the floating batteries, were moored across the river in echellon, raking with their guns the whole length of the passage, whilst the numerous artillery on the three fixed batteries bore across on the channel by which the advance was to be made, thus enabling the enemy to bring the fire of their guns almost to a ray on any point in the line of advance. Numerous fire-rafts were placed on the front and flank of the batteries, ready to be set adrift to fire the shipping. Piles of wood driven into the river defended the approach to the batteries, in boats, whilst a strong palisade protected the rear and flanks. A great deal of bustle and activity was observable within the several defences, which appeared to be fully manned and prepared for resistance.

The violent rain, which lasted all the afternoon, and continued during the night, proved of considerable annoyance, particularly to the men who were embarked in boats. Great, indeed, and scarcely to be conceived, was the fatigue the sailors and soldiers had to undergo in a region where, during the day they were exposed, while employed in laborious rowing, to the rays of a burning sun, directly under the equator, and deprived in the night of the refreshment of sleep.

But notwithstanding the excessive hardships which all ranks and descriptions of persons in the service were called to bear, and the privations they had to endure, nothing could shake their resolution or abate their ardour in the performance of their duty.

In the evening another messenger, named Pangarang Martoo arrived with a letter from the Sultan, importing that he should be happy to see his friend, the Commander of the expedition, at Palembang; but requesting that he would dispense with so large an armed force, and visit the capital unattended, being fearful, as he pretended, that the appearance of so many troops would occasion serious disturbances among the inhabitants of Palembang.

It was easy enough to perceive the insidious drift of this proposition; but the treachery of the Sultan had already been too notorious to allow such fallacious declarations and hollow professions the slightest respect, or even a moment's attention.

Colonel Gillespie demanded of the messenger who last arrived, an unmolested passage up the river, and also a hostage as a security for their good behaviour; to which Pangarang Martoo instantly assented, offering at the same time to give possession of the batteries, and to leave them entirely at the disposal of the Colonel; the ship that was lying there was also to be made use of as the British Commander might please to direct. As a pledge of their sincerity, a person bearing the title of Commandant of the batteries, and who accompanied the messenger, remained behind for the purpose of conducting the troops to Borang.

The proper arrangements being made to secure these objects on the following night Captain Meares, Malay interpreter to the Commander of the forces, was directed to proceed to Borang, accompanied by the officer who had been left as a hostage, and to demand a decisive answer whether or not they would let the batteries be taken possession of amicably, or whether they would resist the passage of the flotilla. No time was allowed for equivocation on the part of the Chief Pangarang, and Colonel Gillespie followed close after, at the head of the small, but formidable array of the British advance, composed of detachments of the 59th and 89th regiments, in light boats, supported by the gun-launches and field-artillery in the flat-boats. On their arrival at the dawn of day within half-gun-shot distance of the batteries, the Pangarang came off with Captain Meares, and offered to deliver up the works with all the other defences, which, in consequence, were immediately occupied by the British troops. The garrison, terrified at their sudden approach, and unmindful of the positive orders of the Sultan to defend the passage to the last, took themselves to flight, and escaped in some prows that had been kept concealed round the eastern part of Borang Island, and on the western side of Binting Isle. All the guns taken, to the number of one hundred and two, were ready charged and primed. The large ship afforded quarters for a great portion of the soldiers, but the remainder were placed in huts and floating batteries which had coverings.

In the evening the troops were all re-embarked, and proceeded on to a little distance. Fires now appeared in all directions, and several of the rafts were set in flames by the enemy, with the view of effecting, if possible, the destruction of the

shipping, which had not as yet passed the batteries; but though they were coming up at this time (8 P. M.) fortunately the exertions of Captain Owen with the crews of the light boats were successful in cutting the rafts asunder before they were thoroughly in flames, by which means a general conflagration was seasonably prevented. Several shots were fired from one of the Cornelia's boats at the Malays, who were seen setting fire to the rafts which had the effect of instantly dispersing them.

Early on the following morning, the 25th of April, an Arab arrived who stated himself to be the owner of the ship before mentioned, and begging that she might be restored, which request was granted. He brought information that the Sultan immediately fled from Palembang on learning that the defences at Borang, which had been considered such a formidable barrier, no longer obstructed the farther progress of the British troops.

Colonel Gillespie, on hearing this, determined to push forward with the light boats; and whilst making this arrangement another Arab arrived, the Pangarang Sheriff, who confirmed the account of the Sultan's flight; adding the afflicting intelligence, that the greatest confusion, plunder, and assassination prevailed, not only within the interior of the fort and palace, but in many parts of the city. Upon this Colonel Gillespie resolved to lose not a moment, but to hasten by the quickest possible manner to put a stop to this scene of horror, and by his immediate presence prevent the execution of the massacre, which it was reported the Sultan's adherents meditated to perpetrate the very next night upon the wealthy Chinese and other inhabitants, whose property was to become the prize of the assassins.

The Colonel, therefore, proceeded instantly with the Arab chief in his canoe, accompanied by Captain Meares and Mr. Villneruhy, a Spanish gentleman, who acted as Malay interpreters. In that and another small canoe which accompanied them, were distributed seven grenadiers of the 59th regiment; and these were followed by Captain Bowen, of the Royal Navy; Major Butler, Deputy Adjutant-General; and Major Thorn, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, in the gig belonging to the Phœnix, and ten more grenadiers of the same regiment, in the barge of the same ship, with Lieutenant Monday, R. N., and Lieutenant Forrest, of the 59th; the remaining troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod, having orders to follow with all possible speed. The distance was twenty miles, so that it was dark when the party arrived at Old Palembang. The canoes, in one of which the Colonel was, had gained much on the other two boats, and were now completely out of sight, when the report of a signal-gun, fired by the enemy, not a little alarmed them, and increased the anxiety for the rest of the party; the more so, as every thing around tended to excite suspicion of some treacherous design being in agitation. A dreadful yell and shrieking in all directions was next heard, and lights and conflagrations were seen throughout the whole extent of this large tract of population, which stretched along both banks of

the river for upwards of seven miles. By the redoubled exertions of the crews, the boats in the rear were soon brought up to the support of the little band, and thus happily formed in time an important junction.

To paint the horrors of the scene that presented itself in their true colours, or to attempt an expression of the sensations it was calculated to excite, would be a difficult task; and the undaunted act which gained the possession of the fort, the palace, and its batteries, may be credited when the name of the leader is recollected. Undismayed in the face of numerous bodies of armed men, Colonel Gillespie boldly stepped on shore, at eight o'clock at night, and with those who had accompanied him in the canoe, and the seven grenadiers, he marched, with a firm step, through a multitude of Arabs and treacherous Malays, whose missile weapons, steeped in poison, glimmered by the light of torches.

Huge battlements, with immense gates, leading from one area to another, presented the frightful spectacle of human blood still reeking and flowing on the pavement. The massive gates closed upon the rear, and the blood-stained court-yards through which the party were conducted, appeared as if they were the passage to a slaughter-house.

A Malay, who had pressed through the crowd, approached the Colonel, and was walking by his side, when a large double-edged knife was secretly put into his hands by one of his countrymen. It was a dark stormy night, and a ray of lightening, at the very instant when the man was pushing the knife up his long loose sleeve to conceal it, discovered the weapon. The Colonel's eye caught the object, and instantly turning round, he had the fellow seized, totally regardless of the crowd; thus fortunately frustrating, by his firmness, the murderous design. The weapon was found as described; but the man contrived to steal away in the crowd, and escaped.

The palace exhibited a melancholy picture of devastation and cruelty. Murder had been succeeded by rapine; and while the place was completely ransacked, the pavements and floors were clotted with blood. In every direction spectacles of woe caught the sight, and were rendered peculiarly awful by the glare of the surrounding conflagration, accompanied by vivid flashes of lightening, and loud peals of thunder.

The flames, which continued to spread destruction, notwithstanding the rain that poured down in torrents, had reached the outer buildings of the palace, and threatened the part where the Colonel, with his party, had taken up their temporary abode. The crackling of bamboos, resembling the discharge of musquetry; the tumbling in of burning roofs with a tremendous crash; the near approach of the fire, in the midst of an immense hostile multitude and assassins; altogether gave to their situation a most appalling prospect.

The little band, consisting only of seventeen British grenadiers, with the officers naval and military already mentioned, and a few seamen belonging to the gig and barge, had to secure possession of the fort, and to provide for their safety, in the

determined resolution of selling their lives dearly, should any attack be made before the arrival of reinforcements. Having carefully reconnoitred by the light of torches the interior of the palace court, and ordered all the entrances except one to be shut and barricadoed, Colonel Gillespie stationed the grenadiers at the principal entrance, and the strictest guard was kept up. Soon after midnight they had the satisfaction of hailing the welcome arrival of Major Trench, with about sixty men of the 89th regiment; and the remaining part of the ordered advance, under Lieutenant-Colonel McLeod, joined the little garrison early the next morning.

Thus an act of daring enterprise, conceived with judgment and executed with intrepidity, gained possession of the fort and batteries defended by two hundred and forty-two pieces of cannon, without the loss of a man. This formidable position could not have been carried under any other circumstances of attack, but by the sacrifice of many lives, and by hazarding altogether the safety of the little armament.

The rapidity of the movement, and the sudden and unexpected arrival of the few British at that late hour in the evening, whose numbers were greatly magnified by the panic which seized the foe, caused the immediate dispersion of the Sultan's adherents, who fled in confusion, and thus relieved the town from the miseries with which it was threatened, of plunder and destruction. An American, who was the supercargo of a large Chinese junk then lying at Palembang, gave a melancholy description of the fate with which they were threatened, and which would have burst on them that very night, had the English not arrived in time to prevent it. This junk, with all on board, had in fact been marked out as the first victims.

The measures taken to restore order and maintain tranquillity were so effectual, that the inhabitants assumed confidence, and many who had fled into the woods returned to their homes. The great body of the people were pleased at the change, and rejoiced in being relieved from the tyranny of the Sultan, which seemed to have attained its height.

The following report made to the Lieutenant-Governor by Colonel Gillespie, when at Palembang, of the atrocious conduct of the deposed Sultan, is given at length for the purpose of shewing the strong appeal made on the ground of humanity to the British government to interpose in putting a stop to the dreadful scenes of cruelty and oppression which were daily occurring.

"*To the Honourable T. S. Raffles, Lieutenant-Governor, &c. &c. &c.*

"Honourable Sir,

"As I have been lately employed in acquiring every information connected with the barbarous and cruel murder of the Dutch factory and garrison at Palembang, I have deferred the transmission of any official report to you upon this melancholy subject, until I should have obtained the most accurate knowledge of all the

particulars, that the atrocity of the transactions enabled me to collect. In my inquiries, I have been occasionally so bewildered by falsehood, guilt, and prevarications, that I have experienced considerable difficulty in selecting the evidences most worthy of attention. The choice, however, has been made with the greatest care, and I imagine the circumstances which I shall now relate to you, may be considered in every way deserving of belief.

" You are not ignorant that Pangerang Ratoo, the eldest son of the late Sultan, is one of the most abominable and unprincipled villains that ever disgraced humanity. The crimes committed by this barbarous and sanguinary assassin, since the period he has been enabled to indulge his abandoned inclinations, have been distinguished by circumstances of such aggravated cruelty and guilt, that the inhabitants of the kingdom have beheld him with one common sentiment of horror, hatred, and indignation. It is to the crimes of this iniquitous monster that the massacre of the Dutch may originally be attributed; to the indulgence of his vicious propensities that his father is now indebted for banishment and degradation.

" Among other pursuits that were followed by him with great avidity, was that of spearing the unhappy and defenceless wretches whom he accidentally encountered in his lawless excursions, or of sacrificing their wives and daughters to his abandoned cruelty and passions. In one of these infamous adventures he became enamoured of a Chinese woman, whom he was determined to obtain; and, lest he should fail in support of his dark and diabolical character, he resolved on compelling the unfortunate husband to assist in the completion of his wife's dishonour. The refinement thus exercised upon cruelty and rapine was more than the unfortunate husband could sustain without complaint. He knew himself to be in the neighbourhood of the Dutch garrison, and called loudly from his house for protection and assistance. An armed party was detached to his aid, and pursued the Pangerang Ratoo to his prow on the river, without being sensible of the dignity they were so successfully routing; the discovery of this unpleasant truth was made by himself before their separation. The boat was moored several yards from the shore, and in consequence he was compelled to swim a considerable distance before his escape was complete. No sooner, however, had he gained his canoe than he turned to his pursuers, and cried with the most callous effrontery, 'you are ignorant,' said he, 'of the influence and power you have so audaciously defied; know, to your confusion, that it is the Pangerang Ratoo himself, and rest assured that in three days you shall all of you be murdered, and your present habitations rendered such a scene of desolation, that they shall only be fit for birds to build their nests on.'

" The accomplishment of this barbarous purpose was too successfully realized within the period specified by the Pangerang Ratoo. A message was sent to the Resident, the Commandant, and principal officers of the garrison, in which the Sultan requested them to appear in his presence for the transaction of some im-

portant business. The designing cowards took advantage of this treacherous manœuvre to introduce within the walls of the fort a multitude of armed Malays, as the followers of the great men who brought the message from the Sultan.

" The unwary and confiding Dutchmen, unsuspicious of evil intentions, were speedily surrounded without the hope of escape; the guns were all seized by parties on the ramparts, and the unfortunate garrison were dragged to a scene of cold-blooded cruelty, which can never be contemplated but with sentiments of horror and abhorrence, proportioned to the enormity of such unmerited and unprovoked violence.

" Among the agents and instruments of this sanguinary transaction, there is no character so remarkably prominent as that of Tumugung Lonong, the principal magistrate of the town. He was not only the harbinger of treachery and deceit in the first instance, but he was subsequently the promoter of the Sultan's cruelty, and his adviser to destroy the fort, and leave no vestige of Dutch property remaining in Palembang, in order that they might for ever be exempted from an alliance with European nations.

" In considering the choice of an ambassador to our government, I cannot sufficiently express my astonishment at the boldness and audacity of the Sultan, who selected this infamous assassin as his agent and representative on Java.

" The very countenance of the villain betrays the guilt of which he is capable, and the unwearied obstinacy with which, in spite of every proof, he denied all knowledge of the transaction, proclaims him, in my opinion, to have been deeply involved in the commission of the murder, and clearly meriting the most exemplary punishment. I have, therefore, stipulated most expressly with Adipattie, that all the promoters and abettors of this inhuman massacre shall be treated with great severity; that their property shall be sequestered the moment they are known, and a portion of it laid aside for the support of the wives and orphans who have been so cruelly deprived of their natural protectors.

" There was one European woman among the unhappy victims thus sacrificed by the Sultan. She was embarked on the boats, and after suffering every violence and pollution her abandoned murderers were capable of offering her, she was inhumanly butchered and thrown into the river with the rest of the garrison.

" The remaining women were sent as slaves up the country, and the relation of distress, starvation, and misery they encountered in their bondage, is calculated to excite such sentiments of horror and indignation against the whole race, that at times I can with difficulty hold intercourse with people allied to such monsters of barbarity.

" There was no punishment too severe, no persecution too considerable, no degradation too humiliating for these unhappy women. The Resident's wife was pregnant at the time of her seizure, and although I should consider few men capable

of refusing pity and assistance to women thus situated, they were unmindful of her claims to compassion, and they left her in the jungle without nourishment, support, or shelter.

" To detail the various miseries they suffered in slavery would occupy more time than I have at present in my power to bestow; their food was always precarious, and during months they lived on beetle-nut, on the refuse of the dunghill; in short, there was no refinement of oppression to which they were not subjected by this despotic tyrant.

" Their joy on emancipation is proportioned to the severity of their former sufferings, and their gratitude to the government is animated and sincere. Except the one previously specified, they are nearly all of them under my protection, and I shall take the earliest opportunity of either forwarding them to their friends on Java, or permit them to remain on the Island of Banca until some further arrangements may be made respecting them.

" I have endeavoured to ascertain, as correctly as I can, the primitive source of the Sultan's inhumanity, which is clearly to be attributed to the unbounded indulgence he has always bestowed on the vices of his son. He appears to have tolerated him in the pursuit of every evil, and protected him in the accomplishment of every object to which his unruly passions or violent inclinations hurried him forward, and to have been but an instrument for the protection of his son's wickedness. He has discovered too late, by his own overthrow, the melancholy consequences that ought always to attend so unprincipled a departure from every sacred law and moral obligation."

On the 29th May, Colonel Gillespie made his final report of the ulterior measures adopted by him, in placing Sultan Ratoo Ahmed Nujm-ood-deen on the throne in the room of his brother, Mahmud Badruddin, who had been deposed:

" The British troops were paraded from the wharf to the hall of state, and surrounded at a distance the throne of the Sultan. The flag of the kingdom was saluted with twenty-one guns, and no mark of public attention was omitted that could possibly testify my confidence and respect. The Sultan himself was much affected during the progress of the ceremony, and he was attended by an immense concourse of people, who appeared sincerely to rejoice at his unexpected good fortune. When he was seated upon the throne, the British officers passed in succession to pay him their respects, and they were followed by numbers of his subjects, who vied with each other in testifying their attachment and fidelity.

" I shall have the honour to forward to you all the public documents that were either proclaimed or ratified upon this important occasion. You will see by the stipulations of the treaty, how completely they have been dictated with a view to our interests, and you will perceive that the cession of Banca and Billiton is unlimited and complete.

" Although the Sultan was considerably disappointed at the failure of his wishes respecting the British force, I had the satisfaction to leave him in the most confident assurance of his safety and strength. He expressed the most lively and grateful sense of all the benefits that had been conferred upon him by the British government, promised faithfully to use every exertion for the recovery of the Sultan's treasures, and assured me the half of them should instantly be forwarded to Batavia according to a stipulation in the treaty between himself and the East India Company.

" In establishing the British authority at Minto (previously called Minta by the natives) I declared the Island of Banca to be named after his Royal Highness the Duke of York; the capital town after the Right Hon. the Governor-General of all India; and the fort now building there after his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

" Your's, &c.

" Robert Rollo Gillespie."

The general orders express the feeling entertained by Mr. Raffles of Colonel Gillespie's service in this affair.

Samarang, June 6th, 1812.

" The Lieutenant-Governor is happy to congratulate Colonel Gillespie on his return to Java, and on the full accomplishment of the objects of the late expedition.

" The successful termination of these operations, in a manner so highly beneficial to the interests of humanity, and to the security and advantage of the British possessions in those seas, must be entirely attributed to the prompt, judicious, and politic measures adopted under the personal direction of the Commander of the Forces. And although the applause so justly due on this occasion may rather fall within the province of a higher authority, to whom the proceedings will be submitted, it is gratifying to the Lieutenant-Governor that he is not precluded from bearing public testimony to the services which have been rendered, nor of expressing his admiration of the superior talent and character which have been so conspicuous throughout.

" The Lieutenant-Governor requests Colonel Gillespie will accept his best thanks for the zeal, ability, and precision with which the service has been executed: and in recording his entire approbation and unreserved confirmation of the whole of the arrangements made for the future security and advantage of the British interests, the Lieutenant-Governor is satisfied that he only anticipates the sentiments of the Supreme Governor.

" By order of the Lieutenant-Governor,

(Signed) " J. Eckford,

" Acting Secretary."

The following is an extract from Captain Traver's Journal at the time.

" The native courts of Djocjocarta and Souracarta became troublesome soon after the establishment of the British power in Java, and Mr. Raffles determined on visiting them for the purpose of satisfying himself as to the merits of the complaints then made, and to enquire into the abuses which were known to exist. The distance was considerable, but his own personal convenience he never considered. The rapidity with which he travelled exceeded any thing ever known on the island before. The average rate was more than twelve miles per hour. Unfortunately he was but badly recompensed for the exertion, as the arrangements he then made, and the tranquillity he established, were but of short duration, as a reference to the records of government will shew. Immediately after his return from the native courts he planned an expedition against Palembang, to punish the Sultan for a most barbarous act of treachery and cruelty in murdering all the Dutch residents there, the moment that intelligence reached them of the capture of Java by the English.

" After the expedition to Palembang had sailed, Mr. Raffles' attention was again directed to the courts of Djocjocarta and Souracarta, where disturbances were recommencing, particularly at the former place, and he, in consequence, determined on proceeding to Samarang, when he took his family with him. On his arrival at Samarang he obtained such information as led him to suppose that it would be difficult to bring the Sultan of Djocjocarta to pacific terms. He accordingly deemed it prudent to collect such a force in the neighbourhood as would enable him to dictate such terms as he deemed advisable for the safety of the Island.

" At the time these operations were carrying on, Mr. Raffles was availing himself of every opportunity of gaining local knowledge. The native chiefs were constant guests at his table, and there was not a moment of his time which he did not contrive to devote to some useful purpose. The only recreation he ever indulged in, and that was absolutely necessary for the preservation of his health, was an evening drive, and occasionally a ride in the morning. He was not, however, at this time an early riser, owing to his often writing till a very late hour at night. He was moderate at table, but so full of life and spirits, that on public occasions he would often sit much longer than agreed with him. In general the hour for dinner was four o'clock, which enabled the party to take a drive in the evening; but on all public days, and when the party was large, dinner was at seven o'clock. At Samarang the society of course was small in comparison with Batavia, but on public occasions sixty and eighty were often assembled at the Government-house, and at balls from 150 to 180. Mr. Raffles never retired early, always remained till after supper, was affable, animated, agreeable and attentive to all, and never seemed fatigued, although perhaps at his desk all the morning, and on the following day would be at business at ten o'clock. In conducting the detail of government, and giving his orders to those immediately connected with his own office, his manner was most pleasing, mild, yet firm; he

quickly formed his decision, and gave his orders with a clearness and perspicuity which was most satisfactory to every one connected with him; he was ever courteous and kind, easy of access at all times, exacting but little from his staff, who were most devotedly attached to him. The generosity of his disposition, and the liberality of his sentiments, were most conspicuous and universally acknowledged.

"As a public servant, no man could apply himself with more zeal and attention to the arduous duties of his office. He never allowed himself the least relaxation, and was ever alert in the discharge of the important trust committed to him; and it is astonishing how long his health continued good under such great exertions both of mind and body.

"Whilst remaining at Samarang, a fleet arrived at Batavia from England, bound to China, and at the same time a vessel was reported ready to sail from thence to Batavia, which determined Mr. Raffles on proceeding there without delay, to receive the despatches; on which occasion, Mr. Assey, Secretary to Government, and myself, accompanied him. We embarked on board a small vessel, the Hamston, and had a very quick passage of only seventy-two hours; during which time he drew up the Report on the capture of Djocjocarta, entering into a full and clear account of the circumstances which rendered this measure absolutely necessary for the preservation of peace on the Island. We landed at seven o'clock in the evening, when a grand public ball was given at Weltervreeden, to celebrate the anniversary of the Prince Regent's birth-day. At this entertainment Mr. Raffles, to the astonishment of all present, attended, as it was supposed he was at Samarang. He was the life and spirit of the entertainment. Not less than three hundred persons were assembled; and, indeed, on all similar occasions, which were always duly celebrated under Mr. Raffles' government, he contributed greatly to promote and encourage the gaiety and amusement of the party. After remaining a short time, he returned overland to Samarang, where he was most actively employed in completing the arrangement attendant on the capture of Djocjocarta, which of course brought an accession of territory to the Government, and which called for local knowledge and personal observation, to render profitable and advantageous. After obtaining all the information within his reach, Mr. Raffles and his family returned to Buitenzorg, at the close of 1812, where, of course, some arrears of public business awaited his arrival, and to which he devoted the most zealous assiduity."

The Sultan of Djocjocarta, who was the most violent and intriguing of the native princes in Java, entertained a rooted animosity against all the Europeans settled in the Island. Under the former government he had evinced a degree of hostility which compelled Marshal Daendels to direct an army against him, and to proceed in person to his capital. The plans of the Sultan not being then sufficiently matured on the one hand, and Daendels fearing the arrival of the British expedition on the other, a compromise was entered into between them, by which the Sultan agreed to pay the

sum of 200,000 Spanish dollars to the Marshal. The Sultan the more readily acceded to this, as he cherished the idea of being soon enabled to carry into full effect his vengeful purposes.

The turbulent spirit of this chief had shewn itself again, after the establishment of the British in the island; in consequence of which, Mr. Raffles thought it necessary to proceed in person to the Sultan's court, in the month of December, 1811, with the intention of fixing definitively the relation between the two governments by a treaty, which it was hoped would prove as binding on the one side, as he felt it would be strictly observed on the other. But the event soon proved the fallacy of such an expectation.

Mr. Raffles set out for Djocjocarta, accompanied by a part only of the 14th Regiment, a troop of the 22d Light Dragoons, and the ordinary garrison of Bengal Sepoys in the fort, and at the Residency-house. This was all the force which, at the moment, he could command, and circumstances did not admit of delay. The service was one of imminent peril; the whole retinue were at one time in danger of being murdered. Mr. Raffles received the Sultan in the hall of audience. The Sultan was accompanied by several thousands of armed followers, who expressed in their behaviour an infuriated spirit of insolence; and several of his own suite actually unsheathed their creesses, to indicate plainly that they only waited for the signal to perpetrate the work of destruction: had this been given, from the manner in which the English were surrounded, not a man could have escaped. Though at this time no act of treacherous hostility took place, the crafty and sanguinary Sultan drew from the circumstances which he observed, a confidence in his own strength; and being thus persuaded that the expulsion of the Europeans from the Island of Java was become more feasible, he resolved at once to adopt means for accomplishing this favourite object of his ambition.

Mr. Raffles, however, concluded a treaty with him, on terms which were considered, at the time, equally advantageous to the British interests, and beneficial to the prosperity of the country which remained under the administration of the Sultan. In this treaty, the sovereignty of the British over the Island of Java was acknowledged by the Sultan, who confirmed to the English East India Company all the privileges, advantages, and prerogatives which had been possessed by the Dutch and French governments. To the Company also were transferred the sole regulation of the duties and the collection of tribute within the dominions of the Sultan, as well as the general administration of justice, in cases where the British interests were concerned.

The Sultan on this occasion expressed his contrition for the atrocities which had been committed under his authority, and made professions of friendship, pledging himself in every way to fulfil the conditions of the treaty.

The Sultan, however, only waited for a favourable opportunity to attempt the entire expulsion of the European power, and very judiciously conceived that the occupation of the troops on the expedition to Palembang, afforded a favourable moment to effect this object. He formed a general confederacy of all the native courts, constituting as it were the strength of Java, of which he was the head. Even the animosity which had subsisted between the Emperor of Sulu and the Sultan, and which it was supposed would have proved an insurmountable bar to their union, yielded in the present instance to other motives; and all family feuds were laid aside while the Chiefs combined their forces to effect the destruction of the English, as well as that of all the Dutch colonists settled along a coast in an extended line of seven hundred miles, who naturally looked to the British government for protection.

The magnitude of the threatened danger called for prompt and vigorous measures. Mr. Raffles made every preparation in his power, and determined to proceed to Samarang. The information which he obtained there, led him to suppose that it would be difficult to bring the Sultan of Djocjocarta to terms. He therefore collected such a force in the neighbourhood as would enable him to dictate those terms which he deemed advisable for the safety of the Island.

At this moment of anxiety and danger, Colonel Gillespie returned from Palembang: he had embarked with his staff, in a small schooner, and after several narrow escapes from shipwreck, arrived at Batavia on the 1st of June, 1812, and with the zeal which always animated him when danger was to be encountered, set out on the 6th overland for Samarang, to unite with Mr. Raffles in the contemplated operations.

Matters were now come to such a crisis, that to have waited for the arrival of the troops from Palembang, (who from having made a circuitous route, were likely to be detained some weeks longer) would have been dangerous. It was, therefore, resolved to move such of the military force as could be collected, to Djocjocarta: and in the event of hostilities being unavoidable, to break at once that chain of combination which, if suffered to encrease and strengthen, would in all probability prove the absolute ruin of the European settlements in this part of the East.

On the evening of the 17th of June, the Lieutenant-Governor and the Commander of the Forces arrived at Djocjocarta; and immediately on their arrival, the Sultan, who had long before prepared for active operations, sent out strong bodies of horse to intercept the communication in their rear, by burning and destroying the bridges, and laying waste the country. Upon receiving this intelligence, Colonel Gillespie went in person, escorted by fifty dragoons, to reconnoitre the country; and after making several detours, fell in with a large body of the Sultan's horse; but as

no final determination with respect to offensive measures had yet taken place, he was withheld by sentiments of honour from dispersing these people by force, and therefore endeavoured through Mr. Crawfurd, the Resident, who accompanied him as interpreter, to induce them by every amicable means to return peaceably to the palace. To all solicitations, and even threats, however, they paid no regard for a long time; and some stones were actually thrown from slings, which the Javanese use very dexterously. Still, amidst these provocations, forbearance was observed, and at last they consented to disperse; but on a sudden availing themselves of the growing darkness, they threw their spears, and wounded a serjeant and four dragoons. This act was followed by several other attacks during the night upon the cavalry patrols, which obliged the dragoons to cut their way sword in hand through the surrounding multitudes, with the loss of one man killed and one wounded.

The following day the Lieutenant-Governor being still anxious to avoid the effusion of blood, and if possible to bring matters to an amicable adjustment, sent a messenger with the final resolution of Government to the Sultan. But this chief continued deaf to every proposition that was made to him, and feeling confident in his accumulating force and the strength of his fortifications, he scrupled not to add threats to his insult, and dismissed the messenger.

This unfavourable result of the negociation, the particulars of which were instantly communicated by the Lieutenant-Governor to the Commander of the Forces, shewed clearly that every thing now depended on the issue of a battle; and that any further delay from a principle of lenity would only serve to heighten the insolence of the enemy, and consequently to injure the colony.

The result of the subsequent operations are briefly detailed in the following private letter from Mr. Raffles to Lord Minto, dated Samarang, 25th June, 1812.

" Necessity having compelled me to resort to actual hostilities against Djocjocarta, it affords me the highest satisfaction to communicate to your Lordship the successful and happy result of our operations. Having taken measures for concentrating the whole disposable force at Djocjocarta, I proceeded in person, accompanied by Colonel Gillespie, as far as Klatten on the 16th, and to Djocjocarta on the 17th instant.

" The Sultan refusing to comply with my summons, and several of our dragoons having been cut off in detail, decisive measures became necessary, and on the 18th, in the afternoon, we commenced a heavy cannonade from the Fort on his Craton or Palace; it was immediately returned on his side, and although no further measure was taken by us during the whole of the 19th, no symptoms of concession were made by him. Our force was small, not exceeding 600 firelocks, and rather more than that number in Dragoons, Artillery, and Sepoys. A part of our ammunition was cut off, and nothing remained for us but an assault, which was attempted and carried in less than three hours. On the morning of the 20th, at nine o'clock, the

Craton was ours; the person of the Sultan, as well as that of the hereditary Prince secured, without plunder or harsh usage, and the country at our disposal.

" In order to estimate the services performed by the troops on this occasion, I should mention that the Craton was a regular fortified position, about three miles in circumference, surrounded by a wide and deep ditch, with a wall forty-five feet high, defended by well constructed bastions, and forming ramparts all round.

" The approach to the Craton being further secured by lower walls without the ditch on the opposite side of the road, and the gates protected by drawbridges, after the European model, at the period of assault it was calculated that there could not be less than 11,000 armed men within the Craton, while large parties of one, two, three, and even four thousand, occupied positions without the Craton, blocking up the main roads.

" Gillespie was himself. The assault was made by escalade; we soon got possession of the ramparts, and turned their own guns upon them. The hereditary Prince took the first occasion to throw himself on our protection; the Sultan was taken in his strongest hold, and our plan throughout was most successful; the loss on our side very inconsiderable, and comparatively nothing; on the part of the enemy dreadful.

" I regret to say that Gillespie himself was wounded in the left arm, a flesh wound, and although serious not dangerous. Lieutenant Robinson, of the 78th, Lieutenants Paul and Maclean, of the 14th, were wounded, with no greater loss in non-commissioned and privates killed and wounded than about forty: Lieutenant Maclean since dead. Our loss, previous to the 25th, was principally in the Dragoons, eighteen men and horses being killed and wounded, Lieutenant Hall among the latter. Captain Young and Lieutenant Hunter were blown up and much burnt, but not dangerously.

" The steadiness with which the enemy received the attack, and the great military defences and resources within his power, have much enhanced the credit of our handful of troops.

" I may now congratulate your Lordship on the conquest of Java being substantially accomplished, for although the great and valorous deeds which wrested the colony from the hands of a hostile European power placed the provinces on the sea-coast at our disposal, we never till this event could call ourselves masters of the more valuable provinces of the interior. Nay, our possessions on the sea-coast would always have been precarious, and had the military force been materially reduced, much eventual danger was to have been apprehended. Java will long have reason to remember with gratitude the efforts of the 20th June.

" The hereditary Prince has been raised to the throne; all the principal chieftains have submitted to his authority, and the country has every appearance of tranquillity. I passed from Djocjocarta to this place in thirteen hours (about a hundred

miles), and accounts from every quarter confirm my expectations that the arrangements I had made would prevent the possibility of commotion.

" The European power is for the first time paramount in Java. We are now able to dictate the terms of the future connection with the British government and the native administration. A population of not less than a million has been wrested from the tyranny and oppression of an independent, ignorant, and cruel prince, and a country yielding to none on earth in fertility and cultivation, affording a revenue of not less than a million of Spanish dollars in the year, placed at our disposal. The result at Djocjocarta is decisive at Souracarta, and that court must necessarily fall under the same arrangement. The population and cultivation of the Emperor's dominions are not inferior to those of the Sultan's, and this statement alone will convey to your Lordship an idea of what has been obtained in the short space of five days.

" I have not yet received Colonel Gillespie's report, and consequently am unable to forward the official account.

" The Craton having fallen by assault, it was impossible to make any provision for Government to cover the expenses of the undertaking, consequently the whole plunder became prize to the army; it is considerable, but it could not be in better hands; they richly deserve what they got. I cannot speak too highly of the conduct of the army.

" By order of the honourable the Lieutenant-Governor,
" T. O. Travers,
" Assist. Sec. to Govt. Mil. Dept."

After the conquest of Djocjocarta, the military appropriated to themselves the plunder taken in the town. Mr. Raffles expostulated on their doing so, without first referring to him as the chief authority, and received the following letter upon the subject from Colonel Gillespie.

" My Dear Sir,

" Your letter of the 1st instant reached me at Djocjocarta, about four o'clock yesterday. I regret that any thing irregular or informal should have taken place; but you are no doubt so well assured of my respect and esteem, that any breach of propriety or etiquette can only be attributed to the hurry and confusion so generally prevalent after a conquest of such magnitude and importance.

" I had myself suffered, and continue to suffer, so severely from the wound I received in the action, that I was almost incapable of attending to any arrangement that might require my approbation.

" The officers advanced so many precedents when Mr. Hanson submitted your

letter to them yesterday, that I am persuaded all their former resolutions were considered at the time both regular and correct.

" If your wishes had been received before the distribution had taken place, it is unnecessary for me to say, that every thing should have been immediately suspended, and the arrangements referred to your authority; but as this measure was adopted prior to the communication of your sentiments, I trust most sincerely you will acquit us of intentional impropriety, and afford us the sanction of your support and approbation.

" Upon maturely considering the distribution of the prize money, I clearly perceive that the subject should have been referred to your authority, before a measure of so much importance had taken place. The pain and agony I have suffered since the conquest of Djocjocarta will, I am certain, prove an adequate excuse in your mind for any unintentional informality; and I have reason to rejoice at the entire support and cordiality experienced by me on every occasion that called for mutual participation.

" It affords me a proof of the dependence you have placed upon my anxiety and zeal for the public service, which can only be equalled by the respect and esteem with which I am,

" Robert Rollo Gillespie."

It will be seen by the following extracts, that Mr. Raffles had the satisfaction to receive from Lord Minto, the most unqualified approbation of all his measures.

" *Calcutta, 15th Dec.* 1812.

" My Dear Sir,

" I shall be impatient for the materials which are called for, because I am anxious to deliver, without reserve or qualification, the very high and favourable view I now have of that whole series of measures, beginning with the expedition to Palembang, and ending with the arrangement of the two courts of Solo and Djocjocarta, connected and combined with each other as those measures were. I consider the result of the latter proceeding as very glorious to your administration, during the short period of which more will have been accomplished for the security of the European power, the tranquillity of the island, and the solid improvement of general prosperity and happiness, than several centuries have been able to perform, when the superiority of European power was exerted, unencumbered by the scruples of justice and good faith.

" Nothing can be more excellent than all your arrangements in the eastern districts of Java.

" With regard to Palembang and Banca, your latest reports have enabled us to

approve, without reservation, the arrangement formed at Palembang, and the annexation of Banca to the territories of the East India Company, our minds being satisfied upon the two points of justice and expediency. The sovereignty of the Sultan of Palembang in Banca is placed beyond question, and leaves that dependence of Palembang indisputably subject, both to the laws of conquest in so just a war, and to the effect of cession from the authority under which it is now held.

" Believe me ever, my dear Sir, most truly and affectionately your's,

" MINTO."

This private letter is so far of importance as it shews, in the most unreserved manner, Lord Minto's anxious desire to record his opinion publicly before he quitted India—the delay in acquiring and transmitting the necessary materials unfortunately prevented his doing so, and to this unavoidable omission may be attributed much of the trouble and difficulty in which Mr. Raffles was afterwards involved.

CHAPTER VI.

Difference of opinion between Colonel Gillespie and Mr. Raffles—Re-establishment of Society of Arts—Importance of connection between Java and China to the East India Company's interests—Consequence of a King's government upon their monopoly—Lord Minto's anxiety to provide for Mr Raffles, in the prospect of the Island being transferred to the crown—Lord Minto's approval of the measures of government—Calling in depreciated paper—Promise of an official approbation—Account of the Colonies—Depreciated state of paper currency—Want of specie—Land rental—Revenues of government—Proposed literary work—Lord Minto's return to England—His last letter on leaving Calcutta—Expedition to Sambas.

Mr. Raffles always entertained a high sense of the military courage and character of General Gillespie, and lamented that on some points of government their views did not exactly coincide. The permanent military force requisite to be maintained in the Island, after its conquest was completed, became necessarily a subject of discussion. Lord Minto foreseeing that this was a point on which a difference of opinion might occur, left positive orders, before he quitted Java, to keep it within certain defined limits.

The following letter to Mr. Ramsay, Secretary to the Court of Directors, touches on this subject.

"*January*, 1813.

"Some difference of opinion has latterly occurred between the Commander of the Forces and myself, with regard to the military establishments on the island. These appear to have arisen from a desire, on the part of the military Commander, to maintain as large a force, and to render that force as efficient, as possible; while, on the other hand, the directions and injunctions, which I had received from the Supreme Government, obliged me to keep the same within defined limits. The force provisionally fixed for this Island was intended and declared to be only for a defined and limited purpose—the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and security against any predatory attack on the part of the enemy. The Commander of the Forces, on the contrary, has been always in expectation of attack from Europe, and would prepare accordingly. The uncertainty with which any decision can be formed, as to the future government of the colony, has naturally induced his Majesty's officers to calculate upon Java becoming a King's colony, while the absence of all official information on the subject

has weighed with me in maintaining unimpaired, as far as possible, the provisional arrangements made by Lord Minto, with the view of Java becoming a permanent settlement of the Company.

"There are at present on the Island three King's regiments, the 14th, 59th, and 78th, averaging about 800 men each; two troops of his Majesty's 22d Dragoons; a detachment of the Royal Artillery from Ceylon; and two troops of hussars raised on the Island, but not yet attached to either the King's or Company's army. The Sepoy battalions, of which there are five, are weak, but recruits to complete them to 800 men each are daily expected from Bengal, besides a corps of native cavalry, raised expressly for the service of the island: these, with a detachment of the Bengal artillery, Madras pioneers, and the two colonial regiments of Amboynese and Javanese, compose the regular force, which it falls on this government to maintain, independent of a few police corps. I should not, however, omit to mention the Bengal European regiment, the head-quarters of which are now on the Island, with about 350 men, principally recruits, but rapidly improving in discipline.

"Were the question at once decided, I apprehend that the whole of the King's troops, with the exception of one or perhaps two regiments, might be removed; and for the general service of the Island their place might be much better supplied by natives of India. The European troops are here upon much heavier allowances than in India, and on the whole bear too heavy on the finances of the colony. The natives have a much greater dread of the Sepoy than of an European, and the saving would be immense. If possible, a Sepoy force should be maintained even in the event of this Island becoming a King's colony.

"I forwarded by the Java several reports from Dr. Horsfield on the natural history of the Eastern Islands; duplicates of these, with specimens of plants, and a collection of quadrupeds, birds, &c., are transmitted by the Juliana, and I trust will be found acceptable, and worthy of a place in the Oriental Museum. The Literary Society of Batavia, which has been so long dormant, has been again revived, its constitution has undergone an entire change, and a spirit of inquiry and research is obvious among its members. An additional volume of the Batavian Researches is now completing, and I trust it will not be long before the Society gives to the world a proof of the advantages it derives under the mild and protecting principles of the British government.

"Statistical accounts are nearly completed of the whole of the Island, and the proceedings of the commission of which Colonel Mackenzie is the President being about to close, I look forward to an early opportunity of communicating on every thing which concerns the happiness and prosperity of this colony, and of forwarding a detailed and accurate account of its resources, advantages, and capabilities, under any and whatever authority or system of government it may be eventually placed."

It was about this time that Mr. Raffles re-established the Society of Arts and

Sciences in Batavia, to which he alludes in the preceding latter. This instiution had entirely declined in consequence of the difficulties to which the Island of Java had been exposed for many years. He hoped by this means to promote literary and scientific pursuits; and it afforded him a source of great pleasure and satisfaction to be the instrument of giving new life to the first institution of the kind, which had ever been established by Europeans in the East. This society continued to meet regularly under his watchful care and superintendance, until the Island was restored to the Dutch. The addresses which he delivered on the first meeting of the society, and at a subsequent one in 1815, tended to excite a warm interest in all the members, while they shewed that the performance of the arduous duties of a public station are not incompatible, and may be combined with, an active pursuit of literary and scientific objects.

" *A Discourse delivered at a Meeting of the Society of Arts and Sciences, in Batavia, on the Twenty-fourth day of April,* 1813, *being the Anniversary of the Institution. By the Hon.* Thomas Stamford Raffles, *President.*

" Gentlemen,

" Although I have naturally withheld my signature from the address to Lord Minto, which now lies on the table, in consequence of the very pointed manner in which the framer of that address has noticed the protection and encouragement which I have personally afforded to the Society, I shall have much pleasure in forwarding it, and in personally soliciting his Lordship to take the Society under his immediate patronage. I am satisfied that he will entertain a due sense of the consideration which you have shewn to his exalted talents, and I flatter myself that we may confidently count on his promoting the views and objects of the Institution to the utmost extent.

" Elected as your President by the unanimous voice of the Society, and earnestly solicited by the most conspicuous of your Members to accept that station, I have not felt myself competent to decline so marked a distinction; but I must assure you that I feel very sensibly my entire inability to execute its important duties, either with benefit to you or with credit to myself. Far more preferable would it have been to me had this honourable post devolved upon one of your more competent members, and that you had permitted me to have mixed with you as one of your ordinary though not least zealous associates.

" On the present occasion, however, assembled as we are, in commemoration of the anniversary of the Institution of the Batavian Society, with such fair prospects before us of promoting the original design of its establishment, under the anticipated protection of so illustrious a Patron, I cannot refrain from taking a general though imperfect review, of the progress of the Society, from its first institution, nor

from indulging in the contemplation of the lights, which the future exertions of its active and zealous members may throw on man and nature in these remote regions.

" In common with other human institutions, the Batavian Society has been subject to many changes and vicissitudes; but it is to the calamitous effects of a war which has desolated the finest countries in Europe, and which extended its baneful influence to this distant Isle, that we are principally to attribute its decline. Cut off from all communication with the mother-country, and distracted by internal jealousies and disputes, science drooped, and this Society, which at one time maintained so distinguished a character, almost ceased to be known.

" The Batavian Society has, I believe, the honour of being the first institution of a literary nature established by Europeans in the East. Previous to its establishment, Mr. Radermacher, a gentleman of distinguished talents and a zealous promoter of the Christian Religion, and of science, with a few friends at Batavia, conceived the idea of assembling together a number of persons of consideration and ability, with the view of encouraging the arts and sciences in this capital and the other Indian establishments then dependant on Holland. They considered that in India, as in Europe, where for two centuries the reformation in letters preceded that in religion, a taste for the arts and sciences must be introduced previously to the general adoption of the Christian Religion in the East; but they were aware of the difficulties to be encountered, under the circumstances in which the colonies of Holland were then placed, and a considerable period elapsed before the design was carried into effect.

" At length, in the year 1777, when Mr. Radermacher and his father-in-law, the Governor-General De Klerk, were newly elected directors of the Society of Haerlem, a Programma appeared, which contained the plan of extending the branches of that Society to the Indies. The distance and extent of the Dutch colonial possessions in the East did not, however, admit of this plan being realized, but the idea being thus brought forward to public notice, a separate Society was, by the unremitting perseverance of Mr. Radermacher, who may be called the founder of the Institution, established at Batavia.

" On the 24th of April, 1778, this Society was duly established, under the authority of government, and after the example of Haerlem, took for its motto, *The Public Utility*. On its first organization the Society consisted of 192 members, the Governor-General being Chief Director, and the members of the High Regency Directors. The ordinary members were elected from among the most distinguished inhabitants of Batavia, and the possessions of the Company; and it was enacted, that as many as were present should annually hold a general assembly, in order to judge and decide upon the answers received to the different questions proposed, to propose new questions, and to make general regulations. In addition to this general direction, a Committee was nominated, consisting of eight members, with a presi-

dent and secretary, who were charged with the daily occurrences, and with authority to decide upon and carry into effect whatever might not admit of delay, reporting their proceedings at the ensuing general assembly.

" The Society selected as objects of research and enquiry whatever could be useful to agriculture, commerce, and the welfare of the colony; it encouraged every question relating to natural history, antiquities, and the manners and usages of the native inhabitants, but expressly avoided entering upon any subject which might relate to the East India Company; and in order the better to define the objects and contribute to their accomplishment, a programma was from time to time printed and circulated abroad.

" These programmas contain many important questions, as well general as particular, relating to agriculture, commerce, the means of removing the insalubrity of Batavia, the diseases of the climate generally, and other points which clearly mark the objects of the Society. Among these, the following question may deserve notice:—

" '*By what means of finesse do the Preachers and Missionaries of the Moslem faith succeed, even at the present day, in converting Pagans to the faith of the Koran, and in establishing them in this faith?*'

" Although it would seem that this question might either have been answered generally by stating '*that the Mahomedans at the present day owe their success principally to their more intimate assimilation with those to be converted.*' Or, perhaps, eventually by '*a philosophical and political view of the first establishment of the Mahomedan Religion on the islands and coasts of the seas lying east of the Straits of Malacca and Sunda.*' It does not appear to have been replied to in any of the subsequent volumes.

" The view which I have just mentioned seems to fall peculiarly within the province of the Society, and to be highly deserving its attention; it is a part of history which seems hitherto to have been too little investigated, and a tract on the subject, while it discussed the question alluded to, would naturally introduce other important subjects.

" The Society was no sooner fully established, and its proceedings generally known, than it received from all quarters various acquisitions to its cabinet and library. Mr. Radermacher himself presented the Society with a convenient house, and with eight cases of valuable books, a collection of animals, fossils, minerals, musical instruments of the Javanese, and of the different coins current in the East; and in the same year, by the liberality of Mr. Bartto, the Society was enabled to form a Botanical Establishment in a garden presented by that gentleman.

" In 1779 the Society undertook to print the first volume of its Transactions; the second appeared in 1780, and the third in 1781, but from the want of types and other unfortunate circumstances, a programma only appeared in 1782.

In 1786 the fourth volume was, however, given to the public, but printed in Holland, by the commissaries of the Society, under the special privilege of the States General.

" After this period the Society observing that the questions proposed remained unanswered, set to work themselves, and published the fifth volume in 1790. In this and the sixth volume, which appeared in 1792, the essays are written exclusively by the members.

" In 1794 the first two essays, intended for the seventh volume, were printed; but no subsequent publication of the transactions of the Society appears to have taken place.

" Subsequent to this period, when the revolutions in Europe, the war and other circumstances of the times, continued to interfere with the prosperity of the Society, it was suggested by some of the members, that by adopting a more limited plan for its proceedings, the objects which the Society had in view might still be obtained; and accordingly a resolution appears to have been taken to this effect, to which the approval of the High Regency was obtained, in May 1800.

" Under this new organization of the Society, the ' Public Utility' was still the declared object of the Institution; but the publication of questions, except at the particular suggestion of any member, was discontinued. The Society still continued to consist of men of ability and talent. The direction of the Society was placed in the hands of a Directory of nine persons, including the secretary, who were chosen from among the members, each taking precedence in his turn for one month. Corresponding members were elected at the principal settlements and out-stations, and the general annual assemblies were abolished. In the hands of this Directory the Society appears to have deposited every thing; and considering the distracted state of the country, such a conduct may perhaps have been essential for maintaining its existence during the convulsed period which ensued.

" Notwithstanding the exertions of the Directory to complete the seventh volume, it was found impracticable, and the only acquisitions which it appears to have obtained during the period in which the affairs of the Society were exclusively under its management, are the communications of Dr. Thomas Horsfield. This gentleman was proposed to the High Regency, and authorized to prosecute his botanical researches under the sanction of government. After several excursions in different parts of the island, he established himself at Souracarta with the view of forming a *Flora Javana,* forwarding to the Society from time to time reports of his progress, dried plants, and useful descriptions and accounts of discoveries made by him in natural history.

" Such was the state of the Society at the change of government, in 1811, when the dark perspective was illumined, and the talents and ambition of the

Society again shone forth from the obscurity in which political circumstances had involved it.

" Without noticing particularly the various essays which adorn the pages of the six volumes of the Transactions already published, I shall briefly observe, that as far as my limited knowledge of the language enables me to judge, they contain much useful and interesting information, particularly on economical subjects materially connected with the interests of science and literature.

" In the first volume will be found an interesting description of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, and the transactions are replete with various valuable tracts on agriculture, commerce, political economy, and natural history, by Messrs. Radermacher, Van Hogendorp, Hooyman, Van Iperen, Baron Van Wurmb, Couperus, Van der Steege, Titsing, Tessiere, Van Boeckholtz, and others.

" Having thus taken a retrospective view of the Society, from its first institution until the period when it was new modelled under the regulations of last year, I shall proceed briefly to notice the contents of the volume, which is now sent to the press, and to communicate such suggestions as occur to me with regard to our future proceedings.

" In various branches of natural history, Doctor Horsfield is eminently conspicuous, and the papers which will now come before the public from his pen, are highly interesting to science. On the antiquities and native history of the Island, some light is thrown by Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, Surveyor-General on the Madras Establishment, in his interesting tract on the Ruins of Prambana, forming the capital of one of the early dynasties of this Island; and on the Island of Borneo some interesting data are furnished, on which to found our further enquiries in that immense island, from the pen of the late Dr. Leyden. The circumstances under which this paper was written are stated in a note annexed to the paper itself.

" Had our late valuable secretary, Dr. Hunter, been spared but a few months, the present volume would not have made its appearance without containing some highly interesting essay from him. His death is deeply deplored by us all, as must for ever be the unexpected and untimely fate of my departed friend Dr. Leyden, who, although not actually initiated as a member of this Society, came from the other India panting after knowledge, and busy in the pursuit of science. Had Providence ordained that he should have remained a few months on this Island in the exercise of the wonderful powers of his ever active mind, I am convinced, that from his extraordinary acquirements in all the languages of the East, his deep erudition, and his zeal in the cause, he would have found it no difficult task to have traced the connection which formerly subsisted between the Eastern Islands and Western India, from a comparison of their languages and dialects only. His views were the most extended and comprehensive that a philosophic mind can conceive.

Ardent in the pursuit of knowledge in every direction, and rising with difficulties, his uncommon mind and rare talents must naturally have overcome every obstacle.

" A more convincing proof cannot perhaps be offered of the views which he contemplated in setting his foot in this capital of the Eastern Islands, than in the sketch of Borneo, which I have just noticed. This was prepared by him on his passage from Malacca to Batavia during the progress of the expedition. It stands uncorrected by his masterly hand, but even in its present state, will, I have no doubt, be found to merit a place in your publications.

" Irreparable as the loss of these inestimable promoters of our design and ornaments of our age must be, and deep as our regret may be felt, we are not to despair of what may hereafter be done; but rather, from the loss we have sustained, put our shoulders more firmly to the wheel, and exert ourselves more than under other more fortunate circumstances, would have been necessary.

" The first point which it appears to me essential to notice with regard to our future proceedings, is the necessity of encouraging and attaining a more general knowledge of the Javanese language. Hitherto the communication with the inhabitants of the country has been chiefly through illiterate interpreters, or when direct, through the medium of a barbarous dialect of Malays, confounded and confused by the introduction of Portuguese and Dutch. Without a thorough knowledge of this language, it is impossible to form any accurate idea of the modes of thinking or acting among the people of this country. Much valuable information may be expected to be found in their books, and when they are more generally known, an attempt may be made to develop the early history of the Island, which, with the exception of some leading facts, remains, anterior to the introduction of Mahomedanism, involved in obscurity and fable.

" I have already in my possession three detailed histories of the Island, stated to be taken from their own written accounts; but as they have passed through one, and in some cases two, intermediate languages, and the persons intrusted with the first translation not perhaps understanding the subject, I cannot depend upon them.

" Vocabularies have already been collected of the different dialects of the Javanese, and also of the principal languages of the Eastern Seas; and from the unremitting and indefatigable exertions of Colonel Mackenzie, whose researches into the history and antiquities of Western India so eminently qualify him for similar pursuits in this quarter, we are justified in the expectation that many of the doubtful points regarding the early connection of Java and the Eastern Islands with the continent of India will be cleared up.

" The collections of Colonel Mackenzie, who has personally visited almost every part of the Island, prove the zeal with which he has taken up the subject; and on his return to India, where an opportunity may be afforded of decyphering several inscriptions found in different parts of Java, of which he has taken *fac*

similes, we are promised that his exertions will not be relaxed in endeavouring to illustrate whatever may be important.

" The opportunity afforded of increasing our stock of Javanese Manuscripts has not been lost; and if the Government should be enabled to prosecute a plan, which is in contemplation, for forming an establishment for the acquisition of the language, we may hope that translations of the most important will soon find a place on the shelves of our library.

" Dr. Horsfield still continues his pursuits in natural history, with unabated zeal; and although he has been for a time removed from the immediate field of Java, he is prosecuting, in a neighbouring Island, pursuits of a similar nature. The Island of Banca, which has lately fallen into the possession of our Government, had never been explored by Europeans. Dr. Horsfield has undertaken the task, and from his talents, ability, and industry, the most sanguine expectations may be realized.

" Mr. Muntinghe also, whose enlarged views and extraordinary endowments so peculiarly qualify him to direct you in the paths of science and literature, will not be wanting in contributing his share to the general purposes of the Society. He has already collected many highly interesting tracts on the native Laws and Institutions, as they are traced to have existed antecedent to the introduction of the Mahomedan faith; and when his information is more mature, and his collections more complete, we are justified in the expectation, that he will devote to the Society some portion of that extensive stock of literary acquirement and sound judgment for which he stands so eminently conspicuous.

" To the learned Professor Ross, the Society, is already highly indebted, and while we cannot but consider our thanks as peculiarly due to this gentleman for his exertions in preserving the existence of the Society during a period of peculiar delicacy and difficulty, I am satisfied that we may look to him and the other Dutch members for the most essential aid in future. To particularize many of these members would perhaps be invidious to the whole, but if I may be allowed to introduce the names of Engelhard, Couperus and Van Naersen, and to calculate on the advantages which must be derived from the investigations and communications of these gentlemen, I am sure there are few among us who will not readily admit their claim to pre-eminence and distinction.

" Without entering on the various subjects which offer themselves for enquiry on Java, and which, not to intrude on your time at present, may be more advantageously introduced in a list of desiderata, I shall confine myself to a few observations on the present state of the countries in its vicinity which seem most to demand attention.

" The members of the Society must have been forcibly struck with the rapid progress made by the Asiatic Society in Calcutta; an institution of recent date,

compared with that established at Batavia; and however much the decline of the latter may be attributed to the political circumstances already stated, I am inclined to think, that its decay may in some degree have been accelerated by the nature of its constitution. A very essential change has lately been effected, and the regulations of the Batavian Society have been new modelled, nearly on the same principle as those of the Asiatic Society in Bengal. Although, therefore, we may not at the present moment boast of so many eminent literary characters as are to be found among the members of that Society, it is but fair to flatter ourselves with the expectation, that under the fortunate change of circumstances which has taken place, with regard to this Island, and the new organization of the Society, our exertions may tend considerably to a better knowledge of this part of the world, and the general advancement of literature and science.

" The objects of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta are so fully explained in the discourses of Sir William Jones, that it is unnecessary to enter into any explanation of them here. The researches of that Society are not confined immediately to Western India; they extend throughout the whole regions of Asia. The whole circle of the sciences, and the wide field of Asia, are alike open to your observation, but it occurs to me, that the interests and object of the Institution will be more advantageously promoted by its exertions being directed to what falls more immediately within your reach.

" It is to what has been emphatically termed the " Further East" that I would direct your more immediate attention; and here, if I am not mistaken, an ample field is afforded. The history of Sumatra, by Mr. Marsden, has thrown so clear a light on the country and character of the inhabitants, that I have but to refer you to that valuable work for all that is yet known respecting that interesting Island. Much, however, still remains to be done, even in this quarter, and our recent connection with Palembang, and the Southern Provinces of the Island, promises to afford every facility to our enquiries. Of Banca, we shall no doubt possess the most accurate and interesting information, on the return of Dr. Horsfield, and as our recent establishment in that quarter forms a new centre, from which our enquiries may diverge, the various countries in its vicinity will no doubt be early explored.

" Of the chain of Islands lying East of Java, and with it denominated generally the Sunda Islands, I shall only notice particularly that of Bali. This Island lies so close to Java that it is surprising so little is known of it. All accounts agree, that vestiges of the Hindu or B'hudist religion, perhaps of both, are still to be found. Some accounts go so far as to state, that in the interior of the country, the inhabitants are divided into four tribes, termed Bramana, Sudra, Wazier, and Sutra; and it is certain, that on the final establishment of the Mahomedan religion in Java, the Hindus or B'hudists, who remained unconverted, took refuge in that Island. I will

not venture further on this unknown ground, feeling satisfied that another year will not be allowed to pass by without personal observation on the spot by some inquisitive enquirer.

" We have hitherto only adverted to the countries lying in the more immediate vicinity of Java, but in extending the prospect, and directing our views eastward to the other islands of the Archipelago, our attention is forcibly attracted by the great Island of Borneo, hitherto a blank on the chart of the world. From the best information we have yet been able to obtain of this immense Island, greater in extent than any civilized nation of Europe, and abundantly rich in the most valuable natural productions, it would appear that the whole country was, at no very remote period, divided under the three empires of Borneo, Sucadana, and Banjer Masin, of which the reigning princes of the two latter trace their descent from Mah'japahit in Java.

" Borneo or B'rni, now termed by us Borneo Proper, having been the first port visited by Europeans, may have given rise to the name of Borneo being erroneously applied to the whole Island, which by the native inhabitants, and universally by the Eastern States, is termed Pulu K'lemantan. Its princes deduce their origin from the Sultans of Johore, but such is the wretched state to which their country has fallen, that they possess little more than nominal authority, except on the immediate spot of their residence.

" Sucadana, though the most conspicuous in latter times, is now reduced to little more than a name. To the rise of Sambas, Pontiana, and other petty states on its numerous rivers, originating in grants and usurpations of various portions of the empire, the destruction of the seat of government by the Dutch, and the general imbecility and want of enterprize on the part of the reigning princes, may be attributed the state into which the present possessor of the title has latterly fallen. He resides entirely at Matan, an inconsiderable place far up an adjacent river. This prince still possesses the large diamond which has been for eight generations in his family, but retains little other valuable appendage or consideration to support either his rank or authority.

" Banjer Masin, although not much indebted to the interference of the Dutch in promoting its internal improvement, still owes much of its remaining respectability as a State, to the protection afforded by the presence of the European authority. Deprived, however, latterly of that support, convulsed by the consequences of the measures which closed the period of Dutch influence, and exposed to the inroads of piratical enterprise, it was rapidly falling into decay, and in a short period its princes would perhaps have had little more to boast than those of Sucadana, had not the fostering care of the European power been again extended by the encouragement given to the wishes and expectations of the reigning prince, whose conduct affords, amongst many others, a convincing proof how much the interests, welfare, and even

existence of the native states depend on the ability and character of the reigning prince *.

" A more intimate acquaintance with Banjer Masin than with the other parts of the Island enables us to speak more decidedly with regard to the progress of civilization in the interior of the country, and the general state of the Southern Provinces. Something has already been written on the northern part, and the settlements formerly maintained by the English have thrown some light on the character of the country and habits of the population in that quarter; the interference which has been found requisite, for the immediate suppression of piracy in the states formerly appertaining to Sucadana, will also afford the means by which much interesting information will be obtained from thence.

" Banjer Masin, in common with Java, still retains some vestiges of Hindu antiquity, and among others it may not be uninteresting to notice the circumstance of the Sultan being in possession of a golden tortoise with several rings, on which are engraved the figures of Ishwara and other Hindu deities, and impressions of the cow and elephant †.

" Of the population of the Island, all that we are yet justified in saying is, that the Moslems appear to have established themselves in authority over the aborigines, who are generally termed Orang Dayak, in those parts of the country adjacent to settlements which they have formed on the banks of the many rivers with which the

* The Factory of Banjer Masin was withdrawn, and the connection abandoned by the Dutch, early in 1809, the Sultan purchasing, for the sum of 50,000 Rix Dollars, the forts and buildings, on his being declared independent.

† The manner in which the golden tortoise was discovered is thus related:—" In the reign of the former Sultan, a native of Banjer Masin, when at sea in company with a *Kling*, or native of the coast of Coromandel, ascertained from conversation that the latter, who was a Hindu, had a secret object in proceeding to Banjer Masin, and at length discovered that object to be the recovery of property belonging to his ancestors, which appeared to lie buried in the earth at a place called Mirampiaù. Stimulated by the expectation of gain, he dissuaded the Hindu from immediately prosecuting his object, and bent his own course directly to the spot, where, after digging to a considerable depth, he discovered several compartments inclosed by walls, in one of which he found the tortoise, with a pot of gold-dust on the back." Intelligence being immediately carried to the Sultan, his further researches were prevented, in consequence of the spot being seized as a droit of royalty; after which no further investigation appears to have taken place. The cow is said to be never seen among the emblems of Hindu or Vedantic Mythology; but the Ox frequently. The elephant is introduced merely as an ornament, except when repeated in certain stories with other figures of the drama. The elephant exhibited on the seal-ring may have some allusion to the *Calinga* or *Telinga* state, the chief of which was denominated the *Gaja Putty*, or *Lord of Elephants*. In like manner as the Chief or King of the *Carnatic* was denominated *Nara Patty*, or *Lord of Men*, but the seal of *Carnatic* was a *wild-hog*. Pillars and remains of buildings, evidently traces of a more enlightened population at a remote period, have been noticed a considerable way up the river; but until that part of the country is visited by Europeans, it would be premature to offer any observation on their origin and design.

Island is watered. These extend some distance inland, but the Mahomedan influence has not spread far into the interior. Indeed, the mass of the population, which may have submitted to the Moslem Chiefs, still remains unconverted to the Mahomedan faith, and in the interior their habits are so barbarous as to prevent all intercourse, even with the Mahomedans most in their vicinity. Those subjected to the Mahomedans appear to be mostly tractable and of mild disposition, but so wretchedly sunk in barbarous stupidity as to submit to every indignity without resistance, while those who still retain their independence, and who are to be considered as the bulk of the original population, form innumerable ferocious tribes, constantly at variance with each other, and individually rejecting internal government and controul.

" It may be a question whether the present state of society, among the unsubdued inhabitants, is to be attributed to any marked distinction between them and those who have submitted to the Mahomedan rule, or whether the barbarity, which now disgraces human nature, may not be traced in a great measure to the conduct observed to those who have submitted to a foreign influence. Be this as it may, it is a lamentable fact not to be disputed, that at the present day, almost within sight of Java, the sacrifice of human beings at ceremonies and festivals is so common, that enterprises are undertaken divested of every other object but the attainment of human beings for such occasions.

" Where such practices are prevalent, it is not to be expected that a country can boast extensive population; indeed, under such circumstances, it may rather be matter of surprise that Borneo should be so populous as it is. Happily there is no state of human nature so debased as not to afford a field for improvement, and although the horrid custom alluded to would seem to check any sanguine hope of a rapid change being effected, there are some traits to be found, even in these savages, which afford an opening for intercourse and consequent improvement. They are not without industry, and when met by candour and kind treatment, are rather disposed than otherwise to a trading intercourse. From mild and judicious management much may be expected.

" From what has been said of the present state of Borneo, it follows, that we are not to calculate on any immediate addition to our stock of useful arts; but as every untrodden path affords some new incitement to the inquisitive mind, we may look for much in the various branches of natural history;—to the philosophic mind a wide and interesting field is opened, and while we contemplate, in a political point of view, the advantages which must result from bringing forth, and directing in a proper course, the latent energies and resources of so large a portion of the habitable globe, it must be a pleasing reflection to the philanthropist, that so many of our fellow-creatures are thus gradually retrieved from ignorance, barbarism, and self-destruction.

" Proceeding east, our progress is arrested by the Celebes, an island as remarkable for its peculiar shape, as for the martial and commercial enterprise of a great portion of its inhabitants. Of this island, however, we yet know but little that is to be depended upon, except of the south-west limb, and the immediate neighbourhood of the north-east point.

" Among the records of the Dutch government a very interesting map of the south-western limb has been found; and from the minuteness and ability with which it appears to be executed, it promises to throw much light on the general nature of the country; and will, at all events, facilitate a more accurate survey whenever circumstances may admit of such an undertaking.

" The most prominent nations in this part of Celebes are the Bugis and Macasar or Mengasar, but hitherto we have only discovered one written character, distinct from every other in the Eastern Islands. The Mahomedan religion prevails generally throughout this part of the island, but in the northern provinces, beyond Mandhar, and generally in every interior part of the island, human nature appears nearly in the same rude state as we have described it in the interior of Borneo.

" The people are, however, known under the general denomination of Alfur or Arafura, which term is extended to the same description of inhabitants in the islands further east; these last do not appear to differ essentially from the Orang Dayak of Borneo, and may with them be considered as the aborigines of these islands. The Celebes, from its peculiar figure, seems admirably adapted for the purposes of commercial intercourse; and although but a very small portion seems yet to have advanced to any degree of civilization, they are renowned among other eastern nations for the spirit of commerce and war. They have established various colonies on the opposite coast of Borneo, and on the shores of the adjacent islands, and even maintain an influence of no inconsiderable weight in the politics of the Malayan States west as far as the Straits of Malacca. The Bugis and Macasar nations, like the Javanese, are nations perfectly distinct from the Malays; but we are not yet sufficiently acquainted with the native history, to assert how far they are entitled to be considered as the indigenous inhabitants of the country.

" We know pretty accurately the date of the introduction of the Mahomedan faith, and some leading circumstances relating to the conversion of the people; but from the advanced state of their civilization compared with that of the Arafuras, it must be inferred, that at the period of its introduction, they had attained a considerable degree of improvement beyond the bulk of the population; and indeed, we are borne out by tradition and history in the belief that, in this part of the island, there existed a powerful nation, long antecedent to the introduction of Mahomedanism. We are not, however, prepared to say from what foreign quarter this portion of the native population was first civilized, and we are not yet informed whether, as in Java, any traces are to be found of Hinduism. On these points,

and in short on every essential point, we have much to learn; and the field is so important and interesting, that I flatter myself the period is not far distant, when the pages of our transactions may throw much light on the subject. We have already, as I before noticed, obtained through the assistance of Captain Phillips, the Resident, very extensive vocabularies of the language, and the enquiries which have been set on foot by that gentleman, at the suggestion of the Society, promise the most interesting result.

" Further East lies the Island of Jelolo or Halamahira, which is situated between the Moluccas and the Papua Islands, as Celebes itself is situated between the Moluccas and Borneo. Jelolo has sometimes, from its form, been denominated little Celebes. With the western coast of this Island we are less acquainted, but the inhabitants of the eastern coasts, especially those of Asa and Maba, are, from their connection on the Moluccas, well known. These, however, would appear to occupy so small a portion of the country compared with the Alfurs, that we can hardly be said to be yet fully acquainted with the bulk of the inhabitants.

" On this island, therefore, and the group of smaller islands in its neighbourhood, including the Moluccas, the first object appears to be that of ascertaining correctly what is already known; and after reducing the same to such a form as may furnish a basis, or at least determined points, from which to proceed on further enquiry and investigation, to persevere steadily in the attainment of what is deficient. Our information on the natural history of the Moluccas is perhaps more complete than that of any region of the East, and it is not among the least distinguished records of our Society, that we find a manuscript copy of an original work of the celebrated Rumphius.

" I fear I have already detained you too long in thus particularising the present state of these Islands, considering that however interesting and important they may be, as lying contiguous to the seat of our deliberations, they embrace but a small portion of the extensive tract which lays open to the Society, even within the range that I am desirous of defining. To enter upon the whole, otherwise than generally, would be foreign to the object of the present discourse, and I am far from being competent to undertake the task; but while I hastily pass over New Guinea and New Holland, with the numerous islands of the Southern Seas, reserving the observations which occur on these for a future occasion, I cannot refrain from noticing the rapid progress of the European settlements in the more Southern parts of New Holland, and anticipating the practicability of obtaining, in concert with men of research in that quarter, early and interesting information on many important points which still remain doubtful.

" Much has been said and collected by Mr. Dalrymple on the Sulu Islands, and on the large Island of Mindanawi or Majindanau, but it must be confessed, that very little light is yet thrown on the history of man in those regions—the mine is

still unexplored, and from the notice in the writings of the Seignor Margarette and others on Luconia and the Philippine Islands, much may still be expected in aid of what has already been suggested.

" From the intimate political connection now opening with the Spanish possessions in both hemispheres, the period is, I trust, not far distant, when an intercourse between our Society and similar institutions existing at Manilla, may bring to light much interesting information. Under existing circumstances, it will naturally occur, that no time should be lost in opening correspondence, and in encouraging the most unreserved and cordial communication.

" Had I not already trespassed too long on your time, I should have been inclined to indulge at some length on the prospect which the projected enterprise to Japan affords in aid of our researches in that quarter. From the distinguished talents of Dr. Ainslie, the English Secretary to the Society, who proceeds as Commissioner on the part of the English government, we have just grounds for anticipating the acquisition of much that is to be learnt from these remote and interesting countries.

" I must however now apologise for the very unconnected and diffuse manner in which I have taken the liberty to address you. The occasion required that I should say something, and I have already stated how inadequate I felt myself to say any thing to the purpose. I cannot, however, conclude without offering to you my congratulations on the revival of the Institution under its present promising circumstances, nor without noticing the liberal manner in which you have undertaken the publication of a ' New Edition of the Sacred Scriptures in the Malayan character.' Allow me to assure you, that I am individually deeply interested in the success of the Institution, and that, while it may be in my power, from my official situation, or otherwise, to encourage and protect your laudable pursuits and undertakings, you may calculate on the most unreserved and liberal support of government."

" *A Discourse delivered on the* 11*th September,* 1815, *by the Honourable* Thomas Stamford Raffles, *President.*

" Gentlemen,

" A series of domestic afflictions, alas! but too well known to you all, have followed in such quick succession to the melancholy event which it has long been my duty to communicate, that, until the present hour, I have felt myself in every way unequal to the trying task of publicly announcing to you the death of our noble and enlightened patron, the late Earl of Minto; an event so unlooked for, and so painfully calamitous in its immediate effects, that, to use the energetic language of Mr. Muntinghe, it ' *obliged us,*' as it were, ' *to close our lips before the Almighty!*'

" For how difficult was it to be reconciled to our wishes, and to our natural conceptions of right and wrong, that a man of such public and private worth should have been lost to his country, and snatched away from the embraces of his friends and family, at the very moment he was to receive the only reward which, in this world, could recompense his past labours—a calm and placid recollection of the arduous, but successful career he had run? How difficult was it to be reconciled to our ideas of remunerative justice, that the man who had so successfully served his country, should only live to see his triumphs completed, but not be allowed to enjoy them; that he should not even have been allowed to live the necessary space of time to make the extent of his services known, and to describe the nature of the conquests he had made? And if, in this instance, it may occur that the public and the nation is, if not more, at least as much, the sufferer as the individual, how, again, is it to be reconciled to individual desert, that a man so eminent in private and domestic virtue; who had been seen, descending from the high station which he held, hastening in person to the pestilential shores of Batavia, administering on the way every aid and assistance to a sickly son; and who, after this beloved son fell a sacrifice, knew how to tranquillize his mind by the most elegant and consoling reflection, *that his death was the first and only grievance which either this son or any of his children had ever inflicted on their parents;* that this father, blessed with such a family, and with such a sense of domestic felicity, should be snatched away by death, almost in sight of his home, and while they were stretching forth their arms to receive and embrace him?

" If not so strong and intense in their feeling, yet of the same nature, and more extensive in their operation, were the ties which attached him to this colony—to the whole community of Java, and especially to our Society—a tender and parental care for the Island of Java was publicly avowed on different occasions; the proofs of it were received; the European community was saved and preserved by his humanity, and on his responsibility: for the native administration principles were laid down, on which the whole of the present structure has been raised; and in every instance a wish was evinced of improving the successes of war, as much in favour of the conquered as of the conqueror.

" It would not be proper, on this occasion, to enter into particulars; but who does not gratefully recollect the general tenor of his Lordship's conduct and demeanour while on Java? administering aid and assistance with his own hands to the maimed and wounded of his enemies; setting, in the midst of his successes, an example of moderation and simplicity of manner even to the vanquished—proceeding often in public without any other signs of greatness and distinction, than what the whole community, singly and jointly, were eager to shew him; never missing an opportunity of doing even a temporary good; and conciliating, by these means, the minds of the public to such a degree, that enemies were rendered friends, and that the names of conqueror and subduer were lost in those of protector and liberator.

View of the Lake near Lapoi on the Pontian frontier of Peru with the surrounding scenery as viewed by the Hon.ble Lord Cochrane R.N. &c. &c. Transport Boy'ls taken from the Residency of the Lord Lapoi.

How hard, therefore, was it for the befriended and protected to lose their protector and liberator; and for the protector himself not to be allowed to see the fruits of his benevolence come to a proper maturity!

"But, however deeply we may, from these reflections, be led to bewail this melancholy event, let us beware not to murmur against the ways of Providence; nothing would be more unbecoming a literary and scientific society. Let us rather draw from all these circumstances the consoling reflection, that as Divine Justice will never fail, and full compensation seemed to be wanting on this side the grave, the deficiency will be amply filled up in another state, where life, bliss, and happiness will be everlasting.

"Having paid this humble tribute to the memory of our departed Patron, I proceed to notice the result of those inquiries, which have either been set on foot by the Society, or have fallen under its immediate observation, in the various branches of its pursuits, since I had last the honour of publicly addressing you.

"At that period Dr. Horsfield had, under instructions from Government, just commenced his laborious exertions on Banca: we have since seen those exertions brought to a close; and I have to report the collection of the most complete information regarding the position, constitution, and productions of that important island. The state of society has not been omitted in the investigation, and satisfactory data have been furnished, on which to estimate the present condition of its inhabitants, as well as to contemplate plans for their progressive advancement in civilization and happiness.

"It is during the later periods only of the European establishments in the East, that Banca has attracted notice. The discovery of the tin mines about the conclusion of the last century, first gave it celebrity; but we can only date the commencement of scientific investigation, or of European control, from the period of its cession to the British Government in 1812. The Dutch government, it is true, set on foot various inquiries at different periods; and some account of the population and produce of the country is contained in the earlier volumes of our Transactions; but those views being confined to commercial objects, and the despotic sway of the native government of Palembang still remaining absolute, but little was known of the country beyond the extent of the produce in tin which it could annually export.

"In explanation of the geographical description, and in order to point out the places referred to in the descriptions of the mines, and in the detail of the mineralogical and botanical remarks, Dr. Horsfield has constructed the outline of a map, in which are laid down the principal rivers, the mountains and ridges of hills, with the settlements of the Malays and Chinese, and the divisions adopted by the original inhabitants.

"After entering into a detailed geographical account of the Island, and furnishing statistic tables of the population and produce, Dr. Horsfield proceeds to a narra-

tive of the mineralogical appearances, as explanatory of the constitution of the mines, and of the geological history of the country.

" On the mineralogical constitution of Banca, he observes, that ' the direction of the Island being from North-west to South-east, it follows not only the direction of Sumatra and the Malayan peninsula, but the large chain of Asiatic mountains, one of the many branches of which terminates in Ceylon, while another, traversing Arakan, Pegu, the Malayan peninsula, and probably Sumatra, sends off an inferior range through Banca and Billiton, where it may be considered to disappear.' The elevated parts of Banca are observed to have the same constitution as the great continental chain, being composed principally of granite. Next to these occurs a species of rock, which he terms ' *red iron-stone,*' extensively distributed on situations of secondary elevation, in single rocks, or in veins of many united together, covering large tracts of country. Tracts composed of this stone are bounded by alluvial districts, which are again subdivided into such as are formed of waving hills, gradually rising on each other, apparently of prior formation, and of such as are low and level, of recent origin, and confining the discharge of rivers. Those districts which occur in juxta position of the primitive portions, filling the space between these and the veins of ' *red iron-stone ;*' or, again, between those and the alluvial parts, are stratified, the strata being uniformly horizontally arranged.

" It is through these horizontal strata that the tin ore is represented to be disseminated ; and, as far as has hitherto been remarked, it appears to lie either immediately under the surface, or at no great distance below it.

" Another section of the report contains a view of the tin mines, exhibiting a general enumeration of those worked at present, or in former periods, with an account of the process of mining, and of the economy of the mines.

" The process of mining on Banca is remarkable for its simplicity ; it consists in an excavation, of a square or oblong form, made by digging perpendicularly to the beds, or strata, containing the ore, and in a proper application of the water, to facilitate the labours of the miners and the washing of the ore. There is no necessity, as in other countries, where the metal lies concealed in deep veins, to have recourse to difficult operations, or expensive machinery. The process, indeed, requires so little previous instruction, that it is mostly performed by persons whose only qualification is a robust constitution. A favourable spot being selected, the pit is sketched out ; a canal conducted from the nearest rivulet ; and the miners excavate until they arrive at the stratum containing the ore : this is then deposited in heaps near the water, so as to be conveniently placed for washing. The aqueduct is lined with the bark of large trees ; and a stronger current being produced by the admission of more water, the heaps are thrown in and agitated by the workmen—the particles of ore subsiding by means of their gravity, and the earth being carried away by the current.

" When a sufficient quantity of ore is thus accumulated, the process of smelting commences: this is also very minutely and accurately described by Dr. Horsfield. It is unnecessary to observe, that almost all the operations connected with the process of mining and the refining of the metal, are performed by Chinese.

" In his botanical pursuits, Dr. Horsfield has been peculiarly successful; his descriptions comprising a collection of upwards of five hundred plants, of which sixteen appear to be of doubtful genera.

" An account of the inhabitants, their mode of life and occupations, the state of agriculture, and the history of the different settlements, is introduced into this valuable report, which I hope will shortly appear in print, under the liberal patronage and support of the East India Company. In this expectation, and that I may not diminish the interest excited in its favour, or exceed the latitude with which I am vested, by more extensive drafts on the interesting information which it contains, I shall close these notices on Banca by a short account of the extent and character of the population, as it appeared to Dr. Horsfield at the early period of the establishment of European influence.

" The inhabitants of Banca consist of Malays, Chinese, Orang Gunung, or mountaineers, and Rayads, (Orang Laut,) or sea people. The Malays are few in number, of a peaceable disposition, but indolent, and of little importance in the affairs of the Island. The Chinese preserve, on Banca, their original habits of industry, enterprise, and perseverance; they are the most useful among the inhabitants, and indispensable in the labours of the mines. The general character of the *Orang Gunung*, or mountaineers, the original and, perhaps, most interesting portion of the population, is rude simplicity. Dispersed over large tracts in the interior of the country, they live nearly in a state of nature, but submit without resistance to the general regulations which have been established, and willingly perform the labours required of them, although their natural timidity and wandering habits render them, in a considerable degree, inaccessible to Europeans. The *Rayads* are the remains of a peculiar race of people so called, living with their families and household in small prows in the Bays of Jebus and Klabut, and obtaining a subsistence by fishing and adventure: particulars of the habits and dialects of both the mountaineers and Rayads, will form a separate notice.

" On Borneo, if we have not derived the advantage of scientific inquiry, we have yet added considerably to our stock of information, in a more correct knowledge of the character and habits of the native population; in the collection of vocabularies of many of the dialects of the country, and in the attainment of many interesting particulars regarding the extensive colonies of Chinese, by which the gold mines are worked.

" Some notices have been received of ruins of temples, statues, and dilapidated cities, and of the existence of various inscriptions in different parts of the country,

in characters unknown to the Chinese, Malay, or Dayak; but the information yet received is too vague, and, in some instances, too contradictory to be relied upon; and the question whether this island, at any former period, rose to any considerable degree of greatness, must yet remain undecided. Embanking, as it were, the navigable pathway between the eastern and western hemispheres, and lying contiguous to the most populous regions of the globe, China and Japan, there can be little doubt but, at one period, she must have risen far above her present state of degradation and neglect. That Borneo was visited, many centuries ago, by the Chinese and Japanese, is well established; but whether the country was ever more extensively colonized by either of those nations, than it is at present from China, must be left to future inquiry. Porcelain jars, plates, vases, and earthen utensils of various descriptions, the manufacture of China and Japan, are frequently discovered in different parts of the country; and such is the veneration in which these articles, so found, are held, that a single jar of this description has been known to be purchased by the Dayaks of the interior, for a sum not far short of two hundred pounds sterling: these jars are prized by the Dayaks as the supposed depositories of the ashes of their forefathers.

" I would here notice the information collected regarding the different tribes of Dayaks which have come under observation, did not the detail appear misplaced in the very general view which I am, of necessity, compelled to take of the subject. I will only observe, that from a comparative vocabulary of as many of their dialects as are at present attainable, they appear to differ but little from the Malayan; that of the numerous tribes described by name and peculiarities, several are represented as tattooed; and that some are noticed with curled hair, and resembling the Papuas.

" In the vicinity of Banjar-Masing, no opportunity has been lost of improving our intelligence. Mr. Alexander Hare, the founder of the interesting colony established in the southern part of the Island, has himself penetrated across the south-western peninsula; and as confidence increases, we may look to a more extensive intercourse with the rude and scattered tribes of the interior.

" In a former discourse, I took occasion to notice, that the most prominent people on Celebes were the Bugis and Macasar; that, though speaking different languages, they adopted the same peculiar written character; and that the Mahomedan religion prevailed generally in those parts of the Island, which might be considered to have at all advanced from a state of barbarism.

" Confining our observations to the south-western limb of this whimsically-shaped Island, we may infer, that notwithstanding the country has greatly declined since its intercourse with Europeans, it may still be reckoned populous, compared with many of the islands of the East. The population has been roughly estimated at about a million; but the data on which this estimate was formed, are not to be unreservedly relied upon.

" About the period of the first arrival of Europeans in the East, the Macasar and Bugis tribes were among the principal dealers in spices, and the Island of Celebes was nearly under the authority of a single Sovereign. On the breaking down of this great empire, several of the minor states submitted to European administration; while the support given to the authority of Boni, and the monopoly of the spice-trade by Europeans, effectually reduced the political influence of the ancient state of Goa.

" The most ancient state of which tradition makes mention on Celebes, is Luhu, or Luwu, situated in the inner part of the Bay of Boni; and their galigas, or historical romances, are replete with the adventures and exploits of *Sawira Gading*, the first Chief of that country, and who is said to have extended his dominions to the Straits of Malacca. Next to Luhu, the empire of Goa has the greatest claims to antiquity; and a period is mentioned when this state extended its influence to Acheen, Manda, Sulu, Ternate, and the whole of the Spice-islands.

" In 1663 Rajah Palaka visited Batavia, and in 1666 co-operated with the Dutch government against the native states on the coast of Sumatra. From this period the authority of Boni advanced, until the recent arrangements by the British government.

" The Macasar and Bugis tribes are known to be the most bold, adventurous, and enterprising of all the Eastern nations. They were formerly celebrated for their fidelity and their courage, and for this reason were employed as the Swiss in Europe, not only in the armies of Siam, Camboja, and other countries, but also as guards to their princes.

" The most singular feature in the constitution of society on Celebes, is that of an elective Monarchy, limited by an Aristocracy, generally hereditary, and exercising feudal authority over the minor Chiefs and population, at all times prepared to take the field; a constitution of society which, however common to Europe, is perhaps without parallel in Asia, where, from the influence of climate, religion, and political institutions, we seldom witness any considerable departure from the despotic sway of one individual. The whole of the states on that portion of Celebes to which I have alluded, are constituted on this principle: the Prince is chosen from the royal stock by a certain number of counsellors, who also possess the right of subsequently removing him; these counsellors are themselves elected from particular families of the hereditary Chiefs of provinces; and such is their influence, that the Prince can neither go to war, nor, indeed, adopt any public measure, except in concert with them: they have the charge of the public treasure, and also appoint the Prime-minister. The Prince cannot himself take the personal command of the army; but the usage of the country admits of a temporary resignation of office for this purpose; in which case a Regent succeeds provisionally to the rank of Chief, and carries on the affairs of government in concert with the majority of the council.

Women and minors are eligible to election in every department of the state, from the Prince down to the lowest Chief; and when this takes place, an additional officer, having a title which literally means support, or prop, is appointed to assist. Some variation is observable in the different states: in Boni, the Prince is elected by the *Orang Pitu,* or seven hereditary counsellors; in Goa, the Prince is chosen by ten counsellors, of whom the first minister, termed *Bechara Buta,* is one. This last officer is himself first appointed by the council of nine, termed the nine farmers of the country; but in the exercise of his office possesses very extraordinary powers; he can even remove the Prince himself, and call upon the electors to make another choice. The inferior Chiefs, or *Krains,* who administer the dependant provinces, are appointed by the government and not elected by a council, although, in the exercise of their office, their power is in like manner limited; the number of the council varying, in different provinces, from two to seven.

" War is decided upon in the council of the state; and so forcibly is the desperate ferocity and barbarism of the people depicted by the conduct they observe on these occasions, and in their subsequent proceeding towards their enemies, that, however revolting the contemplation of such a state of society may be, it forms too striking a trait in their character to be omitted. War being decided upon by the Prince in council, the assembled Chiefs, after sprinkling their banners with blood, proceed to take a solemn oath, by dipping their criss in a vessel of water, and afterwards dancing around the bloody banner with frantic gesture, and a strange contortion of the body and limbs, so as to give the extended criss a tremulous motion: each severally imprecates the vengeance of the Deity against his person, if he violates his vow. An enemy is no sooner slain, than the body is decapitated, and treated with every indignity which the barbarous triumph of savages can dictate; the heads are carried on poles, or sent in to the Lord Paramount. Some accounts go so far as to represent them devouring the *raw* heart of their subdued enemy; and whatever shadow of doubt humanity may throw over this appalling fact, it cannot be denied that their favourite meal is the raw heart and blood of the deer. This repast is termed *Lor Dara,* or the feast of the *bloody heart,* which they are said to devour, as among the Battas, in the season when limes and salt are plenty.

" This, however, is viewing them on the worst side of their character, with immediate reference to their conduct in war, and to practices found to prevail among that portion of the population labouring under the restrictions on foreign commerce; there are other points of view in which it may be more favourably considered.

" The inhabitants of the Wadju districts, in particular, are celebrated for their enterprise and intelligence; extending their commercial speculations, with a high character for honourable and fair dealing, from the western shores of Siam to the eastern coast of New Holland. Women, as before observed, take an active part in all public concerns, and are in no instances secluded from society, being on a perfect

equality with the men. The strongest attachment that is conceivable is felt for ancient customs, and relics of antiquity are held in the highest possible veneration. They are slow and deliberate in their decisions; but these, once formed, are final. Agreements once entered into, are invariably observed on their part: and a Bugis is never known to swerve from his bargain. That natural politeness which characterizes the various nations and tribes distinguished by wearing the criss, is no where more forcibly exhibited than among the inhabitants of Celebes. Their minor associations are held together by all the attachment and warmth which have distinguished the clans of North Britain. The same bold spirit of independence and enterprise distinguishes the lower orders; whilst the pride of ancestry, and the romance of chivalry, are the delight of the higher classes. Attached to the chace as an amusement, rather than as the means of subsistence, the harvest is no sooner reaped, than each feudal Chief, with his associates and followers, devotes himself to its pursuits. The population being equally at the command of the feudal Lord, whether in time of peace or war, agricultural pursuits, beyond what may procure a bare subsistence, are but little attended to. The usual share of the crop at the disposal of the Chief, is a tythe termed *Sima;* this, with a few imposts in the Bazars, and the services of the people, constitute the revenue of the state.

" The languages and literature of the Celebes require a more extended and detailed view than it is possible to take of either on the present occasion. I shall, therefore, only briefly observe, that the language prevalent throughout these states appears, at no very remote period, to have been the same; but that the various revolutions which first raised the power of Goa, and subsequently elevated that of Boni to a still higher importance, have, in separating the states under two distinct authorities, given rise to two prevailing dialects, now assuming the appellation of two distinct languages—the language of Goa or Macasar is peculiarly soft, and is considered to be the most easy of acquisition, but not to be so copious as that of the Bugis—whether the Bugis language contains any portion of a more ancient language than either (of which traces are said to exist in some old manuscripts of the country), or, from commercial intercourse with other states, has adopted more foreign terms, is yet to be determined—the written character is nearly the same; the Macasars, however, using more consonant sounds than the Bugis—the same practice of softening the abrupt or harsh sound of a word ending in a consonant, by attaching a final *a* or *o*, so general in almost every tongue of the Archipelago, is common to, and, I believe, invariably observed in both these languages.

" The possible existence of a language distinct from and anterior to those now in use, is a subject well deserving enquiry—the Bugis trace back to *Sawira Gading*, whom they represent to have proceeded in immediate descent from their heavenly mediator, Bitara Guru, and to have been the first Chief of any celebrity on Celebes —he reigned, as I before observed, over Luhu, the most ancient kingdom on

Celebes, and a lapse of time equal to seven descents, is said to have taken place before the establishment of Boni—both this Chieftain, and the founder of the empire of Goa, are represented to have been great navigators and foreigners, or, according to the romance of native tradition, deities sent from heaven to govern and take care of them. The inhabitants of Macasar have no idea by what means, and at what period, the present form of government, of the nine *Glarang*, and the *Bichara Buta* of Goa, was established.

" Literary compositions, in both the Macasar and Bugis languages, are numerous; these consist principally of historical accounts of the different states, since the introduction of Mahomedanism, which is represented to have taken place so late as the early part of the sixteenth century; of *Galigas*, or collections of traditions, regarding more early times; of romances and poetical compositions, in which love, war, and the chace, are the favourite theme. They possess a paraphrase of the Koran, and several works evidently translated from the Javanese and Arabic, and many in common with the Malayu—works on judicial astrology, collections of institutions and customs which have all the force of law,—and each principal state adopts the practice of duly recording every public event of importance as it occurs.

" I shall not longer detain you with notices on our external relations, while so wide and interesting a field attracts attention at home; on Java, and that range of islands which modern geographers have classed under the denomination of the Sunda Islands. I have hitherto refrained from noticing the extensive traces of antiquity, foreign intercourse, and national greatness, which are exhibited in the numerous monuments of a former worship, in the ruins of dilapidated cities, in the character, the institutions, the language, and the literature of the people, in the hope that abler pens would have attempted a more correct sketch than either my humble abilities or limited information enable me to contemplate or embrace; the subject is so extensive, so new, so highly interesting, that I must claim your indulgence, if, in aiming at conciseness in representing the appearances and facts which have most forcibly struck my attention, many still more important particulars pass unnoticed.

" On the peculiar province of Dr. Horsfield, to whom I am indebted for whatever information I possess on the natural history of the Island, I shall not further trespass than by adverting to the extensive and almost endless variety which these regions present, in every branch of his pursuits. One observation, however, as connected with the earlier history of Java, in explaining the high fertility of its soil in comparison with that of the Malayan Peninsula and Sumatra, may deserve notice in this place. From the result of every investigation yet made, the constitution of Java appears to be exclusively volcanic, without any admixture whatever of the primitive or secondary mountains of the Asiatic continent; while, on the contrary, Sumatra, with Banca, as before noticed, appear to be a continuation and termina-

tion of the immense chain of mountains which pervades great part of Asia, and runs off finally in a direction North-west to South-east. Java deviates from the direction of Sumatra and the Peninsula of Malacca, in striking off directly West and East; in this direction it is followed by the larger islands of Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Endi, Timor, and by many smaller, which contribute to constitute an extensive series—this direction, as well as the constitution of all the islands enumerated, indicates the existence of an extensive volcanic chain in this part of the globe, running many degrees almost parallel with the equator. The consequences of Java being exclusively volcanic are, that while Sumatra abounds in metals, Java, generally speaking, is destitute of them *; that while on Sumatra there are many extensive tracts, sterile and unfavourable to vegetation, Java, with few exceptions, is covered with a soil in the highest degree fertile, luxuriant, and productive of every species of vegetation.

" Referring to the ample details on the mineralogy of Java, which the scientific and persevering exertions of Dr. Horsfield have enabled us to include in our present volume, I shall, on this branch of our pursuits, only observe, that catalogues and collections of the varieties in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, as they have been found to exist on Java, have been formed by this gentleman, who is at present engaged in exploring the districts lying to the East and South of Souracarta, with the view of completing materials for the natural history of Java—his *Flora Javana* is already far advanced; the geography of plants is a subject to which he has particularly directed his researches. From the extensive range of the thermometer between the high and the low lands, Java presents to the botanist, at the least, six distinct associations of plants or floras, indigenous to as many climates, defined by their comparative elevation above the level of the sea†.

* All the indications yet discovered confirm the assertion that the constitution of Java is unfavourable to metals. The only notice as to the existence of gold or silver is contained in the first volume of the Transactions of the Batavian Society; and the attempts on Gunung Parang in 1723, and on the Mégé Mendung in 1744, were soon abandoned. Iron pyrites is found in small quantities in several districts, as well as red ochre, which, however, often contains so little iron as scarcely to serve for the common purpose of a paint. The existence of mercury in the low lands of Damak, where it is distributed in minute particles through the clay of the rice-grounds bounding one of the principal rivers in that district, cannot be considered as an indication of a mine, or of ores of that metal.

† The height of the principal mountains on Java is estimated at from seven to eight thousand feet above the level of the sea. Several of them have been ascended, and measures are now in progress for ascertaining the elevation with some degree of accuracy. Lieutenant Heyland, who has several times ascended Sindoro, observes " that on reaching the summit on the 20th May, 1813, the sun had set, and the thermometer of Fahrenheit, stood at 36°. During the night the thermometer varied between 36°. and 44°; and as the day broke on the morning of the 21st, it was at 26°. a second thermometer at 30°. He immediately proceeded to the lake, and found it covered with ice of the thickness of about two Spanish dollars. A piece of double this thickness, found some distance from the edge on the same lake, induced a belief that it

" If to the naturalist Java exhibits these extensive and wonderful varieties, to the antiquarian, the philologist, and the philosopher, she in like manner offers subjects of equal novelty, and even of higher interest, whether we investigate the splendid remains of her temples and her cities, her languages and her literature, or the character, institutions and customs of her inhabitants.

" To attempt any satisfactory description of the various monuments of antiquity and of a former worship, which are to be found in almost every district of the Island, would be impracticable on the present occasion, and, with the exception of a few notices, I must content myself with assuring you, that however deficient we may be in scientific information, or in a knowledge of the mythology sacred to which these monuments may have been reared, measures have been taken that a record, to be depended upon for exactness at least, should exist of the actual remains of Hinduism on Java—I am indebted to Captain Baker, who is now actively engaged in these pursuits, for the most accurate sketches of the present appearance of the most important of these ruins, as well as for ground-plans and elevations of the principal temples, with notices of much valuable information which is to be collected of their origin, object and history.

" You are aware that the most splendid of these monuments are to be found at Prambana, Boro Bodo and Singa Sari;—of the former an interesting description is given in the last volume of our Transactions, by our highly esteemed friend Colonel Mackenzie—circumstances have since admitted of a more minute investigation, and our information, as far as regards their present state, is much more complete—these extensive ruins hold claim to the highest antiquity, and considering the vicinity of the temples to have been the seat of the earliest monarchy on Java, I may be permitted, in the words of Captain Baker, to lament the contrast of the present times, with ' times long since past.' ' Nothing,' he observes, ' can exceed the air of melancholy, desolation, and ruin, which this spot presents; and the feelings of every visitor must be forcibly in unison with the scene of surrounding devastation, when he reflects upon the origin of this once venerated, hallowed spot; the seat and proof of the perfection of arts now no longer in existence in Java; the type and emblem of a religion no longer acknowledged, and scarce known among them by name; when he reflects upon that boundless profusion of active, unwearied skill and patience, the noble spirit of generous emulation, the patronage and encouragement which the arts and sciences must have received, and the inexhaustible wealth and resources which the Javanese of those times must have possessed.'

had remained unthawed on the day preceding, and had now received the addition of a second night's frost. The water in the soup-plates which had been used as hot-water-plates the evening before, was completely frozen through, and the ice the thickness of an inch." On another excursion, in October, 1814, the thermometers fell to 36 and 38, and the ice formed on them after they had been immersed in water and exposed to the air.

" In attempting to describe the Chandi Sewo, or Thousand Temples, which form a principal part of these ruins, he laments his inability to convey any adequate ideas, satisfactory to his own mind, even of the actual dismantled state of this splendid seat of magnificence and of the arts. ' Never,' he observes, ' have I met with such stupendous, laborious, and finished specimens of human labour, and of the polished refined taste of ages long since forgot, and crowded together in so small a compass, as characterize and are manifested in this little spot; and though I doubt not there are some remains of antiquity in other parts of the globe more worthy the eye of the traveller, or the pencil of the artist, yet Chandi Sewo must ever rank with the foremost in the attractions of curiosity or antiquarian research.'

" I have preferred giving you the words of Captain Baker, while the subject was fully impressed on his mind, and while in the midst of the objects which he contemplated; there is a feeling excited at such a moment that gives a colouring to the picture, which is weakened in the faded tints of a more distant view.

" Next to Prambana the ruins of Boro Bodo may be ranked as remarkable for grandeur in design, peculiarity of style, and exquisite workmanship; this temple is in the district of Boro, under the residency of the Kadu, whence I presume it takes its name, Bodo being either a term of contempt cast upon it by the Mahomedans, or erroneously so pronounced, instead of *Bud'ho*, which, in its general acceptation in the Javanese language, is synonymous with ancient or heathen; it is built so as to crown the upper part of a small hill, the summit terminating in a dome; the building is square, and is composed of seven terraces rising one within the other, each of which is enclosed by stone walls, the ascent to the different terraces being by four flights of steps leading from four principal entrances, one on each side of the square. On the top are several small latticed domes, the upper part terminating in one of a larger circumference. In separate niches, or rather temples, at equal distances, formed in the walls of the several terraces, are contained upwards of three-hundred stone images of devotees, in a sitting posture, and being each above three feet high. Similar images are within the domes above; in compartments on the walls, both within and without, are carved in relief, and in the most correct and beautiful style, groups of figures containing historical scenes and mythological ceremonies, supposed to be representations of a principal part either of the Ramayan or Mahaborat—the figures and costumes are evidently Indian, and we are at a loss whether most to admire the extent and grandeur of the whole construction, or the beauty, richness, and correctness of the sculpture.

" The name and resemblance of the images which surround this temple to the figure of Buddha, has induced an opinion that it was exclusively confined to the worship of that deity: but it should be noticed that in the immediate vicinity of this large temple, and evidently connected with it, are the remains of several smaller temples, constructed much after the fashion of the temples at Prambana, and con-

taining a variety of sculptures and images of the Brahminical worship. A large but mutilated stone figure of Brahma was found in a field hard by, and as there are images similarly resembling Buddha to be found at Prambana, it would seem that if they are ascertained to represent that deity, these buildings must have been erected at a period when the worship was not separated.

" Although the general design of this temple differs from those at Prambana, a similar style of sculpture and decoration is observable, and the same may be also traced to the ruins at Singa Sari, situated in the Residency of Pasaruan, where are still to be found images of Brahma, Mahadewa, Ganesa, the Bull Nandi and others, of the most exquisite workmanship, and in a still higher degree of preservation than any remaining at Prambanan or Boro Bodo. One of the most extraordinary monuments in this quarter, however, is an immense colossal statue of a man resting on his hams, of the same character as the porters at Prambanan, lying on its face, and adjacent to a terrace, on which it was originally placed; this statue measures in length about twelve feet, breadth between the shoulders nine feet and a half, and at the base nine feet and a half, with corresponding dimensions in girth, cut from one solid stone; the statue seems evidently to have fallen from the adjacent elevated terrace, although it is difficult to reconcile the probability of its having been elevated to such a station, with reference to any traces we now have of the knowledge of mechanics by the Javanese—to have raised it by dint of mere manual labour would appear, at the present day, an Herculean task; the terrace is about eighteen feet high. A second figure of the same dimensions has since been discovered in the vicinity of the above; and when the forest is cleared, some traces of the large temple to which they formed the approach, may probably be found. Not far from Singa Sari, which was once the seat of empire, and in the district of Malang, are several interesting ruins of temples, of similar construction, and of the same style of ornament.

" These buildings must have been raised at a period when the highest state of the arts existed, and constructed at no very distant date from each other; considered in this view they serve very forcibly and decidedly to corroborate the historical details of the country, which are found to exist in the different written compositions and dramatic entertainments.

" In noticing the more prominent remains of antiquity, as they are to be traced from the architecture and sculpture of former days, I should be wanting in attention, and indeed in a due respect to the popular tradition and the still received opinion of the Javans, did I not notice Gunung Prahu, a mountain, or rather a range of mountains, for there are no less than twenty-nine points, which have distinct names, situated on the northern side of the Island, and inland between Samarang and Pacalongan, the supposed residence of Arjuno, and of the demi-gods and heroes who distinguished themselves in the B'rata Yud'ha, or Holy War—here the ruins of the

supposed palace of the Chief, the abode of Bima, his followers and attendants, are exhibited, and so rich was this spot in relics of antiquity, that the village of Kali Babar, situated at the foot of the mountain, is stated to have from time immemorial paid its rents in gold melted down from the golden images here discovered; so great indeed has been the desire to meet the courtly thirst for these interesting relics, that I regret to say many of the buildings composed of materials less in demand, have suffered premature dilapidation on this account. Several interesting remains have recently been discovered by Major Johnson, Resident at the court of the Susunan; among these the ruins at Suku deserve particular notice; but I have already trespassed on a subject which it is impossible to treat well except in detail, and with reference to drawings of the extensive variety of erections, deities, and attributes which abound throughout Java.

" As connected with these early and splendid monuments of the former high state of the arts in Java, and illustrative of the history of the country, are to be noticed the great variety of inscriptions found in different parts of the island; fac similes of most of these have been taken, and I am happy to add that we have succeeded in decyphering some of the most interesting. The character on the stone found at Prambanan, is no doubt one of the Dewa Nagri characters of India, and with the exception of a few characters discovered at Singa Sari on the back of stone images, the only specimen yet discovered of this peculiar formation.

" From the vicinity of the former kingdom of Jong'golo, not far distant from the modern Surabaya, have been brought several large stones of the shape of English tomb-stones, covered with inscriptions in the ancient Javanese character, and in the *Kawi* language; translations (or rather paraphrases, for they principally contain prayers and invocations to the Deity, in a language, the meaning of a few words only of which are retained, while the idiom and grammatical construction has long been lost,) have been made and will be found on the pages of our Transactions; it has fallen to my lot to succeed not only in decyphering the MSS. recently discovered in Cheribon, but also the inscriptions on the copper-plates so long deposited among the records of our Society as unintelligible; the results will be communicated to the Society in another form, and the subject will be more particularly adverted to, when speaking of the languages and literature.

" These inscriptions, which in general contain dates, are of the first importance in enabling us to trace the source whence the language and literature may have flowed, and to satisfy our minds of the prevailing worship at any particular period. It is only by an assemblage of as many data as can be collected from this source, from the remains of the arts, from the language, literature, and institutions of the people of the present day, compared with the best information we can procure of other countries of the East, which may have been civilized at an earlier period, that we can come at any fair and just result; the question is too extensive, too

important to be lightly treated, or to be decided upon from any preconceived opinion or partial views.

" Did not other striking and obvious proofs exist of the claims of Java to be considered at one period far advanced in civilization, it might be sufficient to bring forward the perfection of the language, the accession which that language must in early times have received from a distant, but highly cultivated source, and the extensiveness for which it stands so peculiarly and justly distinguished.

" On the Island of Java, two general languages may be considered as prevalent. The Sunda language, which prevails in the western, and the Javanese, which is the language of the districts east of Cheribon—the former is a simple dialect accommodated to all the purposes of the mountainous classes who speak it, and perhaps differs from the Javanese, not so much in its construction, as in the portion of original and of Malayan words which it contains; one fourth of the language, at the least, may be considered to be the same as the Javanese, another fourth is, perhaps, original, and the remaining half Malayan. At what period this extensive portion of the Malayan was adopted, or whether any part or the whole of this portion may not originally have formed the common language of this part of the country is yet to be decided. In the Javanese, or language of the eastern division of the Island, and also of the lower parts of Bantam and Cheribon, the natural or vernacular language, in like manner, contains a considerable number of words in common with the Malayan, and the general principles of construction are found to have a striking accordance. We thus find strong proofs in support of one common origin of the prevailing languages of the Archipelago—notwithstanding, a large portion of the Malayan words now used on Java, may be ascertained to have been received at a comparatively recent date, and in the course of long and continued intercourse with the neighbouring countries.

" The Javanese language, properly so called, is distinguished by a division between what may be considered as the vernacular language of the country, in use by the common people among themselves, and which is adopted when addressing an inferior, and what may be considered as a second, or court language, adopted by all inferiors when addressing a superior. The same construction, as well as the idiom of the language, is, I believe, pretty generally preserved in both the languages; the latter, however, consists of a more extensive class of foreign words, which would appear to have been picked and culled for the purpose; where different words have not been found from the common language of the country, an arbitrary variation in the sound of the word belonging to the common language is adopted, as in changing the word *progo* into *pragi*, *dadi* into *dados*, *jawa* into *jawi*, &c., and the more effectually to render the polite language distinct, not only are the affirmatives and negatives, as well as the pronouns and prepositions varied, but the auxiliary verbs and particles are in general different.

" So effectually, indeed, does this arbitrary distinction prevail, that in the most common occurrences and expressions, the language that would be used by a superior bears not the slightest resemblance to what, with the same object, would be used by an inferior; thus, when a superior would say to an inferior—" It is a very long time that you have been sick,"—he would in the common or vernacular language use the words " *Lawas tĕmăn goni loro,*" while an inferior, using the court language, would to the same purport, say " *Lamí tĕnus genípun sakit.*"—If the former would ask the question, " Your child, is it a boy or a girl?" he would use the words " *Anak kiro wadon opo lanang?*" the latter would express himself " *Putro hijang'an díko, estrí punopo?*" again, would the former observe, " that the people of Java, both men and women, like to preserve the hair of the head,"— he would say, " *Wong pulu Jawa lanang wadon podo ng'ing'u rambut,*"—while the latter would use the words, " *Tetíang heng nusa Jawi estrí jalar samí ng'inga rēmo,*" &c.

" It is not, however, to be supposed that these languages are so separated that the one is studied and attained exclusively of the other, for while one is the language of address, the other must be that of reply, and the knowledge of both is indispensible to those who have occasion to communicate with persons of a different rank with themselves. In the polite language, Kawi words are frequently introduced by the party, either to shew his reading, or evince a higher mark of respect—the Kawi is, however, more properly a dead language, the language of literary compositions of the higher class, and is to the Javanese, what the Sanscrit is to the languages of Hindustan, and the Pali is to the Burman and Siamese; how far it may assimilate to either, must remain to be decided by more accurate comparison and observation, than we have yet had opportunity to make. It is in this language that the more ancient and celebrated of the literary performances of the country are written, and it is probable it will be found that, while the general language of Java possesses, in common with all the more cultivated languages of the Archipelago, a considerable portion of Sanscrit terms, the court language is still more replete with them, and that the Kawi, and particularly that which is reckoned most ancient, and which is decyphered from inscriptions on stone and copper-plates, is almost pure Sanscrit; the construction and idiom in these inscriptions is no longer comprehended by the Javanese, and there are but few whose intelligence and acquaintance with the terms used enables them to give even a faint notion of their meaning. Examples of these languages, taken from the B'rata Yud'ha, and from some of the inscriptions alluded to, will appear in the present volume.

" To facilitate the acquirement of a language in its nature so extensive and varied as that of the Javanese, a method is adopted similar to what I understand is known in India, of classing the synonymes in such a manner as to connect them in the memory, by stringing them in classes according to the natural chain of our ideas; the collection or vocabulary so composed, is termed *doso nomo,* literally, *ten*

names, and in point of fact, there are but few words in the language which have not at least as many synonymes; an example of this mode of instruction, and of assisting the memory, is also included in the present volume, as illustrative not only of the method alluded to, but of the great delicacy and variety of the language.

" I am happy to report that very extensive vocabularies, not only of both divisions of the Javanese, including the Kawi, but of the Sunda, and of the dialects of Madura and Bali, with notices of the varieties in particular districts and mountain tribes, have been collected; and that whenever our more intimate acquaintance with the written compositions of the country may afford the test of some experience in aid of what has already been done, the grand work of a grammar and dictionary may be accomplished; this has long been our first and grand desideratum *.

" In both the Sunda and Javanese languages, the same written character is in use—and it has not yet been traced whether the former ever had a separate written character or not: at a place, however, called Batu Tulis, on the site of the ancient capital of Pajajaran, is preserved an inscription on stone in very rude characters—and several similar inscriptions in the same character have been recently discovered at Kwali in Cheribon, whither some of the descendants of the Princes of Pajajaran took refuge; this character, till lately, appeared widely different from any other yet noticed in Java, but is now found to contain some of the letters and vowel marks in common with the Javanese. The date inscribed on the stone at Batu Tulis has fortunately been decyphered, and the character was doubtless used by the Sunda people at the period of the destruction of the western government of Pajajaran.

" No less than seven different characters are represented to have been in use at different periods of Javanese history—and although those at present adopted appear at first sight, to be very different from the more ancient, on examination the one may without much difficulty be traced to the other, by observing the gradual alterations made from time to time;—specimens of these different characters, with the periods in which they were respectively used, are submitted to the inspection of the Society, and I regret that the absence of an engraver precludes them from appearing in the present volume of transactions.

" The literature of Java, however much it may have declined in latter days, must be still considered as respectable—the more ancient historical compositions are mostly written in the Kawi language, to which frequently the meaning of each word, and a paraphrase of the whole in Javanese, is annexed; of these compositions those most highly esteemed are the B'rata Yud'ha or Holy War, and a volume entitled Romo or Rama, the former descriptive of the exploits of Arjuno, and the principal heroes whose fame is recorded in the celebrated Indian poem of the

" * Considerable progress has been made since our last meeting in the acquirement of the Javanese language: the Rev. Mr. Trout, in particular, is prosecuting his studies at Samarang with great success; and arrangements are in progress for procuring from Bengal a fount of Javanese types."

Mahabarat, the latter of those who are distinguished in the Ramayan—these poems are held by the Javanese of the present day in about the same estimation as the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer are by Europeans. Until translations are made, and can be compared with the more extensive works in India, it would be premature to form any judgment on their relative excellence—the B'rata Yud'ha is contained in about two hundred verses, but in rendering the Kawi into Javanese, it is found necessary, in order to convey any thing like the meaning, to render one line of Kawi into at least three of the modern Javanese, and I should not omit to mention that the belief is general among the Javanese that the seat of this celebrated romance was on Java—they point out the different countries which are referred to, such as Hastina, Wirata, and others in different districts of the Island, which have since assumed more modern names, and the supposed mansion of Arjuno, as before noticed, is still to be traced on Gunung Prahu.

" These works in common with almost every composition in the language, are composed in regularly measured verses, and as far as we can judge from the partial translations which have been made from them through the medium of the Javanese, they do credit to the power of the language and the genius of the poet.

" Historical compositions are divided into two general classes, termed *Pakam* and *Babat;* under the former are considered the Romo and B'rata Yud'ha: institutions and regulations for Princes and the Officers of State and Law, entitled Kopo Kopo, Jogol Muda and Kontoro; works on astronomy and judicial astrology, termed Wuku; and works on moral conduct, regulations and ancient institutions, termed Niti Sastro and Niti Projo; under the *Babat* are classed chronological, and other works on modern history since the establishment of the Empire of Mataram.

" There are in use for ordinary and popular compositions five different kinds of regular measured stanzas, termed *Tembang*, adapted to the subject treated of, whether heroic, amorous, or otherwise; these are termed *Asmoron Dono, Dandang Gula, Sinom, Durmo,* and *Pangkur*. In the higher compositions, and particularly in the Kawi, these measures are still more varied, and in number upwards of twenty, twelve of which correspond in name with the stanzas used in the poetry of continental India.

" In repeating these compositions, they are chaunted, or rather drawled out in regular metre according to rules laid down for the long and short syllables. Dramatic representations of various kinds form the constant recreation of the higher classes of society, and the most polished amusement of the country; these consist of the *Wayang Kulit* or Scenic Shadows, in which the several heroes of the Drama, represented in a diminutive size, are made to perform their entrances and their exits behind a transparent curtain; the subjects of these representations are taken either from the more ancient works of the B'rata Yud'ha or Romo, and then denominated *Wayang Purwo,* or from the history of *Panji,* the most renowned hero of Java story, and then termed *Wayang Gedog*. The *Wayang Wong,* in which men personify the heroes of

the B'rata Yud'ha and Romo is also termed *Wayang Purwo;* they have also the *Topeng,* in which men, wearing masks, personify those immortalised in the history of Panji, and the *Wayang Klitic* or *Koritchil,* not unlike a puppet-show in Europe, in which diminutive wooden figures personify the heroes of Majapahit.

" These dramatic exhibitions are accompanied by performances on the *Gamelan,* or musical instruments of the Javanese, of which there are several distinct sets; the *Salindro,* which accompanies the performances from the B'rata Yud'ha and Romo, as well as the Topeng; the *Pelog* which accompanies the Wayang Gedog, the *Kodok Ngokek, Chara Bali, Senenan* and others; the Javanese music is peculiarly harmonious, but the gamut is imperfect.

" Whatever portion of astronomical science may have in former times been communicated to Java, the people of the present day have no pretensions to distinction on this account; it is true they possess the signs of the Zodiac, and still preserve a mode of calculating the seasons, the principles of which must have been discovered by a people well acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies; they also possess several works on judicial astrology, but in this they follow only what is laid down for them in the few pages of a book almost illegible, and in the tradition of the country *.

" It was my intention, in this place, to have attempted some sketch of the interesting and peculiar features of the Javanese character, with reference to those admirable institutions which distinguish the constitution of society among this people; but I have already trespassed too long upon your kindness—and there are two subjects which have recently attracted my particular attention, and which, on account of their novelty, I am desirous of bringing to your notice. During my late tour through the Eastern districts, I visited the Teng'gar mountains, on which it had been represented to me that some remains of the former worship of Java were

" * The signs of the Zodiac, as represented in the ancient MS. discovered at Telaga, in Cheribon, compared with the Indian Zodiac, are as follow: the figures being very correctly drawn, and the names, with the explanation, annexed to each.

Indian.	Javanese MS.
Mesha—the Ram	Misa.
Vrisha—the Bull	M'risa.
Mithuna—the Pair	M'ri Kogo (a butterfly.)
Carcata—the Crab	Calicata.
Sinha—the Lion	Singha.
Cunya—the Virgin	Canya.
Tula—the Balance	Tula.
Vrishchica—the Scorpion	Privata.
Danus—the Bow	Wanu.
Macara—the Sea Monster	Macara (Crawfish.)
Cumbha—the Water Jug	Cuba.
Mina—the Fish	Ména."

still to be found, and accident threw me on the shores of Bali, while attempting to reach Banynwangi; the simplicity of the people who inhabit the Teng'gar mountains, and the fact of such remains being still in existence on Java, is entitled to record, and I am aware that whatever information I may be able to communicate respecting Bali, however imperfect, will be accepted.

" To the eastward of Surabaya, and on the range of hills connected with Gunung Dasar, and lying partly in the district of Pasuruan and partly in that of Probolingo, known by the name of the Teng'gar mountains, we find the remnant of a people still following the Hindu worship, who merit attention not only on account of their being the depositaries of the last trace of that worship discovered at this day on Java, but as exhibiting a peculiar singularity and simplicity of character.

" These people occupy about forty villages, scattered along the range of hills in the neighbourhood of the Sandy Sea, and are partly under Pasuruan and partly under Probolingo. The site of the villages, as well as the construction of the houses is peculiar, and differs entirely from what is elsewhere observed on Java. They are not shaded by trees, but built on spacious open terraces, rising one above the other, each house occupying a terrace, and being in length from thirty to seventy, and even eighty feet. The door invariably in one corner, at the opposite end of the building to that in which the fire-place is built. The building appears to be first constructed with the ordinary roof, but along the front is an enclosed veranda or gallery of about eight feet broad, with a less inclined pitch in the roof formed of bamboos, which are so placed as to slide out either for the admission of air, or to afford a channel for the smoke to escape, there being otherwise no aperture except a small opening of about a foot square, at one end of the building above the fire-place; this is built of brick, and is so highly venerated that it is considered a sacrilege for any stranger to pollute it by the touch; across the upper part of the building rafters are run across, so as to form a kind of attic story, in which they deposit their valuables and instruments of husbandry.

" The head of the village takes the title of *Petingi*, as in the low lands, and he is generally assisted by a *Kabayan*, both elected by the people from their own village; there are four priests, who are here termed *Dukun*, having charge of the sacred records.

" These *Dukuns*, who are in general intelligent men, have no tradition when they were first established on these hills, from whence they came, or who intrusted them with the sacred books, to the faith contained in which they still adhere—these they concur in stating were handed down to them by their fathers, their office being hereditary, and the sole duty required of them being to perform the *puja* according thereto, and again to hand them down in safety to their children—these records consist of three compositions written on the *Lontar* leaf, describing the origin of

the world, the attributes of the Deity, and the forms of worship to be observed on different occasions. Copies were taken on the spot, and as the language does not essentially differ from the ordinary Javanese, I hope at an early period to place the Society in possession of translations.

" In the mean time some notices of their customs, and of the ceremonies performed at births, marriages and funerals, may be interesting.

" When a woman is delivered of her first child, the Dukun takes a leaf of the Alang Alang grass, and scraping the skin of the hands of the child and of the mother, as well as the ground, pronounces a short benediction.

" When a marriage is agreed upon, the bride and bridegroom being brought before the Dukun within the house, in the first place, bow with respect towards the South—then to the fire-place—then to the earth, and lastly, on looking up to the upper story of the house where the implements of husbandry are placed, perform the same ceremony—the parties then submissively bowing to the Dukun, he repeats a prayer commencing with the words, '*Hong! Gendogo Bromo ang'gas siwong'go nomo siwoho sauy'yang g'ui siro kaug,* &c.'* while the bride washes the feet of the bridegroom. This ceremony over, the friends and family of the parties make presents to each of crises, buffaloes, implements of husbandry, &c.; in return for which the bride and bridegroom respectfully present them with betel leaf.

" At the marriage feast which ensues, the Dukun repeats two *Puja,* which will be found in the collection—the marriage is not, however, consummated till the fifth day after the above ceremony—which delay is termed by them *undang mantu*—a similar delay is, in some cases, still observed by the Javanese in other parts of the island, under the term *undoh mantu.*

" On the death of an inhabitant of Teng'gar, the corpse is lowered into the grave, the head being placed to the South (contrary to the direction observed by the Mahometans,) and bamboos and planks are placed over, so as to prevent the earth from touching it. When the grave is closed, two posts are planted over the body, one perpendicular from the breast, the other from the lower part of the belly; between these two a hollowed bamboo is inserted in the ground, into which, during seven successive days, they daily pour a vessel of pure water, placing beside the bamboo, two dishes also daily replenished with eatables. At the expiration of the seventh day, the feast of the dead is announced, and the relations and friends of the deceased assemble to be present at the ceremony, and partake of the entertainment—which is conducted as follows.

" An image of leaves, ornamented with variegated flowers, made to represent the human form, and of about a cubit high, is prepared and placed in a conspicuous

" * These prayers will be found at length in the Transactions of the Society—the word *Hong*, used by the Javanese at the commencement of their invocations to the Deity, is doubtless the Mystical *Om* of the Hindus.

place, and supported round the body by the clothes of the deceased; the Dukun then places in front of the garland an incense-pot with burning ashes, and a vessel containing water, and repeats the two *puja* to fire and water, the former commencing with '*Hong Kendogo Bromo gangsi wong'go yo nomo siwoho,*' &c. the latter with '*Hong, hong gong'go moho terto roto mejel saking hati,*' &c. burning *dupu* or incense at stated periods during the former, and occasionally sprinkling the water over the feast during the repetition of the latter.

" The clothes of the deceased are then divided among the relatives and friends, and the garland burned—another *puja* commencing, '*Hong! awigno mastu nomo sidam, hong! araning,*' &c. is then repeated while the remains of the sacred water is sprinkled over the feast, after which the parties sit down to the enjoyment of it, invoking a blessing from the Almighty on themselves, their houses and their lands. Nothing more occurs until the expiration of a thousand days, when, if the memory of the deceased is beloved and cherished, the ceremony and feast is repeated—otherwise no further notice is taken.

" On questioning them regarding the tenets of their religion, they replied that they believed in a Dewa, who was all-powerful, and that the term by which the Dewa was designated, was *Bumi Truko Sangyang Dewoto Bator;* that the particulars of their worship were contained in the book called Panglawa, which they presented to me.

" On being questioned regarding the adat against adultery, theft, and other crimes, their reply was unanimous and ready—that crimes of the kind were unknown to them, and that consequently no punishment was fixed either by law or custom—that if a man did wrong, the head of the village chid him for it, the reproach of which was always sufficient punishment for a man of Teng'gar: this account of their moral character is fully confirmed by the Regents of the districts under whose authority they are placed, and also by the Residents. They literally seem to be almost without crime; they are universally peaceable, interfere with no one, neither quarrel among themselves; it may be unnecessary to observe, that they are unacquainted with the vices of gaming and opium-smoking.

" The aggregate population amounts to about twelve hundred souls; they occupy, without exception, the most beautifully rich and romantic spots on Java; the thermometer is frequently as low as forty-two; the summits and slopes of the hills are covered with Alpine firs, and the vegetation common to a European climate generally prevails.

" The language does not differ much from the Javanese of the present day, though more gutturally pronounced—from a comparison of about a hundred words of the vernacular Javanese, two only differed: they do not intermarry or mix with the people of the low lands, priding themselves on their independence and purity in this respect.

" Passing from this last vestige of the Hindu worship now acknowledged on Java, (for the Bedui, though descendants of the fugitives of Pajajaran, scarcely merit notice in this respect,) I proceed to notice some of the leading observations which I made on Bali. The notices regarding the prevalence of Hinduism on Bali, and of the nature of the government and country have hitherto been so scanty, that on such interesting ground I may be pardoned for entering into some detail, without which it is impossible to convey a just notion of the subject.

" The Island of Bali is at present divided under seven separate authorities, each independent of the other, and of this heptarchy the state of *Klongkong* is acknowledged to be the most ancient, its princes tracing their descent from the princes of Java, and having once possessed authority over the whole Island. In the regalia of this state are reported to be still preserved the Cris of *Majapahit,* the celebrated Gong named *Bentur Kadaton,* and although the other governments do not at the present day admit of any interference on the part of this state, they still evince a marked respect and courtesy to this family as the *Asal Rajah Bali,* the stock from which they sprung.

" The population is roughly estimated by the number of male inhabitants whose teeth have been filed, and whose services each prince can command—these amount to upwards of 200,000; the female population is understood rather to exceed the male, and as it may be considered that only the active and able-bodied men are included in the above list, an average of four to a family may be fairly taken, giving a total population for the whole Island exceeding 800,000 souls.

" The mode of government, institutions, and prevailing habits, are represented to be the same throughout the Island, and the following sketch of *B'liling* may afford a just notion of the whole.

" The government is despotic, and vested in the Prince alone—he is assisted by a head *Perbakal* in all affairs relating to the internal administration of the country, under whom are immediately placed the heads of villages, and by a *Radin Tumung'gung,* who conducts the details of a more general nature, of commerce and foreign intercourse; the constitution of each village is the same, the head or chief is termed *Perbakal,* and the assistant *Kalian Tempek.* These officers are invariably selected from among the people of the village, the son, however, generally succeeding the father, if competent to perform the duties;—under the head *Perbakal,* who has the designation of *Perbakal Rajah,* are several inferior *Perbakals* for general duties and communications with the villages, and under the *Radin Tumun'gung* a similar establishment, bearing the rank and designation of *Kalian Tempek*—among the heads of villages are many whose families have formerly distinguished themselves in the wars of Bali, and who are termed *Gusti*—the command of the military is at present vested in a Chief of the *Bramana* cast, and who seems to receive honours and respect next to the Prince himself.

" Whatever may at former periods have been the extent and influence of the Hindu religion, Bali is now the only Island in the Eastern Seas, in which that religion is still prevailing as the national and established religion of the country; that high spirit of enterprise which burst the bounds of the extensive confines of India, like the dove from the ark, rested its weary wing for a while on Java, till driven from thence it sought a refuge in Bali, where even among the rudest and most untutored of savages, it found an asylum. The four grand divisions of the Hindus are here acknowledged, and the number of *Bramana* (Bramins) attached to the small state of *B'liling* exceeds four hundred, of whom about one hundred are termed *Pandita*.

" Without entering into the particular tenets of the prevailing Hinduism of Bali, which can only be treated of with propriety and correctness after a more thorough acquaintance with the practical duties, and some knowledge of what is contained in their sacred records, it may be affirmed without hazard, that Hinduism as it exists at the present day on Bali, is rather to be considered as the nationalized Hinduism of Bali, in which a large portion of the native institutions and customs are admitted, than Hinduism as it is understood to prevail on the continent of India. The Bramins are, however, held in high veneration, and on being questioned as to their doctrines, and to what sect they belong, they answer, invariably, they are *Bramana Siwa*. They have the same appearance as Bramins wherever they are met with, and the Indian features at once distinguish them as descended from a foreign race. The town and small temples which we occasionally observed, have the appearance of a Mahratta village, and the eye is struck with every thing strictly Hindu, forming a most unexpected contrast with the present style of building and appearance of the country on passing through Java and the other Eastern Islands.

" On enquiring into the relative rank and importance of their deities, they invariably described Bitara Guru as the first in rank, then Bitara Bramah, the spirit of fire, Bitara Wisnu, the spirit of the waters, Bitara Siwa, the spirit of the winds.

" Besides these, they describe numerous subordinate deities to whom they pay adoration, as Dewa Gid'e Segara, the divinity of the great sea,—Dewa Gid'e Dalam, the divinity who presides over death,—Gid'e Bali Agung, the great and popular deity of Bali,—Dewa Gid'e Gunung Agung, the great deity of the mountain, which last is the deity of most general worship.

" Bitara Guru, though considered as the highest object of worship, is declared to be subordinate to, and only the mediator with the divinity, whom they designate by the expressive and appropriate term of Sang Yang Tunggal, THE GREAT AND ONLY ONE.

" The bodies of the deceased are invariably burnt, and the wives and concubines of the higher classes perform the sacrifice of *Satia*. A few days previous

to my landing on Bali, nineteen young women, the wives and concubines of the younger Rajah, who was lately put to death, sacrificed themselves in this manner.

" The written language of Bali differs but little from that of Java, but the character has a more ancient form; Kawi is the sacred language, and understood, or pretended to be understood, by the Bramins—the common language is a mixture of the original language of the country, and that of Java, in which the latter predominates.

" Deferring until another occasion, a more particular review of the religion, institutions and habits of this people, I will for the present confine myself to such observations as occur on the contemplation of the peculiar and extraordinary character they present, for the Balinese differs widely, both in appearance and character, from the Javan, and indeed from every other nation of the Archipelago.

" The natives of Bali are about the middle size of Asiatics, larger and more athletic than the Javans or Malays, and carry an air of independence different altogether from the appearance of their more polished neighbours on the opposite coast of Java,—the women in particular are well-proportioned, they seem to be on a perfect equality with the men, they are not secluded from society, and their general intercourse with strangers, even Europeans, is frank and cheerful—they are fairer than the women in Java, and wearing no covering above the waist, the natural beauty and symmetry of their shape is neither restrained nor concealed.

" There are two kinds of slavery existing at Bali, and sanctioned by the laws of the country; the first is termed Paniak, by which is understood a perfect state of slavery: the second Rowang, which resembles the condition of the slave-debtor in Sumatra, and the Malay peninsula. Paniak is synonymous with Humba among the Malays, and signifies a slave—the master has complete possession of his person, and may lawfully transfer and punish with death according to his will and pleasure, it being contrary to usage for the Prince to interfere. In the mode of acquiring this absolute property, there appears to be but little restriction. Prisoners taken in war, or families carried off from their countries, are daily sold and transferred, the deed of transfer, called in Bali Padol, being authenticated by the Tumunggung. In cases where an outrage occurs in a neighbouring state in alliance, application from the injured party, transmitted through the proper Chief, will cause the persons to be restored, and the perpetrators of the outrage are liable to the punishment of death; but in cases where the countries are not immediately in alliance, or when the parties carried off from a friendly state, happen to want friends to make application in their favor, no notice is taken of such occurrences. If a free man wishes to marry a female slave, he may obtain her by purchase, provided he can agree with the proprietor, otherwise he may be admitted to marry her on condition that he becomes a servant with her—this second degree of slavery comes under the title of *Rowang*. Persons convicted of offences not of the first magnitude, are generally sold for

slaves by the Prince, or taken to serve him as such. The term *Rowang*, is used to express the second or modified degree of slavery. If a man happens to be indebted, and without the means of payment (the debt exceeding ten dollars) he may be sold by the Jaxa, and the amount for which he is disposed of is appropriated to repay his creditor, the surplus being divided between the Prince, the Jaxa, and the Creditor, as a recompence for their trouble; the man sold in this manner becomes a *Rowang:* this state of servitude embraces every feature of slavery, excepting that the *Rowang* cannot be sold, put to death, or sent out of the country—if a *Rowang* wishes to marry, he may do so on receiving his master's consent, but the woman becomes a *Rowang* also. But the *Rowang* possesses this advantage, that he may redeem himself at any time by paying the amount of the debt, or the money may be advanced for him, so that his condition becomes that of a debtor bound to serve his creditor until the amount of his debt is discharged. In the event of the debt not amounting to ten dollars, the party cannot be sold, but the Jaxa will order the goods and property of the debtor to be disposed of, and an obligation to be given for the payment of the remainder, whenever his circumstances may admit. A person indebted to another, and unable to pay, may make over his wife and children to the creditor, who in such case will become *Rowang*, and on payment of his debt, eventually, he may demand back his family.

" In marriage, the dowry established by custom for all persons of equal rank, is forty dollars, to be paid to the parents of the bride*; but as it happens in many cases, that the husband is unable to pay this sum, he becomes indebted to the parents for the amount, and this constitutes a third branch of slavery under the term *Tatung'gon*—the man and wife reside in the house of the bride's father, and the man performs service in attendance on the family, or in assisting in the cultivation of the land—when the husband is enabled to pay the dowry, he is then at liberty to quit the father's house, and to maintain an independent establishment, under the term of *Orang Merdika*, or free man. If the new-married man, however, behaves to the satisfaction of his wife's family, it often happens that after a certain time the father-in-law consents to remit the whole or part of the dowry, according to the circumstances of the parties.

" The punishments for crimes are death, confinement, and selling into slavery, neither torture to obtain confession, mutilation, nor even corporal punishment are used—theft and robbery are punished with death—and for murder, treason, and gang-robbery, in aggravated cases, the punishment of death is inflicted by breaking the limbs with a hatchet—this, though it assimilates to the manner of breaking on the wheel, does not appear to have been adopted from Europeans, the practice being of ancient date—the party is left to linger, sometimes for several days before

" * In Bali, as well as on Java, the term used for this payment signifies a purchase."

death ensues—all executions are in public—other capital punishments are usually performed with a Cris—open robbery by daylight is punished by death, but stealing by confinement only; robbery by night invariably by death. All offences are punished in the Jaxa's Court, which consists of two Jaxas and two *Kancha* or Registers, the Perbakal being the prosecutor—the sentence of the Court must be confirmed by the Prince, previous to execution, whose warrant, or *Lontar,* is necessary in all cases. In civil cases the confirmation of the Prince is only required when persons are sold into slavery—a regular table of fees, in civil as well as criminal cases is exhibited in Court, and the amount divided between the members and the Prince. In criminal cases, when the punishment is capital, the property is confiscated and divided in like manner, but in other punishments, the parties retain their property. Adultery is punished with death to the man, and the woman becomes a slave to the Prince—theft is the most prevalent crime, and adultery is uncommon, perhaps not twenty cases in a year—the husband has the power by law to kill both parties at the moment, if he detects them in the fact, but not otherwise.

" In their domestic relations, however, the conduct of the Balinese appears unexceptionable, and there is indeed a superior delicacy to what might be expected, and the tenderness towards early age speaks strongly in favor of their natural disposition. The parental authority is exercised with such tenderness, that it is peculiarly striking when taken in the same view with the apparently rude character of the people—they seem to evince a careless indifference to the rod of despotism which hangs over their head, and an air of good-humour and general satisfaction prevails throughout; temperate in their diet, and strangers to drunkenness, the ruling passion is gaming, from cock-fighting to an inordinate and unprincipled desire for conquest—such is the energy of the character that it must find some powerful vent, something on which to discharge itself—and not being subject to a form of government calculated to repress their energies, they evidently feel no inclination to stand still in the scale of civilization. As a nation they are certainly invincible to any native power in the Eastern Seas; still maintaining a high and noble independence of character, they perhaps exhibit in a concentrated spot as much of human nature, checked by regulation, and yet not lowered or refined by it as is to be found in any part of the universe.

" If we contemplate the various nations and tribes which inhabit the Southern Peninsula of India, and the innumerable islands composing that portion of the globe comprehended within Polynesia and Australasia, our attention is arrested by the striking uniformity in habits and language which prevails throughout, inducing the inference either of one common origin, or of early and very general intercourse.

" Such customs as the singular practice of filing the teeth and dyeing them black, noticed by the authors who have written on Pegu, Siam, Camboja, and Tonquin, and prevailing generally throughout the whole Malayan Archipelago; the

practice of distending the perforated lobe of the ear to an enormous size, noticed in like manner to exist in the same parts of the Peninsula, and prevailing throughout the Archipelago in a greater or less degree in proportion with the extension of Islamism; the practice of tattooing the body, noticed among the Burmans and people of Laos, common to many tribes on Borneo, and particularly distinguished in some of the islands in the Pacific Ocean; if it is observed that this custom, as well as that of plucking the beard, was noticed in South America, the question may arise in what course or direction the tide of population may have flowed. In a recent publication an idea has been started on the similarity of the languages, that the population of the Philippines and of the islands in the South Sea originally emigrated from America *. It will not be required of me to go into any description of those singular appendages to the virile member, noticed by the writers on Pegu, Siam, and Camboja, and adopted among many tribes of Borneo and the Moluccas; whatever may have been the origin of this very singular custom, traces are to be found even on Java of the veneration in which it once was held. The practice of triumphing over a subdued enemy may be common to the barbarous state in general, but the deliberate system of man-hunting, in order to procure heads as a trophy of manliness and military gallantry, however it may have originated in this feeling of uncivilized nature, may be ranked among the peculiarities of this portion of the globe.

" The language of the different tribes of Borneo is ascertained to bear a strong

" * This author notices that observing the proper names of places about the middle of the continent of South America were very similar to those of the Philippines, he endeavoured to procure a vocabulary of the country, and to examine the few words of the language of Chili, which Ercilla mentions in his Araucana, and found them perfectly conformable to the language of Tagala. ' In examining the structure of the two languages,' he observes, ' we are compelled to conclude that they flow from one and the same source, and I dare to affirm that the Indians of the Philippines are descended from the aborigines of Chili and Peru, and that the language of these Islands derives immediate from the parent source, those of the neighbouring Islands being dialects of this—that there are many reasons, and one in particular, for supposing that the Islands in the South Sea could not be peopled from the westward, viz. that in all the torrid zone the east wind generally prevails, which being in direct opposition to the course from Malacca and the adjacent Islands, it is fair to conclude the inhabitants of all the Islands in the South Sea came from the East, sailing *before the wind*, for we have seen it often happen, that the Indians from the Palaos have arrived at the Philippines precisely under these circumstances. On the contrary we have no instance on record of any of the Philippine Indians having been, even by accident, carried by the winds to the Islands to the Eastward.'

" ' Here, therefore,' he concludes, ' we appear to have formed the most probable solution of our difficulties, that is, that the first settlers came out of the East, we may presume from the coast of South America, and proceeding gradually to the westward through the Pacific Ocean, studded as we find it with islands and clusters of islands, at no very great distance from each other, and of course of easy access before the wind; it follows that to whatever point in an eastern direction we trace the Tagalic language, we may conclude that at that point emigration must have commenced.' "—*Description of the Philippine Islands, by Martiner de Tuniga.—Marns. Trans.* p. 30.

resemblance to that of the scattered tribes of Camboja, Champa, and Laos. The position maintained by Mr. Marsden, that the Malayan is a branch or dialect of the widely extended language prevailing through the Islands of the Archipelago, to which it gives name, as well as those of the South Sea, appears to be established and confirmed as our information advances, and if we except the Papuas and scattered tribes having curled hair, we find the general description given of the persons of the Siamese and the ruder population of the adjacent countries which have not admitted any considerable admixture from the Chinese, to come very near to the inhabitants of the Archipelago, who may, in fact, be said to differ only in being of a smaller size, and in as far as foreign colonization and intercourse may have changed them.

" To trace the sources from whence this colonization and consequent civilization flowed, and the periods at which it was introduced into different states, is a subject new to the historian, and not uninteresting to the philosopher.

" If we admit the natural inference that the population of the Islands originally emigrated from the Continent, and at the same time the probability that the country lying between Siam and China is the immediate source from whence such emigration originally proceeded, the history of the Eastern Islands may, with reference to that of Java in particular, in which a powerful Hindu government was, without doubt, early established, be divided into five distinct periods.

" The first division would include the period commencing with the earliest accounts of the population down to the first establishment of a foreign colony in Java, of which the written annals of the country make mention; the date of this is pretty accurately ascertained, and may be fixed at about the commencement of the sixth century of the Javanese era, or A.D. 600, when only the period of authentic history can be considered to commence.

" The origin of all nations is buried in obscurity, and unless we may succeed in obtaining new lights from Siam or China, we shall have but little to guide us during the early part of this division, beyond conjecture and such general inferences as may be drawn from a similarity in person, language, and usages, still found to prevail among the less civilized tribes. According to the division of Sir William Jones, the original population of the Islands were doubtless of the Tartar race, and probably from the same stock as the Siamese. The Javans date the commencement of their era from the arrival on Java of *Adi Saka,* the minister of *Prabu Joyo Boyo,* Sovereign of *Hastina,* and the fifth in descent from *Arjuno,* the favourite of *Krisna,* and the leading hero of the B'rata Yud'ha. This epoch corresponds with that of the introduction of a new faith into China and the further Peninsula by *Saka, Shaka,* or *Sakia,* as he is differently termed, and with the chronology of the Hindus, as explained by Sir William Jones, in which *Saca* is supposed to have reigned seventy-nine years subsequent to the commencement of the Christian era; but whether

Saka himself, or only some of his followers assuming this name, found their way to Java may be questionable, and it is not impossible that the Javanese may have subsequently adopted the era, on a more extended intercourse with the further Peninsula *. A connection would at any rate appear to have existed between Java and Siam, as this Adi *Saka* is not only represented to have founded the present era of Java, but to have introduced the original letters of the Javanese alphabet, by a modification of the letters used in Western India and in Siam. It does not appear that either he or his followers established themselves in any authority, and we can trace but little with certainty during the following five centuries; some of the Javanese accounts refer to the arrival of various settlers during this period, but we find no traces either of a government having existed, or of the establishment of any extensive colony, until the commencement of the sixth century. I should observe in this place that the Javanese year corresponds pretty nearly with the Hindu year of Salivarna, and that the word *Saka*, in Sanscrit, means an epoch or era, and is applied to the founder of an era.

" The Javanese occasionally use the numerals for recording dates, but more generally and particularly in dates of importance, they adopt an hieroglyphical invention termed *Chondro Sangkolo*, in which the different numerals from one to ten are represented by particular objects; this is either effected, in buildings and sculpture, by the actual representations of these objects, or in writing, by the insertion of their names, the meaning frequently having some allusion to the fact which the date records, thus the date of the destruction of Majapahit, in the Javanese year, 1400, is recorded as follows, the order of the numerals being reversed—

Sirna—ilang—Kertaning—Burni
Gone—gone—is the work—of the land
0 0 4 1

" Anterior to this supposed arrival of *Adi Sacha*, the two most eventful periods in the history of these countries, of which tradition and history make mention, are, first, that which includes the incursions of the far-famed race who have been supposed to have peopled South America †, and, according to Sir William Jones, 'imported into the furthest parts of Asia, the rites and fabulous history of Rama;' and, secondly, that which includes the consequences of the invasion of India by Alexander the Great. That the fabulous history of Rama, as well as the exploits of Alexander, have been current in the Malayan Archipelago from time immemorial, cannot be questioned; and it may be remarked, that while the Javans use the term *Rama* for

" * The present (1815) Javanese year is 1742: that of Bali 1733."

" † See a former note on the similarity between the languages of South America and the Philippines, and the recent works of Humboldt, on the existence of Hindu remains still found in America, in support of this assertion."

father, the Malays universally attempt to trace their descent from Alexander, or his followers. Sumatra was long considered to have been the *Taprobáne* of the ancients; and when we advert to the single circumstance that this was said to be a country in which the North Polar Star was not visible, or only partially, we must still doubt the correctness of the modern conclusion in favour of Ceylon. The Eastern Islands furnish that peculiar kind of produce which has, from the earliest times, been in demand by continental nations; and the same avidity with which, in modern days, Europeans contended for the rich products of the Moluccas, in all probability actuated, at a much earlier period, adventurers from Western India. Traces of intercourse with Ethiopia may be found at this day in the scattered tribes of the woolly-haired race peculiar to Africa, which are to be found on the Andamans, on the southern part of the further Peninsula, and throughout the Archipelago; and that the Hindus were, at one period, an enterprising and commercial nation, may, I think, be established with little difficulty, from the incontestible proofs which at this day exist on Java, and the traffic which still exists in native vessels, and on native capital, between the Coromandel coast and the Malayan peninsula. If any country, therefore, in the Archipelago lays claim to this distinction more than another, it is Java; but probably it was rather to the Eastern Islands generally, than to one island in particular, that the appellation was given. Both Ptolemy and the Arabians would seem to have designated the Islands by one general name; by the one, they were termed *Jabadios Insulæ;* by the others, *Jaù,* or *Jawa:* hence, probably, the confusion in the Travels of *Marco Polo,* and the still disputed question between *Java Major* and *Java Minor* *.

" The second division would include the period between this first regular establishment from Western India, and the decline and fall of the first Eastern empire of Java, which may be fixed, with tolerable accuracy, at about the Javanese year 1000, or A.D. 1073.

" During this period, by far the most eventful in the history of Java, we shall find colonies of foreigners establishing themselves not only on Java, but on various other Islands of the Archipelago; that the arts, particularly those of architecture and sculpture, flourished in a superior degree; and that the language, literature, and institutions of the continent of India were transferred, in various directions, through the Oriental Islands. It was during this period that the principal temples, of which

" * If we reflect upon the extent and nature of the recent volcanic phenomena on Sumbawa, and the effects which may have been produced by similar convulsions of nature, we are led to conclude that the present appearance and form of the various islands of the Archipelago may be very different from what they were two or three thousand years ago. At that period these Islands may have formed part of the main land, or have been themselves united in one continent. An authentic account of this extraordinary phenomenon, as far as it can be collected from information yet received, is submitted to the Society, and will be found in the subsequent pages of its Transactions. I can vouch for the correctness of the statements, and the raw materials may be found useful in the hand of the natural historian."

the ruins now exist on Java, were built; and besides the concurring testimonies of tradition, and the written compositions of the country, the numerous inscriptions and dates on stone and copper, the characters of which we are now able to decypher, as well as the ancient coins, would lend essential aid in establishing a correct chronology. On the one hand, we should have to direct our inquiries to the history of the various continental nations from whence these foreigners might have proceeded; and, on the other, to the nature and extent of the establishments, intercourse, and civilization introduced by them into the different islands.

" This period will commence from the arrival of *Awap*, the reputed son of *Balia Atcha*, Sovereign of Kudjirât, who came in search of a celebrated country described in the writings of *Saka*, and under the name of *Sewelo Cholo* established the first regular monarchy of which the Javanese annals make mention; and include the adventures of the celebrated *Panji*, the pride and admiration of succeeding ages. Our attention would also be directed in a particular manner to the intercourse between Java and the other Islands, and the nature and extent of the foreign establishments formed by Java. Tradition and the popular romances of the country represent not only the kingdoms of Goa and Luhu on Celebes, but even the kingdom of Menagkabú, on Sumatra, to have been established about the conclusion of this period by Princes from Java.

" The third division would include the period from the above date, till the final overthrow of the second Eastern Empire, in the Javanese year 1400. Some idea may be formed of the power and opulence of this second empire established at Majapahit, from the extensive ruins of that city still extant: these I took an opportunity of visiting during my late tour; and I believe I am within the mark, when I represent the walls to have enclosed a space of upwards of twenty miles in circumference.

" Within this period will be included the establishment of the Western Empire at Pajajaran; the subsequent division of the Island under the Princes of Majapahit and Pajajaran; the eventual supremacy of Majapahit; and the final overthrow of the government and ancient institutions of the country, by the general establishment of the Mahomedan faith.

" It was during this period that Java may be said to have risen to the highest pitch of her civilization yet known, and to have commanded a more extensive intercourse throughout the Archipelago, than at any former period. Colonies from Java were successively planted on Sumatra, the Malayan peninsula, Borneo, and Bali, the Princes of which countries still trace their descent from the house of Majapahit; and that adventurers from Western India, from Siam, from Champa, from China, and from Japan, frequented Java in the greatest number; but the object of first importance will be to trace the introduction, progress, and final establishment of the Mahomedan faith in the various countries where it now is acknowledged as the established religion; and particularly on Java, where we find that, notwithstanding

attempts to make proselytes were made as early as the commencement of the twelfth century, such was the attachment of the people to their ancient faith and institutions, that they did not effectually succeed, till the latter end of the fifteenth century of the Christian era.

" The fourth division would commence with the establishment of the Mahomedan government on Java, and might be brought down to the establishment of the Dutch in the Eastern Seas, say A.D. 1600; and a fifth, and by no means uninteresting period, might include the history of the European establishments, down to the conquests by the British arms in 1811.

" The further prosecution of this extensive inquiry would lead me beyond the limits at present prescribed; and I must, therefore, conclude with drawing your attention to the striking similarity between the early state of Greece, and that of the Malayan Islands: change but the names, and the words of Mitford's Introduction to his History of Greece, will be found equally applicable to this more extensive Archipelago.

" ' Thus,' he observes, ' Greece, in its early days, was in a state of perpetual marauding and piratical warfare. Cattle, as the great means of subsistence, were first the great objects of plunder; then, as the inhabitants of some parts by degrees settled to agriculture, men, women, and children were sought for as slaves. But Greece had nothing more peculiar than its adjacent sea, where small islands were so thickly scattered, that their inhabitants, and in some measure those of the shores of the surrounding continents also, were mariners by necessity; water-expeditions, therefore, were soon found most commodious for carrying off spoil. The Greeks, moreover, in their more barbarous state, became acquainted with the precious metals; for the Phœnicians, whose industry, ingenuity, and adventurous spirit of commerce, led them early to explore the further shores of the Mediterranean, and even to risk the dangers of the ocean beyond, discovered mines of gold and silver in some of the Islands of the Ægean, and on its northern coast they formed establishments in several of the Islands; and Thasus, which lay convenient for communication with the most productive mines, became the seat of their principal factory. Thus was offered the most powerful incentive to piracy, in a sea whose innumerable islands and ports afforded singular opportunity for the practice. Perhaps the conduct of the Phœnicians towards the uncivilized nations, among whom the desire of gain led them, was not always the most upright or humane; hostilities would naturally ensue, and hence might first arise the estimation of piracy, which long prevailed among the Greeks as an honourable practice.'

" Java has long been advanced beyond that state, in which piracy and robbery are held to be honourable in the eyes of men; but the picture will be found pretty correct of those Islands strictly denominated Malayan.

" The superior and extraordinary fertility of the soil may serve to account for

the extensive population of Java, compared with that of the other Islands; and when to the peaceable and domestic habits of an agricultural life are added the facilities for invasion along an extensive line of coast, accessible in every direction, it will not be surprising that she should have fallen an easy prey to the first invader. She appears to have lost by these invasions much of that martial spirit and adventurous enterprise which distinguishes the population of the other Isles; but, at the same time, to have retained not only the primitive simplicity of her own peculiar usages, but all the virtues and advantages of the more enlightened institutions which have been introduced at different periods from a foreign source. At all events, when we consider that her population cannot be less than four millions; and when we witness the character and literature of the people as it is even now exhibited, we must admit that Java had attained a far higher degree of civilization than any other nation in the southern hemisphere.

" You will, however, expect from me some notice regarding Japan, ' that celebrated and imperial Island,' which, to use the words of Sir William Jones, bears ' a pre-eminence among Eastern kingdoms, analogous to that of Britain among the nations of the West;' and however slender may have been the information procured, such as it is I venture to submit it to you, nearly as I received it from the verbal communications of Dr. Ainslie.

" It may be satisfactory and gratifying, in the first place, to observe, that every information which has been obtained, tends to confirm the accuracy, the ability, and the impartiality of Kæmpfer, whose account of Japan is, perhaps, one of the best books of the kind that ever was written, considering the circumstances under which he was sent. I am assured that there is not a misrepresentation throughout. He was a man of that minute accuracy, and that habitude of talent, which saw every thing as it stood, and not through the mist or medium of any preconception. The Japanese observe of him, that he is in history ' the very apostle of their faith,' and from whose works alone they know even their own country. Their first inquiry was for a copy of Kæmpfer; and, endeavouring to evince the estimation in which this author was held by them, their observation was literally that ' he had drawn out their heart from them, and laid it palpitating before us, with all the movements of their government, and the actions of their men.'

" Referring you, therefore, to the works of Kæmpfer for an account of their history, institutions and acquirements, as genuine data on which this interesting people may be appreciated, I need only offer a few notices on the character which they appeared to Dr. Ainslie to display, during a residence of four months, and as far as he had the opportunity of judging.

" They are represented to be a nervous, vigorous people, whose bodily and mental powers assimilate much nearer to those of Europe, than what is attributed to Asiatics in general. Their features are masculine, and perfectly European, with the

exception of the small lengthened Tartar eye, which almost universally prevails, and is the only feature of resemblance between them and the Chinese. The complexion is perfectly fair, and indeed blooming, the women of the higher classes being equally fair with Europeans, and having the bloom of health more generally prevalent among them than is usually found in Europe.

" For a people who have had very few, if any, external aids, the Japanese cannot but rank high in the scale of civilization. The traits of a vigorous mind are displayed in the sciences, and particularly in metaphysics and judicial astrology. The arts speak for themselves, and are deservedly acknowledged to be in a much higher degree of perfection than among the Chinese, with whom they are, by Europeans, so frequently confounded. The latter have been stationary, at least, as long as we have known them ; but the slightest impulse seems sufficient to give a determination to the Japanese character, which would progressively improve, until it attained the same height of civilization with the European. Nothing, indeed, is so offensive to the feelings of a Japanese, as to be compared, in any one respect, with the Chinese ; and the only occasion on which Dr. Ainslie saw the habitual politeness of a Japanese ever surprised into a burst of passion, was upon a similitude of the two nations being unguardedly made, when he laid his hand on his sword.

" The people are said to have a strong inclination to foreign intercourse, notwithstanding the political institutions to the contrary ; and perhaps the energy which characterizes the Japanese character cannot be better elucidated than in that extraordinary decision which excluded the world from their shores, and confined themselves within their own limits: a people who had before served as mercenaries throughout all Polynesia, and who traded with all nations—themselves adventurous navigators.

" There is by no means that uniformity among them which is observed in China, where the impression of the government may be said to have broken down all individuality, and left one Chinese the counterpart of another. Unlike the Chinese, the women here are by no means secluded; they have a society among themselves, as the ladies of Europe. During the residence of Dr. Ainslie, frequent invitations and entertainments were given ; on these occasions, and at one in particular, a lady from the court of Jeddo is represented to have done the honours of the table with an ease, elegance, and address that would have graced a Parisian. The usual dress of a Japanese woman of middle rank costs, perhaps, as much as would supply the wardrobe of an European lady of the same rank for twenty years.

" The Japanese, with an apparent coldness like the stillness of the Spanish character, and derived nearly from the same causes,—that system of espionage, and tha principle of disunion, dictated by the principles of both governments,—are represented to be eager of novelty and warm in their attachments; open to strangers; and, bating the restrictions of their political institutions, a people who seem inclined

to throw themselves into the hands of any nation of superior intelligence: they have, at the same time, a great contempt and disregard of every thing below their own standard of morals and habits, as instanced in the case of the Chinese.

" This may appear to be contradicted by the mission from Russia in 1814, under Count Kreusenstern; but the circumstances under which that mission was placed should be considered. From the moment of their arrival they were under the influence of an exclusive factory, who continued to rain upon them every possible ignominy which can be supposed to have flowed from the despotism of Japan, through the medium of an interested and avaricious factor, who dreaded competition, or the publication of his secret. The warehouse in which the Russian mission had been lodged, was pointed out to Dr. Ainslie, who observes, that ' as the rats were let out, the Count and his suite were let in, where they remained for six long months, with scarce room to turn; the mark of obloquy to the Japanese, and the laughing-stock to the European factory.' So lively, indeed, was the impression of the occurrence, that the chief Japanese officer asked the English commissioner if he, too, would condescend to play the part of the Russian count; the officer answering to his own question, ' No, I trust not.'

" The mistaken idea of their illiberality in religious matters, seems to have been fully proved; and the late mission experienced it in a degree hardly credible, and little expected by themselves, from the representations previously made to them. The story of the annual test of trampling on the crucifix at Nangasaki and the other important cities is a story derided by the Japanese priesthood. On visiting the great temple on the hills of Nangasaki, the English commissioner was received with marked regard and respect by the venerable patriarch of the northern provinces, eighty years of age, who entertained him most sumptuously. On shewing him round the courts of the temple, one of the English officers present heedlessly exclaimed in surprise, ' *Jasus Christus.*' The patriarch, turning half-round, with a placid smile, bowed significantly, expressive of ' We know you are *Jasus Christus* well; don't obtrude him upon us in our temples, and we remain friends;' and so with a hearty shake of the hands these two opposites parted. This leave-taking reminded Dr. Ainslie very forcibly of the story Dr. Moore tells so well of the Duke of Hamilton and himself taking leave of the Pope. The Pope, who had conceived a regard for the young Duke, on the latter making his congè, said, ' I know you laugh at the benediction of a Pope; but the blessing of an old man can do you no harm;' and laid his hand on his head, and blessed him.

" The massacre of Samebarra is, by the Japanese, attributed to European intrigue; and even Kæempfer notices that the European ships of war formed the practical breach through which the Japanese entered, and perpetrated that massacre, to which, it would appear, they had been originally prompted by others.

" That the negociations from England, on a former occasion, should not have

been more successful than the late attempt from Russia, may easily be accounted for, when we reflect on the possibility of the favoured factor having said to them, 'Forty years ago your throne has been all but overturned by the intrigue of these *heretics;* this embassy comes from the King who has married the daughter of the head of that cast, and from whom you can expect nothing less than an irruption still more fatal to your tranquillity.' Such an argument, pushed by a narrow-minded and interesting factor, could not but carry weight with the Japanese, accustomed to respect, and to place all confidence in their western visitors.

"They are not averse to the indulgence of social excess, and on these occasions give a latitude to their speech, which one would hardly suppose they dared to do in Japan.

"It is an extraordinary fact, notwithstanding the determination of the empire not to enter into foreign commerce, that for seven years past, since the visitation of Captain Pellew, the English language has, by an edict from the Emperor, been cultivated with considerable success by the younger members of the College of Interpreters; they were, indeed, anxious in their inquiries after English books.

"While the commissioner was at Nangasaki, there arrived a large detachment of officers of rank, who had been out nearly four years, and not yet completed one-fourth of a survey on which they were engaged. These officers were attended by a numerous and splendid retinue, and were employed in making a practical survey of every foot of the empire and the dependant isles. The survey appeared to be conducted on a scientific principle, to be most minute and accurate in its execution, and to have for its object a regular geographical and statistical survey of the country.

"In a word, the opinion of Dr. Ainslie is, that the Japanese are a people with whom the European world might hold intercourse without compromise of character; for the Japanese themselves are wonderfully inquisitive in all points of science, and possess a mind curious and anxious to receive information, without inquiring from what quarter it comes.

"In the same spirit let us hope that now, when

> 'That spell upon the minds of men
> Breaks, never to unite again'—

no withering policy may blast the fair fruits of that spirit of research which has gone forth from this Hall; nor continue, under any circumstances, to shut out one-half of the world from the intelligence which the other half may possess."

While thus occupied in the encouragement of every object calculated to promote the good of the people whom he governed, and to enlarge our knowledge of their institutions, habits, and character, not only Mr. Raffles but his superiors also in Bengal remained entirely ignorant of the intentions of the Government at home.

or of the East India Company, as to the future condition of the Island. Years had elapsed, and still nothing was decided on its fate. One of the chief difficulties with which Mr. Raffles had to contend, and which indeed affected every measure, arose from this uncertainty. He had to administer the government of the Island without knowing whether it was to belong to the King or the Company, which led to embarrassment, and created differences of opinion, as the wishes and interests of individuals were likely to be affected by the decision. Mr. Raffles wrote to Mr. Ramsay, Secretary of the East India Company, on this subject.

To W. Ramsay, Esq. from Mr. Raffles.

Batavia, Jan. 8, 1813.

" There is perhaps no point of view in which the possession of Java deserves to be more seriously considered, than in its connection with China, and its influence on the Company's interests and prospects there. It is of the first importance to them, that in any arrangements which may be made for the future government of this colony, or for throwing the trade of India open to individuals, the nature of this connection, and the extent of this influence should be fully known, in order that the Company's interests at Canton, and their exclusive trade to China may not be interfered with.

" It seems to be the general opinion that the government of Java will be assumed by the Crown; and if this is the case, it is probable that a free trade will follow. Batavia may become the mart, from whence America and the Continent will be supplied with the products of China; and, from its central situation, become an emporium, which, in the hands of any other power than that of the Company, must be destructive of its best interests in China. The trade between Europe, India and Batavia, and between Batavia and China, will fall into the hands of individuals, against whose interference restrictions would be vain.

" The balance of trade, under the existing circumstances of the European market, is heavily against Java, both from Europe and from India, there being no actual produce of Java to afford a return that is saleable; and, consequently, the greater extent to which this trade is carried, the greater the demand for silver and gold, and the greater the difficulties and distresses of the Government. China, however, offers an advantageous mart for almost all her productions, as well as those of the Eastern Islands in general; and it is to this market only that we can look. A great proportion of this trade is now carried on by Chinese capitalists, trading direct to Batavia from Amir and the northern ports of China, with which a constant intercourse is kept up; and it would be impossible to restrict a trade which appears to have been so long established, and which proves so essential and advantageous to all concerned in it.

" The state of the Company's finances in China has already induced the super-

cargoes to open a communication on the subject. They represent the deficiency of their funds, and ask for consignments from hence, offering the advantage of drawing bills on the Supreme Government for the amount. This arrangement is exactly what the colony stands in need of. The drain which would otherwise exhaust Java from Europe and India will be avoided by the circulation of bills on Bengal, which will be granted to the amount of the consignments to China; and the supercargoes in China will be furnished in the most advantageous manner possible with funds for the homeward cargo, without requiring that export of specie which must otherwise become essentially necessary.

" If Java remains in the hands of the East India Company, this arrangement may be carried to any extent, and Java and China thus mutually assist each other, while the Company's finances would derive an obvious benefit. If Java becomes a King's government, and the trade to the Eastern Islands is thrown open, it will be difficult to impose restrictions, and impossible to prevent an intercourse with China, which, under such circumstances, would prove highly disadvantageous to the Company.

" As far as my experience goes, it will be impossible for a British government to exist on Java with a respectable establishment, without availing itself of the resources within its reach. Java cannot be held on the same footing as Ceylon. It is by extending its trade, and not by confining it, that the interests of its local government can alone be secured.

" Another point of moment is the extent to which printed-cottons may be introduced into Java from England. I am most sanguine in my expectations of success, provided strict attention is paid to the patterns and sizes as well to the other suggestions which accompany the musters; the consignments, however, should in the first instance, be considered rather as an experiment; and, afterwards, if the cloths are once generally and advantageously introduced, there will be no difficulty in increasing the quantity to an unlimited extent. The extent to which other staples and manufactures may be imported with advantage, I have stated in a Report *."

* * * * * *

On the prospect of the Island of Java being transferred to the crown, and the probability of a King's officer being appointed to the government, Lord Minto displayed a generous concern to promote and secure the interests of his friend, to whom he wrote as follows:—

" *February 22d*, 1813.

* * * * * *

" I have already written to you concerning the operations of this event (the arrival of General Maitland) upon your situation; and I need not repeat my former

* The inhabitants of Java are now, 1829, principally supplied with the cotton and woollen manufactures of England.

communication on a subject which is, however, deeply and sensibly interesting to my wishes and feelings.

" But I have to acquaint you with an honourable retreat, if your present office should pass into other hands. Mr. Parker has been compelled by ill-health to quit Bencoolen. If any obstacle should arise to the views which I suppose you might entertain on Java, in the event of a change of government, or if you should prefer the Residency of Fort Marlborough to any other situation that might be open for you in the East, my resolution is to appoint you to succeed Mr. Parker. It must not be forgotten, at the same time, that the orders of the Court of Directors are to place a civil servant of the Bengal establishment in that office. That circumstance will not prevent me from appointing you, because I flatter myself the claims which made so strong an impression on me will be admitted by others; and I am unwilling to doubt the Court's confirmation of the measure, and the many weighty and forcible considerations which certainly recommend it.

" If there should be any hesitation on the subject, I should feel some reliance on the early exertion I shall have an opportunity of making, in person, at home, my departure from hence being fixed for next January. * * * *

" My opinion now is, that in military questions affecting especially the economy of your government, you should adopt and carry into effect firmly, the measures which, after every proper reference to the Commander of the Forces, and with every due deference to his sentiments, you ultimately judge to be either expedient in themselves, or conformable to our instructions. To give way on the spot, and refer to us to reverse the measures, which have been conceded merely in a spirit of conciliation, is a very slow and dilatory process, considering the distance and length of time required for communication between Java and Bengal. It might, perhaps, be admissible, if the instances were rare; but opposition on such points being not only frequent but uniform, an exercise of the power vested in you on the spot becomes indispensable.

" Pray let me know your wishes on the subject of your appointment to Bencoolen as soon as possible. But I shall take care to make the office accessible to you by an actual appointment, subject to your own option, as soon as I know with certainty that the present government of Java is to be changed. You have had, and will still have many competitors here, and some of the very *highest* rank, merit, and pretensions in India; but so far as the power of this government can avail, you may consider the affair as decided."

From Lord Minto to Mr. Raffles.

" *Calcutta, May 10th*, 1813.

" Although nothing is certain, I should think, on the whole, that Lord Moira will arrive in Bengal in July, or say by the 1st of August.

" This expectation occasions a great embarrassment and anxiety about you; for the final decision concerning Java may not be known in the country during my government, and there will consequently be a difficulty in appointing you to Bencoolen, if that should be the case: for I presume you would not wish to renounce Java definitively until the necessity of doing so should be positively ascertained. What I can do at present is to keep Bencoolen open. If I should learn, while I am in office, that you are certainly to be relieved at an early period, I shall make your appointment to Fort Marlbro', and send it to you at Batavia, that you may go at once from Java to your own station.

" All that can be said is, that I shall be watchful for your interest, and shall omit nothing that depends on me to accomplish what I think due to your merits and services, as well as to evince the esteem and affection which I have sincere pleasure in professing towards you."

Extract of a Letter from Lord Minto to Mr. Raffles.

" *June 22d*, 1813.

" I cannot safely wait longer for authentic accounts of the resolution taken in England concerning Java; and I have, therefore, adopted the measure of at once appointing you formally to Fort Marlbro'; to take effect on your being relieved from your present office or resigning it; the allowances to commence from the time of your departure from Java.

" The letter which I have just addressed to you as President of the Literary Society of Batavia, leaves little for me to add to the very gratifying proof of their kind recollection and regard furnished by the address which you enclosed to me, and I shall only say, in the sincerity of private correspondence, that I have derived from it very particular satisfaction. I hope you will ply your labours—the field is extensive, and to a great portion even of the learned world new—diligence has not been wanting, and ability has been abundant in your era—for which, certainly, much is due to you, as you are truly told. I am very grateful for the great stone from the interior of your Island; in weight, at least, it seems to rival the base of Peter the Great's statue at St. Petersburgh.

" I shall be very much tempted to mount this Java rock on our Minto craigs, that it may tell eastern tales of us long after our heads lie under smoother stones.

" Your Twelve Cæsars* are placed on handsome pedestals in the marble hall at Calcutta, and you would be pleased to see how well they suit that fine room, and how ornamental they are to it. An inscription on the pedestal of Julius Cæsar is to

* Busts formerly in the Government Hall of the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia, and sent by Mr. Raffles to Lord Minto.

make him tell his own history and that of his successors, and how they all came there. He will (prophetically it must be) introduce your name into this chapter of his Commentaries.

* * * * * * *

"I learnt with great pleasure that you have determined to accept the Residency of Fort Marlbro'. When I first made this proposition I was not aware that I might soon lose the power of making the appointment. I have since felt considerable uneasiness lest I should be overtaken by an event which cannot be distant, and disabled from accomplishing an object which I have so much at heart. I wrote you by the Hussar under that apprehension, and before I had entirely determined the course I should pursue.

From Lord Minto to Mr. Raffles.

"*Calcutta, June 24th*, 1813.

"We have received the documents you have furnished in support of the measures adopted by you, respecting the courts of Solo and Djocjocarta—we wish, of course, from the great importance of the subject, not only to give it a full consideration, but to accompany the judgment we are to pass upon it with a satisfactory explanation of the grounds on which the opinion is formed. This requires a little, and but a little more time than, oppressed as we now are by the winding up of an administration of seven years, and by the despatch of ships to England, it has been possible for us to afford—you need not, however, feel any uneasiness on account of this short delay: I have myself read all the papers with the greatest attention, and have perused a second time all that your correspondence and the proceedings of your government furnish on this subject; I am happy to say that I am myself entirely satisfied; and although the members of Council have not yet read all the papers, the conversations which I have held with them on the subject leave me no doubt that we shall concur in the result.

"Our judgment on this and several other capital points of your administration, which are not included in the official dispatches by the Nearchus, will be forwarded in a week or two after the departure of that ship. Amongst these are the operation of calling in the depreciated paper which hung so heavily on your finances, an operation which is highly applauded; and the sale of lands which enabled you to execute the former measure, which is also approved.

"You will receive an official approbation by the present dispatches of your resolution to ratify the Probolingo transaction, which I trust will prove satisfactory to you."

To William Brown Ramsay, Esq.

"*Buitenzorg, June*, 1813.

"We are still here, without any change, or even rumours of a change, which, after the uncertain period which has passed, may be considered as a very great immediate gratification to us; but I am not so untutored in the ways of the world, or so confident in the propriety of the measures of our government at home, as to calculate with any certainty on the result. I am prepared and ready to meet a change whenever it may occur. At Bencoolen I am promised the chief authority, if removed hence; at Penang my standing in the service would insure me a seat in council, but I confess that I should say farewell to Java with a heavy heart.

* * * * * * *

"I do not know whether I am to attribute your silence to an *habitual* laziness in every thing which concerns business, or to a carelessness about me and mine; the latter I must doubt, and I would hope that you will not allow the former to supersede what, as a friend, I have a right to think my due.

"It is most likely you think much less about us than we think about you, and perhaps it is natural that it should be so: I will only say, that if you forget me, I will *not* forget you.

"Adieu, and believe me ever yours, with sincerity and truth,

"T. S. R."

To W. B. Ramsay, Esq.

"*Java, September 15th*, 1813.

"Every thing is going on prosperously here; and, as I have often told you before, if the authorities at home leave us alone, every thing must continue to go on prosperously. You will hear of some war here; but I think you know enough of my disposition to believe that I prefer peace and harmony, to war and anarchy; and that I would rather have kept my little army (about 12,000) in comfortable quarters. My measures have been throughout successful.

"I shall come home, not laden with riches and spoils, but, I trust, with some little honour and credit."

The following letter is to a relation:

To the late Elton Hammond, Esq. from Mr. Raffles.

"*Buitenzorg, October*, 1813.

"My Dear Elton,

"It has been gratifying to me to find that you take an interest in the affairs of these colonies, they are of much higher importance than is generally

imagined; and while they remain under my administration, no exertions shall be wanting to bring forth their resources. Under existing circumstances, it is essential they should be inquired into; and few questions are likely to excite more interest than those you have noticed. They cannot be considered without reference to the state of the colony; and, as connected with its eventual prosperity, they demand a considerable share of my time.

" Until the revolution in Holland, and the discontinuance of communication between this colony and Europe, large sums in silver were annually sent out to pay the establishments and purchase the investments; and, generally speaking, the importations in bullion were the most considerable. The specie, also, when sent by the Batavian government to British India, either procured a return of silver, or the proceeds by which opium, cloths, and the principal importations required by Java, could be purchased. For the last ten years, Java lost these advantages; and the only supply of bullion was received from the Americans, who purchased colonial produce. The blockade giving rise to extraordinary measures of defence, the whole Island was by Marshal Daendels forced to submit to military exactions; and, independant of the forced and voluntary loans obtained from the inhabitants, upwards of four millions of Rix Dollars and Paper Currency was thrown into the market. At the period of the establishment of the British government, this Paper had fallen in the market to the rate of six and a-half Rix Dollars for one Spanish Dollar silver.

" The public service required that, in the first instance, a supply of cash should be thrown into the Island for the pay of the troops; and, for a certain time, while the government were accumulating a small capital, a large proportion of this was kept on the Island.

" The restrictions on commerce which had heretofore existed being gradually withdrawn, the value of the silver in the market was soon ascertained. From Europe the importations of silver no longer existed. The specie, with which we might have purchased the valuable articles of Indian produce required here, were no longer at our disposal, the Moluccas being a separate establishment, dependant immediately on Bengal:—and the consequence was natural, that the silver should disappear. The small quantity imported in the first instance by the British government was soon soaked up in so thirsty a soil; and the circumstances above stated, added to the total want of demand for the produce of the colony, may account for the present very unfavourable balance of trade and exchange. The coffee alone, had the American war not broken out, and the Orders of Council been revoked, would have afforded us an importation of specie of nearly two millions of Spanish Dollars annually. At present it is literally rotting in the stores.

" The above may give you a general idea of our present situation; but, as Paper Currency is the point on which we are speaking, it may be interesting to you

to be informed of an important measure which has been undertaken here. The Paper Currency of Batavia, which was originally issued at par, amounted to about 8,500,000 Rix Dollars (£2,125,000 at par). At our first establishment it was respected and guaranteed by Lord Minto at six and a-half for one; but, in the course of a year, and notwithstanding it continued to be received in the government treasury at the rate originally fixed by Lord Minto, it fell to twelve and thirteen for one,—making a difference of near one hundred per cent. in its actual current value in the market. It followed, that government must either retain it in the Treasury, or if they issued it in payments, do so at the current market price of the day, at a loss of one hundred per cent.;—for the proclamation of Lord Minto required that they should receive it at six and a-half; and to the troops, or any of the fixed establishments, it could not be issued except at its value in the market. If purchases were to be made, or agreements entered into, it mattered little whether the rate of six and a-half or that of thirteen were stated, as individuals would take care to regulate the amount according to the current value.

"It may not be necessary to go into all the causes of this surprising depreciation. The general state of the Island, and the demand for silver, will, in a great measure, account for it; and something may be attributed to the speculations of individuals, who were considerable debtors to public Institutions, and to government, and, consequently, interested in the depreciation.

"Under such circumstances, you may easily conceive that property was very insecure; and that very little public confidence was to expected:—but how was it to be altered?

"I resolved to withdraw the whole from circulation by a partial sale of lands, and by such other means as were within my reach; and I succeeded in securing the whole in the course of three months. The principle on which this measure was adopted, is as follows,—the amount of Paper Currency could be considered in no other light than a colonial debt, the amount of which was due by government to the public. It is true it was not incurred by the British government; but Lord Minto had guaranteed it to a certain extent; and whatever might be the eventual fate of the colony, the burden arising from the depreciation must fall upon us. The question, therefore, was, whether we should withdraw this paper by means of British capital, or by means of Colonial capital; or, in other words, whether we should draw on Bengal for 1,300,000 dol. (£325,000 at par,) or whether other means might not be devised, that would eventually fall upon the colony. The heavy demands on the Bengal treasury for the supply of cash to Europe, the assurances I had given on the capability of the Island to maintain itself, and the necessity of preventing the possession from becoming a drain upon our more permanent possessions, induced me to devise means within my immediate reach: and I conceived it was impossible to adopt a more justifiable plan than to sell a portion of the domains of the colony for the liquidation of the debt. I

have accordingly done this; and about one-fourth of the debt may already be considered as extinct. The same principle followed up will reduce the whole in a few years; and in the mean time, an issue of the Treasury notes has been made, bearing an interest of 6 per cent., and payable at pleasure, which retain, and are likely to continue to retain, their original value. To meet the demand for circulation, which the withdrawing of so large a floating medium occasioned, the Lombard bank has been authorised to issue promissory notes or obligations to a certain extent, payable in nine months; which notes are issued to individuals on the security of real and personal property redeemable at the expiration of six months from the date of the loan.

"These last mentioned notes, with a small quantity of certificates issued from the Treasury, to enable the public to settle outstanding accounts in the old Batavian currency, have, generally speaking, maintained their credit; that is to say, they have never been at a discount with silver of more than 20 or 25 per cent.; and no extraordinary means have been taken by government to keep them up; they have literally been left to find their level in the market.

"From these circumstances you will be able to judge of the state of public credit.

"The quantity of silver is however daily becoming less. Gold has disappeared altogether; and copper is the only metal in general use among the population. A general demand exists for a more extended currency; and many of the most wealthy individuals are threatened with ruin from the want of means to pay their debts. In a few months, if a change does not take place, silver will not be procurable at any price; and in establishing a colonial currency, it becomes a question what shall be considered the standard; if silver, its price will be so high, that we may expect to pay 100 per cent. addition to our fixed expences; and if copper is made the standard, we at once declare our poverty among the nations with whom we hold commercial intercourse.

"I am happy that you concur in the propriety of the Probolingo sale. Our proceedings in this, as well as in every other measure, have met the approbation of the supreme government.

"Whilst adverting to this, I ought to notice a very important arrangement which is now in progress, and one which I consider by far the most important of my administration, and that is the establishment of a land rental, and the entire abolition of the farming system, and of the forced deliveries and services at inadequate rates, which heretofore existed.

"A system of internal management, similar to that established in Bengal, has been introduced throughout the whole of this fertile and populous Island; and the revenue and police regulations have been placed on a footing to ensure to the cultivator the fruits of his industry, and to the government its just dues for the support of the state; the whole system of native management has been exploded, and

the mass of the population are now no longer dependent on a Regent or other Chieftain, but look up direct to the European power which protects them.

" To enter into an account of the nature of landed tenure in Java, or of the state of society, would require more time than I can at the present devote to the purpose, and a partial or imperfect view of the subject can only lead to error.

" Hereafter, when I may have more leisure, or when I may make up my mind to write a book on Java, I shall go fully into these important points ; for the present, it may be sufficient for you to know, that under the Dutch government the revenue was almost entirely derived from the profits of commercial monopoly. After the loss of the Spice Islands, and all communication with Europe being cut off, some attempts to raise a territorial revenue were made by Marshal Daendels; but the amount realized, and the principle on which it was raised, deserve little comment or approbation; with the exception of the country in the immediate neighbourhood of Batavia, the internal management was confided entirely to native Chiefs, termed Regents; who, on condition of furnishing to government a certain quantity of rice, &c., and a small recognition-money annually, with all the labour and necessaries which government might from time to time require, were left to do with the bulk of the population pretty nearly as they pleased. They were, in short, the lords of the country, and while they complied with the requisitions of government, and were civil to the Resident, their conduct was little enquired into. The abuses and oppressions attached to such a system were every where apparent, every where felt. The Dutch themselves, to whom such a lazy system of management might seem most congenial, were, in a great measure, ashamed of it. Commissions upon commissions were appointed to propose a better system of government and internal administration; but either these commissioners were misled by those in office, who fattened upon the vices of the existing system, or they themselves wanted courage or ability to propose a radical change. All their partial changes had no effect either in improving the revenue or in alleviating the condition of the inhabitants. It was left to the British government to confer that boon on the Island, the establishment of which will form a bright era in the page of her history.

" In the first instance, the lands are let, generally speaking, to the heads of villages, as this description of people appear to me to be the resident superintending farmers of the estate. In so extensive a population, there will naturally require some deviations in different districts:—but the plan of village rents will generally prevail. After the experience of one year,—leases for three years will be granted; and, at the conclusion of that period, the leases may either be made for seven, or for ten years, or the lands granted to the actual possessors in perpetuity.

" You will thus see, that I have had the happiness to release several millions of my fellow creatures from a state of bondage and arbitrary oppression. The revenue of government, instead of being wrung by the grasping hand of an unfeeling farmer

from the savings of industry, will now come into the treasuries of government direct, and be proportioned to the actual capability of the country. A system of check and control can now be introduced into every department; and in a more extensive political view, we may contemplate that the mass of the population will for ever remain attached to the British power, under whatever circumstances the Island is placed. You must pardon the hasty and unconnected account of this important measure.

" I have already, in my official letters, written so much on the subject, that I have exhausted all I had to say; and now that I sit down to write to you on the eve of the departure of the ships, I am too much fatigued to enter fully into it. I will only add, that, connected with this change, all the internal tolls and imposts, which heretofore checked cultivation and internal trade, have been abolished; that all the ports of the Island have been thrown open to shipping, with a remission of almost all export duties; and that every obstruction in the way of free cultivation, and free trade, is gradually removing.

" The spur which must thus be given to industry and speculation is, at any rate, calculated to assist in reducing the unfavourable balance of trade, by increasing our exports:—and, at all events, the individual interests and energies of millions, who can have no views beyond the Island, is better calculated to effect this object than any monopoly in the hands of a temporary and foreign power.

" I observe what you mention respecting the advantages attending a literary work, such as a statistical account of Java;—and, although I am fully sensible of my incapacity to appear before the public as an author, I feel some inclination to the undertaking. In my present situation, the demands on my time are so heavy, that any attempt of the kind would be fruitless. The most that I can do, is to collect materials; and, in this respect, I feel myself tolerably well prepared for an *essai,* whenever I may have sufficient leisure to devote to the subject. Should a change take place in this government, which is more than probable, I shall have plenty of time on my hands. I believe there is no one possessed of more information respecting Java than myself:—but how far I may be able to put it together, and to bring it before the public, I know not."

The time was now arrived when Lord Minto was to take his departure from Calcutta, on which occasion he wrote to Mr. Raffles the following letter, expressive of the friendship he felt, and the warm interest he continued to take in his welfare.

Calcutta, November, 1813.

" In taking leave of my public relation with you, as I must in this letter, I am at a loss how to proceed. On the one hand, there are so many points, or rather extensive subjects, on which a free communication of my sentiments is due to you, that every hour which remains of my residence in India would be too few to acquit myself of that debt, in a manner entirely satisfactory to myself or you. On the other

hand, the last, or I may say more properly, the posthumous duties of my station in India, added to the preparations for my departure, and the very interesting offices of society and friendship which belong to the occasion, leave only moments, when days would be wanted, for the demands still outstanding against me. You will, therefore, not impute to me want of interest in the matter I have now before me, if I aim at conciseness and brevity in a greater degree than I am accustomed to do. My official authority, and, therefore, my personal interposition in public business, was to end somewhere; and the arrears which the excess of labour required in this government beyond the powers of human diligence, must unavoidably cause, at the close of my Indian administration, have carried my *demise* a little higher than the nominal termination of my office, in such a manner as to leave the formal decision of several affairs which arose in my own period, to the authority which succeeds me.

" You will accept, therefore, what I am now able to offer, as only the friendly suggestions of the deep and lively interest I can never cease to take in all that concerns your public trust, and your personal reputation and welfare. In this I may be less careful than I might otherwise be, to separate my public from my private sentiments in this letter.

* * * * * * *

" On the financial operation of withdrawing the depreciated paper from circulation by a considerable sale of lands, the resolutions of this government must be conveyed to you by my successor; but I am unwilling to withhold from you my individual sentiments on a measure of so much importance.

" I begin, therefore, by assenting without reservation to the absolute and exigent necessity which was the motive, and is the justification, of the proceeding. The revenues and all the demands of government were paid in paper which could not be re-issued; there was, therefore, a virtual suspension of receipt at the public treasury. To avoid this total loss, the paper must have been issued again, at the discount of the day, which would have discredited the currency still more, and would have involved an enormous and constantly-recurring loss. This state of things left you no option but to withdraw the paper, to make room for some better medium of circulation, and the operation of the evil was too rapid to admit of delay.

" The only plan for the redemption of the paper which could be found, appears very clearly to have been precisely that to which you had recourse—the sale of public property; and it must be deemed fortunate that this resource existed, and proved to be immediately available.

" I consider, therefore, your measure to have been an *able expedient* in a case of *great emergency.*

" At the same time I conceive the *necessity* of a prompt remedy to form the essential, and, indeed, the indispensable ground of the resolution that was taken, for I should not, I confess, have thought an extensive alienation of the public domains

advisable in itself, under the particular circumstances of the colony at the time. First, it was too important a measure to be adopted during a provisional government, the duration of which is more than precarious. Secondly, it ought (and naturally would, without the pressure of immediate necessity) to have received the previous sanction of the supreme government. Thirdly, although my views, as you know, lead to the transfer of public territory to the management of individual industry, and the creation of a genuine landed interest, with all its immediate benefits and ameliorating tendencies, in the room of the deplorable system of vassalage and dependence under which land is now held in Java; yet I have felt that this change could not be brought about suddenly, partly from the very nature of all extensive changes, partly from the circumstances of the colony, which contains at present neither capital nor capitalists enough to afford a comparison between the value in the market, of land and money, either fair or at all approaching to fair. I should have inclined, therefore, to small and partial sales of land, if alienation in perpetuity should have been thought advisable at all, proportioned in some degree to the disposable quantity of money in the hands of individuals. But the general course to be recommended I conceive to be short leases, followed by longer, and ultimately by perpetuities. I touch upon these points the more willingly, for the purpose of conveying to you a caution on the subject, founded on our knowledge of the sentiments which appear to be the most prevalent at home, but which you may not be apprized of.

"There is a great division of opinion on the question of permanent settlements, and the extension of that system to the newly acquired provinces under the Presidency of Bengal, which has in a great degree been carried into effect during my administration.

"The introduction of that system has been gradual in those provinces, but yet more sudden than is approved at home. But Java is in a state infinitely less favourable to perpetual alienations, and you may depend upon such measures, unsupported by particular exigency, being disapproved, and, indeed, disavowed and annulled by the authorities in England.

"There are many other points of public business, indeed much too many, in which I am in your debt, but, as I have already said, I must break my staff somewhere.

"I have had an early communication with Lord Moira * concerning your appointment to Bencoolen; and I have the happiness to say, that he acquiesced entirely in the arrangement that was made, and specifically in the propriety of your continuing to administer the government of Java, until the future destiny of that Island should be fixed by the government at home.

"I ought not to conclude without congratulating you on the success of the Sambas expedition. * * * * * *

* His Lordship had just arrived in Calcutta as successor to Earl Minto.

" Your measures at Palembang, you will have seen, have had our entire concurrence. * * * * * * *

" My picture was far advanced before I received your intimation that the smaller picture formerly sent would be accepted as an anticipation of the request contained in the address. I think you will be glad of this, as the full-length, as large as life, which is now ready, is one of the best works I ever saw, and every way worthy of the respectable body at whose command it has been executed.

" I propose, when that picture arrives at Batavia, to request that you will accept and keep the latter for my sake.

" I must close here, but not take leave, for I hope for one more opportunity.

" Believe me, ever most faithfully and affectionately yours,

" Minto."

The sale of lands alluded to in the foregoing letter, it will be seen, was highly approved by Lord Minto as an *able expedient* in a case of *great emergency;* and of his ability to judge from local knowledge, as well as general experience, no one will doubt. It was, in fact, the only expedient that could be devised to support the credit of the new government, at a time when it was most important to create a favorable impression upon the population, on the change of their rulers. Yet it was strongly condemned by the Court of Directors; perhaps because they did not possess either the local knowledge or the experience which were necessary to form a right judgment.

The sale of lands was no new measure; it had been resorted to at different periods under the Dutch government, and more especially in the administration of Marshal Daendels, when not only large estates, but whole districts, had been thus disposed of. The English government succeeded in a moment of the greatest public distress, when the Dutch had been unable to pay even their lowest establishments, when the funds of the public charities had been appropriated to the necessities of the state, and the finances of the colony were bankrupt. The English government succeeded also to the existing colonial laws and usages, by which they were borne out in the right of alienating such lands as might be found necessary for the support of the state, and as a partial sale of lands had been estimated among the available resources for the expenses of the current year, and had passed without comment by the supreme government, a tacit consent might be implied that the measure in itself was justifiable.

The expedition to Sambas, also alluded to in the foregoing letter, originated in a report brought by a trading vessel of the loss of the ship Coromandel, and the encreasing depredations of the piratical Chief of Sambas. This report was sent to Captain Bowen, then senior officer of his Majesty's navy on the station, with a

request that he would direct his attention to that quarter. Captain Bowen in consequence expressed his intention of proceeding to Sambas, and requested a hundred men to act as marines, his ships being short of their complement. General Gillespie ordered the men to be supplied; but the expedition was purely a naval one, and the supply of these men the only concern the Java government had in it.

CHAPTER VII.

General Nightingall appointed to relieve General Gillespie—General Gillespie brings charges against Mr. Raffles—Decision of the Court of Directors on them—Ancient characters on stones from the temples—Establishment of the improved system of government—Principles on which it was founded—Institutions of Majapahit, his division of society into classes—Mr. Raffles' reasons for introducing the change in the tenure of the land—His anxiety and fatigue during its progress—Support of General Nightingall—Eventual fate of Java—Hesitation of supreme government to give any rule for the guidance of the government—Forced to act in every measure of importance, in consequence, on his own responsibility—Suppression of piracy—Slave-trade declared to be felony, by a Colonial Law—Can only be repealed by the mother country—Leading inhabitants concur, and registered their slaves—Mission to Japan—opening of trade with it—Disapproved by the Bengal government—Approved by the Court of Directors.

The difference of opinion before alluded to with General Gillespie involved Mr. Raffles in great trouble, and augmented the cares and anxieties connected with the administration of his extensive government. Owing to some misapprehension, and to other causes, which it is needless now to enumerate, two months after the departure of Lord Minto, General Gillespie conceived it his duty to represent to the Governor-General in council at Calcutta, that certain parts of Mr. Raffles' administration were neither so purely nor so wisely conducted as the public service required. Of course the Bengal government required specific charges to be framed, which, when received, were forwarded to Mr. Raffles for his replies.

The charges embraced such a variety of topics, indeed almost the whole extent of his government, that, had Mr. Raffles not been perfectly master of his subject, or had he been less correct in every branch of his duties, the severity of this scrutiny would have been fatal to his public character, even had it not touched what every upright man is still more punctilious in protecting from the breath of slander—his own private fair fame. But the result in Mr. Raffles' case was highly beneficial; for the inquiry rendered it imperative upon him to enter into many discussions, which delicacy would otherwise have prevented his making public; and, in fact, compelled him to lay bare the whole system of his administration, with a minuteness which, under any other circumstances, would hardly have been allowable; but which in his case, under these circumstances, was an absolute duty.

In those distant regions, where the means of communication with Europe are few and uncertain; and where, even on the spot, the intervals which elapse between the dispatch of letters and the receipt of answers, are often of great duration; it requires a long period before such misunderstandings are cleared up. Nevertheless, the clouds which at first threatened to obscure Mr. Raffles' hard-earned renown gradually cleared off; and, one by one, his enemies, if, indeed, he ever really had enemies, gradually admitted, not only the purity of all his motives and conduct, but perceived and acknowledged the sagacity of his public measures. So irresistible, indeed, was the force of truth, as exemplified on this occasion, and so universal its effect in Mr. Raffles' favour, that there seems no reason to doubt, had General Gillespie not fallen into an honourable and early grave, he, as well as others, would have borne a willing testimony to the unsullied reputation of his former colleague; when, upon the minutest acts, as well as the most extensive measures of his administration, being exposed to public investigation, all of them were able to bear the scrutiny.

The following letter from Lord Minto to Mr. Raffles, dated Calcutta, the 22d May, has reference to the foregoing subject, and was written previously to General Gillespie's quitting Java:

"Sir George Nugent proposed appointing General Nightingall to take the command in Java, and place General Gillespie on the staff in Bengal. This plan combined so many advantages, that I instantly conveyed to the Commander-in-Chief my hearty, and, I must add, *joyful,* concurrence in every part of the proposition.

"The first benefit, afforded by this measure, will be to relieve your government from obstacles which it has become next to impossible to surmount, and yourself from personal vexation, very difficult to live under. On the other hand, a good retreat, or rather an honourable and advantageous station, is prepared for Gillespie, whose military character and services I shall always admire and venerate; and I shall always rejoice in the opportunity of testifying those sentiments, by contributing, as far as my power goes, to confer upon him those honours and advantages to which, notwithstanding his civil defects, he is so eminently entitled as a soldier.

"Another desirable consequence of this exchange, I hope, may be the superseding the necessity of investigating and pronouncing upon his political conduct in Java.

"I shall now say a word of General Nightingall; of his military qualifications I am not able to speak, of my own knowledge, but he has seen a good deal of service, and has, I understand, served with distinction. This I can say, however, that he is a man of honour, and a gentleman in the highest degree; his manners, in all respects, as amiable as I really believe his conduct to be."

The following letter will shew that, in the midst of the storm of public affairs,

Mr. Raffles retained all the kindliest affections of private life. It is addressed to the son of his early friend and protector, the late Mr. Ramsay:

To W. B. Ramsay, Esq.

"*Buitenzorg, March 21st*, 1814.

"While you are quietly gliding on in the smooth and sunny stream of private life, it is my lot to be tossed on boisterous billows, and to be annoyed with all the clouds and evils which ensue from party spirit.

"Without family pretensions, fortune, or powerful friends, it has been my lot to obtain the high station which I now fill; and I have not been without my due proportion of envy in consequence.

"After this, you will not be surprised at what follows. You are aware of the differences which occurred between me and Major-General Gillespie, and that he, in consequence, applied to be relieved from the military command. Arriving in Bengal after Lord Minto had left it, he found the new Governor-General unacquainted with all that had previously passed, and succeeded, to a certain extent, in impressing him favourably in his behalf. He was committed, in the course of some of our differences, by assertions which he had made; and finding that he had succeeded in directing the current of public opinion a good deal against me, he has brought regular charges against both my administration and character. The whole are, I thank God, easily to be repelled; and the closer the investigation, the purer my conduct will appear. Lord Minto is fully aware of the violent faction which has taken up arms against me, and will defend me in England. In India I have possession, and a clear character to maintain it; let Satan do his worst. * * * For myself I will declare, that so far from time and distance having quenched a single spark of the friendship I once bore you, I am at this moment more animated with affection towards you than ever. I think of you, and feel for you, as I would for a brother; and the anticipation of once more meeting with you, brightens the prospect of my return to my native country.

"My enemies have said much, and written much; but, in the end, truth and honesty must prevail.

"T. S. R."

The charges reached Java at a period when Mr. Raffles was engaged in drawing out his plans for the change of system, which he was about to introduce into the Country. Nothing can more strongly mark the facility and the despatch with which he replied to them all on the moment, than the circumstance of his having at the time his house filled with company, and that he never absented himself from the hours of social intercourse, or neglected his usual and regular routine of business.

The minute which he drew up and recorded on this occasion, and which, when printed, filled a quarto volume of moderate thickness, is a lasting monument of the powers of his mind.

It would be foreign to the object of this work, and to the principle stated in the preface, to enter into a minute detail of these proceedings; but the Reader cannot be otherwise than interested by the perusal of the following extract from a letter of Mr. Raffles, referring to the period of General Gillespie's departure from Java, when the differences which had occurred between them had seemingly ceased to exist, and a complete reconciliation had appeared to take place.

" The reconciliation was brought about by Captain Elliott. I had no motive for wishing to withhold my consent; the public interest would, undoubtedly, be benefited by it. My differences of opinion, and the discussions that had arisen in consequence, were before the Supreme Government, and in no instance had I stated a personal or private accusation, or one, the nature of which was not apparent in my correspondence with the General himself. As soon, therefore, as it was understood that no reference was to be made to what had passed, and could not be altered, I hesitated not to meet the proposal.

" There could be no personal consideration in this mode of procedure, because, whatever mischief our mutual references could produce had already been produced; the references were gone, and could not be recalled. I therefore confided in the honour of the General as a man and a soldier, that nothing had passed on his part inconsistent with our becoming friends; concluding that General Gillespie would no more profess a friendship for a man, whom he had accused of base and corrupt acts, than I would have condescended to accept the hand of one whom I knew to have accused me of them.

" It is further to be observed, that General Gillespie, in frequent conversations with me, declared his regret at what had passed, and his fixed resolve to support the measures of my administration; nor was it to me alone that this was said, it was repeatedly stated to the gentlemen of my family; even his last letter contained the same, imputing to the misrepresentation of some persons about me, the occasions on which we had formerly differed.

" My cause, my honour, my public reputation and private character, are now before the Supreme Government. I ask only a patient hearing. Errors in judgment may be found in the complicated administration with which I am entrusted; measures of policy depend in a considerable degree on opinion, and there may be some difference of opinion, perhaps, with regard to those which have been adopted by this government; but the accusations against my moral character must be determined by facts, and on this ground I will challenge my accusers to produce any one act of my government, in which I have been actuated by corrupt motives, or guided by views of sinister advantage to myself.

" I have thus deliberately discussed the present charges, and endeavoured to do so without anger or violence, but, my Lord, my feelings of the injury I have sustained are not the less acute. I have been denied the means of knowing the charges until all the influence of a first and ex parte statement could be exerted, and the current of public opinion continued to flow unrestrained, until the reports obtained an unmerited credit from the very want of contradiction."

When this business was laid before the Court of Directors, they expressed their decision in the following letter to the Bengal Government; but before this period the fate of Java had been decided; its restoration to the Dutch had been agreed upon, and Java and its dependencies had ceased to be of any interest to the public authorities of Great Britain.

" We have received your letter in this department of the 8th December, 1815, in which you draw our attention to your proceedings relative to the charges which were preferred by the late Major-General Gillespie and Mr. Blagrave against Mr. Raffles, late Lieutenant-Governor of Java, and communicated the judgment you have formed and recorded, as the result of a deliberate investigation of those charges.

" After a scrupulous examination of all the documents, both accusatory and exculpatory, connected with this important subject, and an attentive perusal of the minutes of the Governor-General, and of the other members composing the Council, when it was under consideration, we think it due to Mr. Raffles, to the interests of our service, and to the cause of truth, explicitly to declare our decided conviction, that the charges, in as far as they went to impeach the moral character of that gentleman, have not only not been made good, but that they have been disproved, to an extent which is seldom practicable in a case of defence.

" It is not our intention now to discuss the expediency of the leading measures of the administration of Java, while Mr. Raffles presided over the government of the Island. The policy of these measures is not only separable from the motives which dictated them; but there are cogent reasons why they should be kept altogether distinct and separate on the present occasion.

" Before pronouncing upon the financial operations of that government, we are desirous of fuller information and further time to deliberate on their tendency and effects, as well as on the circumstances under which they were adopted.

" Were their unreasonableness, improvidence, and inefficiency clearly established, this would only indicate error or defect of judgment, or, at most, incompetence in Mr. Raffles for the high and, in many respects, exceedingly difficult, situation which he filled.

" But the purity, as well as the propriety, of many of his acts, as Lieutenant-Governor, having been arraigned, accusations having been lodged against him, which

if substantiated must have proved fatal to his character, and highly injurious, if not ruinous to his future prospects in life, his conduct having been subjected to a regular and solemn investigation, and this investigation having demonstrated to our minds the utter groundlessness of the charges exhibited against him, in so far as they affected his honour, we think that he is entitled to all the advantage of this opinion, and of an early and public expression of it.

" Mr. Edmonstone, in his elaborate and able minute, has taken so comprehensive and just a view of all the acts which constituted the grounds of imputation against the personal character of Mr. Raffles, that it is quite unnecessary for us to enter into a detailed scrutiny of the matters, either of charge or refutation. On most, if not all of the points at issue, we concur with Mr. Edmonstone, both in his reasonings and conclusions; and whatever judgment may be ultimately passed on the various measures of the late government of Java, which underwent review in the course of the investigation into the conduct of its head, we are satisfied, not merely that they stand exempt from any sordid or selfish taint, but that they sprung from motives perfectly correct and laudable."

Mr. Raffles wrote the following letter to Mr. Marsden about this time, on the various subjects to which his attention was then directed.

To Mr. Marsden.

" *Buitenzorg, Jan.* 12, 1813.

" My Dear Sir,

" I had the pleasure to write to you about six weeks ago, since which nothing very important has occurred in this part of the world.

" We still remain without official information respecting the future government of this colony, although the public opinion seems decided in favour of its being transferred to the crown.

" It will, I am sure, afford you satisfaction to know, that every thing goes on prosperously; and that the resources of the colony, during the last year, have fully equalled my most sanguine expectations. The unfortunate state of commerce in general, and the distressed condition of the Island, at the period of its capture, have been much against us; but the happiest results have followed the decisive blow which I found it necessary to strike at Mataram: and the country throughout is in the most perfect state of tranquillity.

" Had it not been for the uncertainty which exists respecting the future government of the Island, it was my intention to have effected an entire new system and settlement of the revenue. The Dutch appear to have been terribly behind-hand in every arrangement of the kind; the principal resources of the government were

received in kind; and the contingents or quota of the different Chiefs fixed without reference to their means or ability.

" In the provinces lately transferred to the European government, the whole of the uncertain revenues collected by the native princes has been reduced to a fixed land-rent, payable in money half-yearly: and, if circumstances had admitted, I should have carried the same system through the country. In all changes, however, some difficulties are in the first instance to be encountered; and unless I felt satisfied, that I could *fully* establish the new system before I attempted its adoption, I might, by a *partial* interference, hamper and annoy the government which is permanently to rule over the Island. No exertions are wanting in collecting the most useful and extensive information; and we are already far advanced in a statistical account of each district. You are aware that we have the advantage of Colonel Mackenzie's abilities; and that a commission of the best-informed colonists has long been deliberating on the best means for improving the country, and ameliorating the condition of the inhabitants. That we are not altogether idle will be evident, from the honourable notice which Lord Minto has been pleased to take of our proceedings; and as his Lordship's last address to the College of Fort William pays so high and grateful a tribute to the memory of my departed friend, Dr. Leyden, I enclose you the Gazette.

" The Juliana takes home a very compact collection of quadrupeds, birds, and insects, prepared by Dr. Horsfield for the Oriental Museum at the India House. A large collection of dried plants is also sent. Any observations which you may offer on this first attempt will be very useful.

" In my last letter, I apprised you of the general state of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, and of my exertions to revive it. You will now learn with pleasure, that this Society is once more in full vigour. The former regulations were by no means calculated to keep alive a spirit of enquiry or research; on the contrary, they seemed to shut the door against every thing *new, as an innovation;* and it, therefore, became necessary to remould the constitution. With the celebrated Rudemacher the Society seems to have lived and died; at least, it has been nearly in a torpid state ever since. The lethargy, with which all the members seemed to be oppressed, when I first started the subject, gave me but little hopes of success; and the jealousy, with which they were apt to look upon any interference, at first discouraged me; but a more liberal spirit has at last prevailed; and, I trust, will soon pervade the whole body. The new regulations are simple; and, I think, you will approve of them on a consideration of how much has been effected against prejudice and colonial notions, which, I am sorry to say, are miserably contracted.

" Colonel Mackenzie has visited Majapahit, and every part of the Island; and a large stone, weighing several tons, with a long inscription in ancient characters, has been brought from the ruins to Sourabaya. The characters on this

stone are, I believe, somewhat different from those found at Brambana; and there is an old man at Sumanap who pretends to decypher the character. I have seen some of his translations of similar inscriptions in Madura; and they appear to record volcanoes and battles; but I must hesitate in offering an opinion, until I have time to examine the whole personally. While on the subject of ancient monuments, it will be interesting for you know, that we have not failed to take drawings of all that have been found, at least of the principal. I have one drawing of the temple at Brambana, representing the edifice as it originally stood in its most perfect state; and it makes a most splendid appearance.

" The undivided and unremitting attention, which the duties of my present situation require, deprives me of the time which I should be happy to devote to literary pursuits and scientific research; but I have made very considerable collections; and a few leisure months, at any time, will enable me to put them in some sort of order. The field is so extensive and untrodden, that I am cautious how I venture to form an opinion, or even communicate information on any particular point.

" I hope it will not be long before the Batavian press produces a Javanese Vocabulary, with some idea of the construction of the language. I have at present materials enough to undertake it; but I would much rather induce some abler hand to come forward.

" You must excuse the hasty and careless style of this letter. I am obliged to snatch a moment now and then from public business to get through it as it is.

" As a copy of the Malayan Bible, printed at Batavia, may form an addition to your library, I have the pleasure to send you one."

Reference has been already made to the change which Mr. Raffles introduced, especially with regard to the revenue in Java; but, before entering in the details on this subject, it may be well to state his own opinions of the country and the people.

" Six millions in Java, as many more in its dependencies, established on one of the richest and most fertile soils in the world, happy in their original Institutions, were subjected to the arbitrary demands of the European authority to deliver the produce of their soil either gratis, or at such nominal rates as that authority thought fit to bestow as a boon, and to give their personal services on all occasions of public or private call without any reward or return whatever, the demand on each district depending on accident, or the convenience of the local or commanding-officer for the time being. As it affected the general prosperity of the colony, the system was one which closed every avenue to general commerce, repressed every energy, and destroyed every incitement to industry and improvement. In its results to the European power, it had reduced the Government to beggary, while it vitiated and corrupted all its officers, and all its departments.

" Under these circumstances, it was determined to take a comprehensive view of the revenue and resources of these possessions, and of the various and important

interests involved in them, and to consider whether the introduction of a system of administration more analogous to that of our more permanent possessions in India might not be both advisable and practicable. That it was most advisable there seemed to be little doubt, for the Dutch themselves had for many years declared the advantage of some such change; their deplorable condition abundantly proved its absolute necessity, and the result of every inquiry that was made proved that the interests of all concerned must be benefited by such an arrangement.

" That the existing system was vicious and ruinous, all good men were agreed, commission after commission having been appointed by the Dutch government with a view of effecting a change; *that* authority at last came to the resolution that it was impracticable and unsafe: impracticable, because the difficulties to be surmounted and the corruptions to be put down were too formidable to be opposed; and unsafe, because it considered that any attempt to interfere with the existing order of things amongst the natives would lead to certain disorder and bloodshed, and endanger the supremacy of the European power."

Mr. Raffles introduced what is called the village system, founded upon that of the Hindus; for though the natives had from compulsion adopted the religion of their Mahomedan conquerors, they were strongly attached to their ancient Hindu institutions. To accomplish this introduction, he visited each district, in person made arrangements with the several Chiefs, and in lieu of the contingents and arbitrary exactions of the European government, established a permanent money revenue direct from the land, which afforded the means of defraying the expenses of the public establishments with regularity and certainty, instead of leaving the government dependent on the state of a foreign market for the irregular and uncertain sale of its produce. All the ports on the coast were opened to the general trader, and Cultivation and Commerce rapidly improved.

In the judicial department and police, independently of the regulations for the interior of the country, which formed part of the revenue and judicial system, essential reforms were required in the several European courts of justice established at Batavia, Samarang, and Sourabaya; Mr. Raffles introduced the trial by jury, and a clear and simple code was compiled, containing the rules for the different courts, and instructions for their officers. These rules were printed in English and Dutch; they shew that the practice of the Dutch courts was revised and modified on the mild and just principles of the British constitution; and the fact of its continuing in force under the Dutch government, will be sufficient proof that it was applicable to the circumstances of the settlement. It would be needless to dwell on the research, labour, and caution which such an undertaking required; those who are acquainted with the difficulties and responsibilities of government under ordinary circumstances, will estimate the difficulties and responsibilities of these changes, in the miserable state to which Java had been reduced.

The following extract from the Journal of Captain Travers describes Mr. Raffles at this period of anxiety and trouble.

" At the time Major-General Sir Miles Nightingall arrived to take command of the troops in Java, Mr. Raffles was busily engaged in his favourite plan, and making suitable arrangements for the introduction of an improved system of internal management, and the establishment of a land-rental on the Island, a measure which has given to his administration a lustre and widely-spread fame, which never can be forgotten. The measure is so fully explained, the necessity for its adoption so clearly pointed out in the public records of government, that I shall confine myself to the private circumstances connected with its introduction.

" When first this measure was proposed, it met, if not with opposition, with at least such a cold and cautious approval from the members of council, some of whom spoke from long experience, and a supposed knowledge of the native character, as would have damped the ardour of a less zealous mind than Mr. Raffles possessed, and indeed it was the opinion of almost every Dutchman with whom he conversed, that such a system would never succeed, and that the attempt to introduce it would be attended with very bad consequences. But Mr. Raffles had formed a very different opinion, founded upon the soundest principles of reasoning, and with a philanthropy peculiar to his character, he made himself perfectly acquainted with the reception which such a change of system would experience generally throughout the Island, and the result justified the opinion he then gave. It was in 1813 Mr. Raffles first acquainted the council of his intention to amend the system of land-revenue on the Island, and the minute which he then recorded, clearly and distinctly develops the just and liberal, as well as very able and enlightened view which he then took of the subject.

" In obtaining the necessary information to enable him to frame such a system as, whilst it abolished the vicious practice hitherto pursued on the Island, would strengthen the resources of the government, and by doing away feudal servitude, encourage industry in the cultivation and improvement of the land, the greatest exertions were required on Mr. Raffles' part, and he devoted himself with his accustomed enthusiasm to the task; night and day he worked at it. To satisfy himself upon all local points, to obtain personal intercourse and become acquainted with the character of the native Chiefs connected with, or in any way affected by, this new system, Mr. Raffles deemed it advisable to proceed to the eastern parts of the Island, where he remained a considerable time, and visited every place, often undergoing the greatest personal exertions and fatigue, which few accompanying him were able to encounter; indeed, several were sufferers from the very long journies he made, riding sometimes sixty and seventy miles in one day, a fatigue which very few constitutions are equal to in an Eastern climate. To give effect to the measure he was aware that his personal presence would afford an influence and

energy not otherwise to be obtained, whilst all delay for official reference would be avoided. He therefore did not return to Batavia till he had the satisfaction of seeing the complete success of this measure, which gave to his administration the credit of abolishing the most vicious and barbarous system, and of introducing one which gave to a most deserving and industrious population a freedom which had been hitherto most cruelly withheld from them.

" Mr. Raffles returned to Batavia in good health and high spirits, naturally elated with the complete success of all his plans, and finding in General Nightingall a cordial supporter. I consider that at this period he felt more enjoyment than at any other during his administration in Java.

" The most friendly intercourse subsisted between the Governor's and General Nightingall's families; they were constantly together; and to the purest feelings of friendship and attachment which General Nightingall felt towards Mr. Raffles, he seemed to add the highest opinion and admiration of the shining talents and abilities which he found him to possess. At Buitenzorg the house was constantly filled with visitors, and I well remember at the time when Mr. Raffles was drawing up the minute of council which he recorded on the 11th of February, 1814, we had a large party at breakfast, dinner, and supper, from which he never absented himself, but on the contrary, was always one of the most animated at table, and yet contrived to find time sufficient to write that minute, which in itself would establish him to be a man of considerable ability and acquirement; and this was written and composed so quickly, that he required three clerks to keep up and copy what he wrote, so that, in fact, this minute was written with the greatest possible haste; Mr. Raffles' object being to have a copy made and sent home by a vessel then under despatch in the roads at Batavia, and this he accomplished.

" But Mr. Raffles' quickness at composition was remarkable. He wrote a very fine, clear, legible hand; and I have often seen him write a letter at the same time that he was dictating to two assistants.

" Immediately after recording the minute herein alluded to, despatches were received from Bengal, communicating to Mr. Raffles the unlooked-for, and very unexpected intelligence of Major-General Gillespie having presented to the Supreme Government a list of charges against his administration in Java. These charges were of a most grave and serious nature; but Mr. Raffles met them like an innocent man. On the first perusal of them, his plan of reply was formed; and he answered every charge in the most clear, full, and satisfactory manner, as will be seen on reference to the book printed at Batavia, containing these charges and reply. But it is well worthy of remark, that when Mr. Raffles had finished his answer to the charges, he handed the whole to General Nightingall to peruse, who having gone through them, declared that although (as he declared on his first assuming the command of the forces in the Island) it was his fixed intention to have avoided all interference with

past occurrences, and to have kept clear of any differences which had taken place previous to his arrival; yet after a careful perusal of the documents which had been laid before him, and with a full and firm conviction on his mind of the entire innocence of Mr. Raffles of all and every charge brought forward by Major-General Gillespie, he could no longer remain a quiet spectator, and therefore in the handsomest, because altogether unsolicited, manner, he came forward to offer Mr. Raffles all the support and assistance in his power to give.

" Nothing could be more gratifying to Mr. Raffles' feelings on such an occasion than to have the support of an officer of General Nightingall's respectable character, obtained solely by a confidence in the rectitude and purity of the conduct he adopted since the commencement of his administration, every act of which was known to and most carefully examined by General Nightingall previous to his making this kind and friendly offer; and indeed it will only require a momentary look at the charges, to feel convinced of their unfounded nature.

" At the time when these charges were received, and their reception was a surprise to every person, the Government-house at Buitenzorg was quite filled with strangers. A large party, composed of Dutch and English, had been invited to witness the performance of a play, which was got up chiefly by the members of the Governor's staff. During this anxious time, when Mr. Raffles had so much upon his mind, not a visitor could perceive the slightest alteration in his manner; he was the same cheerful animated person they had always found him; at dinner, and in the evening, he appeared perfectly disengaged, and only seemed anxious how best to promote and encourage the amusement, and contribute to the happiness and enjoyment of all around him.

" When the clear and satisfactory reply was drawn out, repelling every charge brought against Mr. Raffles, a proposition was made in council, and was recommended by General Nightingall, that confidential friends should be sent in charge of copies of these despatches to Bengal and to England, to meet the ex parte statements which were known to be in circulation in both places. Mr. Assey, then secretary to government, was selected to proceed to Bengal, and as a vessel was then under despatch for England, it was deemed advisable to send me in charge of those despatches, together with a copy of the charges, and the reply sent to the Supreme Government. Before the vessel reached England the fate of Java had been decided; its restoration to the Dutch had been agreed upon, and consequently Java and its dependencies ceased to be of any interest to Great Britain."

Before proceeding to a detail of the effects produced upon the civil and political situation of Java by the introduction of so entire a change in the government, a view of those reasons which induced the opinion so strongly urged by Mr. Raffles may not be unacceptable. Under the guidance of the enlightened and benevolent views of Lord Minto, means were adopted to obtain every information, and to

institute that local inquiry, so essential to the success of the measures proposed. His Lordship, in his instructions on the establishment of the government, expresses himself thus:—

"Contingents of rice, and indeed of other productions, have been hitherto required of the cultivators by Government at an arbitrary rate. This also is a vicious system, to be abandoned as soon as possible. The system of contingents did not arise from the mere solicitude for the supply of the people, but was a measure alone of finance and controul, to enable government to derive a high revenue from a high price imposed on the consumer, and to keep the whole body of the people dependent on its pleasure for subsistence.

"I recommend a radical reform in this branch to the serious and early attention of government. The principle of encouraging industry in the cultivation and improvement of land, by creating an interest in the effort and fruits of that industry, can be expected in Java only by a fundamental change in the whole system of landed property and tenure.

"A wide field, but a somewhat distant one, is open to this great and interesting improvement; the discussion of the subject, however, must necessarily be delayed, till the investigation it requires is more complete. I shall transmit such thoughts as I have entertained, and such hopes as I have indulged, on this grand object of amelioration; but I am to request all the information and all the lights that this Island can afford. On this branch nothing must be done that is not mature, because the exchange is too extensive to be suddenly or ignorantly attempted. But fixed and immutable principles of the human character and of human association, assure me of ultimate, and I hope not remote success, in views that are consonant with every motive of action that operates on man, and are justified by the practice and experience of every flourishing country of the world."

In pursuance of these objects, the first subject which offered itself to the consideration of Mr. Raffles was as to the actual right of property, so far as it could be ascertained; it being with him a principle, "that nothing should be done to injure the existing rights of any class of the people, or to break down the barriers which prescriptive usage or actual institutions had authorized in the possession of property."

It appeared, from the most deliberate investigations, that in Java there existed no actual right of landed property between the Sovereign and the cultivator: the several officers, whether at the heads of districts, divisions, or towns, were nominated by the chief authority, and removable at his pleasure. It was not unusual to find the descendants of those, who had once been high in office, reduced to a state of poverty among the lowest classes of society. Policy and justice required that some provision should be made for those actually in office at the time of the introduction of that change, which would at once deprive them of all their privileges.

It appeared that, under the late Dutch government, no communication what-

ever was held with the people. Through their Resident, living at the principal town in the district, all orders were conveyed to the Regent, who nominated the inferior officers, and from whom the amount of revenue was received, the mode of collection remaining in his hands, unchecked by the controul of any legislative measure whatever.

The service of the people was also required by the officers of the government, without any compensation being afforded: the example was naturally followed by the native Chiefs; and thus were the industry and energies of a people crushed by a system of feudal service, as destructive in its operation as repugnant to humanity —rendering the efforts of the cultivator hopeless to himself and unproductive to the state. Justice, humanity, benevolence, policy, and necessity, called for that change, the beneficial effects of which were so speedily and so gratefully realized.

The Dutch government looked for their revenue only in their commercial monopoly. The resources of the eastern districts were sacrificed to the exclusive commerce of Batavia, the capital; and previous to the administration of Marshal Daendels the whole amount of monies collected from those districts did not exceed 150,000 Spanish dollars per annum (£37,500 at par). Some improvements were effected in 1803 by Marshal Daendels, but the system of monopoly and of farming the public revenues being permitted to remain, no essential or permanent advantage was derived, either to the government or the people.

At the period of the capture of Java by the British, some partial and temporary relief was afforded to the poverty of the country, by a large sum of money brought with the army and circulated in the country. The military disbursements of government in cash, the increase of commerce after the removal of the blockade, together with the friendly intercourse established with Western India, contributed to alleviate some portion of the distress: but as the system of farming the revenue to the Chinese, and of collecting the rental from the Regents only, excluded the peasantry from any immediate connexion with government, the specie thus circulated from the public treasury fell into few hands; the surplus was exported or hoarded, without benefit to government or advantage to the people.

Removing the barrier which existed to individual industry, giving to the cultivator security for his crops, abolishing the feudal service and transit duties, and at the same time affording a liberal compensation to the Chiefs and other officers for the loss of that authority, of which they were in actual possession, formed the leading features of that change which was, with such unparalleled celerity and success, introduced by Mr. Raffles.

That no difficulty might arise in the execution of Mr. Raffles' well-matured designs, such instructions were given, conformable to the peculiar circumstances of the various districts, as precluded almost the possibility of error on the part of the

executive authorities; although those authorities were not at all times disposed to concur in the principles laid down.

The following is an extract from instructions to Mr. Hopkins, who was appointed a commissioner for settling the revenue in those districts which were transferred from the Chinese, and similar instructions were circulated to the other Residents in the eastern districts, as far at least as local circumstances admitted.

" The internal management of the districts is to be taken into the hands of government, and to be administered without the intervention of native authority. The lands are to be rented for an annual payment in money, on the following general principles.

" It has been deemed advisable, on the first introduction of these arrangements, to enter generally into such a detailed system of management as would include an immediate consideration of the rights and interests of each individual cultivator; and in the instructions given in the other districts, it has been directed that the lands be in the first instance rented to the chief local authority in each village or community, whether recognised under the designation of Petingi, Bakal, Surah, or other title. But as the state of society and cultivation in the districts, lately held by the Chinese, may admit of an exception, and a more detailed settlement than elsewhere, you are authorized to introduce the same, to such an extent as may appear safe and practicable, with a due attention to the prejudices of the people and the tranquillity of the country.

" The heads of villages or communities being thus considered, leases are to be granted in the Javanese language.

" In fixing the amount of rent, you will ascertain, as far as practicable, the extent of all existing burthens, imposts, and services whatever, and endeavour to determine the amount these have hitherto borne to the produce of the soil; which amount, after an equitable and liberal allowance for any oppression hitherto felt, is to form the basis of the rental to be demanded as the dues of government.

" As far as my personal information extends, I am inclined to consider that these dues may be generally commuted, one district with another, for a payment in money equivalent to about two-fifths of the annual gross rice produce of the soil.

" That the government and the country may receive the full benefit of the arrangements now in view, and that the principle may be clearly defined, it has been resolved to abolish all internal taxes, contributions, deliveries at inadequate rates, and forced services, whether to the European or native authority; and henceforward, whatever produce or labour may be required for the service of government, is, in every case and without exception, to be paid for at the current market rate.

" As the first settlement to be made can only be considered as preparatory to a

more accurate and permanent arrangement for the assessment of the lands, it is not deemed advisable that the leases should exceed the period of one year.

" It being essential and just that a liberal provision should be made for the Regents and other Chiefs, and there being no objection to their retaining a certain portion of land, the Regent of Passaruwang is to be allowed lands which will afford him an annual revenue of 2,000 rl. battoo; and an equitable provision, in proportion, is to be made for the Regents of Poegar and Banjowangy.

" In order, however, that these appropriations may not interfere with the general system, these lands are to be regularly assessed in common with the other lands of the district, and entered upon the general rent-roll; but the rent is to be remitted, and considered as the amount of the respective pensions or salary of each individual.

" With these exceptions, and such other as political reasons may dictate, the whole of the lands are to be rented out to the Chiefs of the villages, on the principles already laid down.

" An entire separation is to be made between the judicial and revenue departments; and you will, as early as practicable, and as the existing system may be superseded by that now directed, forward a list of such permanent establishment of officers, writers, &c. for each, as may be necessary for the efficiency of the police and the dispatch of business.

" The Regents are, in future, to be considered as the chief native officers in their respective districts; but it will be obvious, that by the new arrangement they must be effectually deprived of all political or other undue influence: and as the tranquillity of the country is an essential and necessary object in establishing the new order, it is presumed they may be most advantageously employed in the department of police, while it must not be forgotten, that the watchful attention of the Resident must ever be directed to their conduct in the execution of this duty.

" On this account, and as compensation for further emoluments foregone by the introduction of the new system, in addition to the advantages derived from the appropriation of land already directed, the Regent of Passaruwang is to be allowed a salary of 3000 rl. battoo; and the Regents of Poegar and Banjowangy in proportion, and to the extent that their services may be useful or available under the new arrangements.

" The whole arrangements now directed are in no way to interfere with the payment of the contingent, recognition, or other dues to the government or the Regent, up to the present period, from which date the new organization is to be considered as entered upon.

" This, however, being the middle of the Javanese year, and as inconveniences might result therefrom, in determining the amount of arrears to be paid on the old system, it is considered that the line may be equitably drawn, by fixing the same at

one half-year's amount of the whole, a principle which you will observe in balancing the accounts of the Regents with government, and to be attended to in determining the demands to be made by them on the people.

" That the country may feel the effects of the new system immediately, the free exportation of rice and paddy to every part of Java has been authorized."

The principles thus laid down in these instructions were further confirmed by the following proclamation, dated Batavia, 15th October, 1813 :

" The Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council has, after the most minute consideration, deemed it advisable to establish an improved system of political economy throughout the Island, with the intention of ameliorating the condition of all its inhabitants, by affording that protection to individual industry, which will ensure to every class of society the equitable and undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of labour ; and while it is confidently expected that private happiness and public prosperity will be advanced under the change of system, such alterations and amendments will be hereafter adopted as experience may suggest, or the improving habits and manners of the body of the people may require.

" The following principles form the basis of the new arrangements, and are made public for general information.

" 1. The undue influence and authority of the native Chiefs have been restricted ; but government avails itself of their services in the important department of the native police, which will be arranged upon fixed principles, adapted to the habits and original institutions of the people.

" A competent provision in lands and in money has been allotted to such Chiefs ; and it therefore becomes both their duty and their interest to encourage industry, and to protect the inhabitants.

" 2. The government-lands will be let generally to the heads of villages, who will be held responsible for the proper management of such portions of the country as may be placed under their superintendence and authority. They will re-let these lands to the cultivators, under certain restrictions, at such a rate as shall not be found oppressive ; and all tenants under government will be protected in their just rights, so long as they shall continue to perform their correspondent engagements faithfully ; for it is intended to promote extensive industry, and consequent improvement, by giving the people an interest in the soil, and by instituting amongst them an acknowledged claim to the possession of the lands, that they may be thus induced to labour for their own profit and advantage.

" 3. The system of vassalage and forced deliveries has been abolished generally throughout the Island ; but in the Batavian and Preangu regencies such a modification of the former arrangements has been carried into execution as it was found practicable, under existing circumstances to introduce ; and provisionally the Blandong system will be continued to a certain extent in the central forest districts.

" 4. To encourage the cultivation of so important an article of export as coffee may become, when the trade of Europe and America may be thrown open to free competition, government have stipulated to receive any surplus quantity of that commodity from the cultivators, at a reasonable and fixed rate, when a higher price cannot be obtained for it in the market.

" 5. To extend free trade and commerce, and to promote a spirit of enterprize and speculation amongst the inhabitants, the Bloom Farms have been abolished, the duties upon the principal articles of export have been taken off, and it is intended to modify and amend the custom-house regulations before the 1st of January. The toll-gates and transport duties of the interior have been diminished as much as possible, and in the gradual progression of improvement they will be finally abolished.

" 6. Every facility will be afforded towards obtaining teak timber for the construction of small craft, and of such additional tonnage as, upon the improved system, will be undoubtedly required.

" 7. Government have taken upon themselves the exclusive management of the salt department. It appears that the inhabitants in most parts of the Island paid a very irregular and exorbitant price for this necessary article of consumption; while the system adopted by the farmers was radically vicious, and equally oppressive and vexatious to the people, as it was detrimental to the immediate interests of government.

" Such an improved system for the supply of salt will be immediately adopted as may appear advisable; and in this and every other arrangement, the government propose the advancement of the interests and the happiness of the people at large, and the promotion of the public prosperity of this colony.

" Given at Batavia, this 15th day of October, 1813. By me, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Island of Java and its dependencies,

" T. S. Raffles."

" By order of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council,

" C. Assey, Sec. to Government.

" Council Chamber, Oct. 13, 1813."

In order to convey a still more clear idea of the efficacy of these measures, a slight sketch of the peculiar circumstances under which many of the provinces were placed, may not prove unacceptable.

" At the conquest of Java, it appears that the extensive tracts of the beautiful and fertile country of Bantam, at the north-western end of Java, were in the hands of a rebellious subject; revolt, universal anarchy, and distraction had for many years deflowered its fertile plains, and blighted its fairest hopes; all idea of raising a revenue on the part of government had been abandoned, and the utmost that could be looked for was a tranquil settlement of the country under European au-

thority. A land-rental was introduced, and a revenue settlement was effected for one year. The result was, that in one year the territorial revenue amounted to 100,000 rupees (£12,500 at par), while an increasing confidence and tranquillity on the part of the people held out the prospect that, at no far distant period, this country, once the richest in Java, would again afford a revenue proportionate to its extent and population."

The district of Cheribon was also found in a state of tumult and confusion. The lands had been for the greater part farmed out to Chinese. In proportion as the Chief raised the farm or rent, their extortions increased, and the share due to the common people became less, or they were deprived of the whole.

Tranquillity was not restored to this district until the new system was introduced; the effect of which will be at once seen by referring to the abstract statement which follows of the land-rental and revenue, and where is also shewn the improved state of other districts, as compared with their impoverished and devastated state under the Dutch government.

European power in Java, previously to the occupation of the Island by the English, appears to have been exercised only to invade and to destroy the property of the natives.

" Whoever has viewed the fertile plains of Java," says Mr. Raffles, in a minute on the introduction of the new system of government, " or beheld with astonishment the surprising efforts of human industry, which have carried cultivation to the summit of the most stupendous mountains, will be inclined to consider that nothing short of a permanent interest in the soil could have effected such a change in the face of the country; and it ought not to be forgotten, that anterior to the establishment of the Mahomedan religion in Java, the cultivators of the soil were considered to rank as the first class in the state; for, according to the institutions of Majopahit, it was ordained, 'that, next to the Sovereign, shall be considered and respected the cultivators of the soil; they shall be the first class in the state below the Sovereign; next to them shall follow the other classes; first, the artists; secondly, the warriors; and, thirdly, the merchants.'

" Who will not pause for a moment, to contemplate the peaceful, the beneficent influence of such institutions. The cultivators of the soil shall be the first class!"

How do we find these wise institutions of Majopahit supported and protected?—forced servitude—taxes so numerous as to become difficult of enumeration. Not one article of produce, manufacture, or consumption, which passed through the country, but what some tax was levied upon it, and that too by corrupt and extortionate agents.

In every district a different mode of taxation existed—and, in general, these taxes were farmed out to Chinese. As a proof how far these vexations were carried, in many instances, on goods passing from one toll towards another, when the grant-

ing of something like a certificate of the last duty paid became necessary for the interests of the farmer, the chop or stamp was not marked on the goods to be transported, but on the body of the man who conveyed them, and who, on exhibiting the stamp at the next toll, had it effaced, and a new impression made, to pass him onward in his miserable journey.

When such expedients, where human ingenuity must have been almost tortured in the invention, were resorted to, was it astonishing that the Javanese should hold the Chinese in utter abhorrence? and yet, these were the only class of people entrusted by the government with the collection of their revenues.

The baneful influence of this system was but too clearly developed in the debasement of the popular mind, and in that listless and apathetic feeling which appeared to characterize the Javanese nation. Whilst the rich and powerful were living in pampered luxury, the poor provincials laboured under all the horrors of penury and want: but blessed with a fruitful soil and an humble submissive mind, they were enabled to bear up under all these accumulated deprivations and misfortunes.

The administration of justice in the courts of circuit partook alike of this dreadful intolerance. The jury required did not exceed five in number, and these were chosen from a class of men who could have no common feelings—no common rights; who, being Europeans, were in no way whatever the equals of the person tried.

The law was the law of Europe. The jury, under their best prejudices, were influenced by that law; and its meanings and penalties were applied to a people who reasoned in a manner so entirely different, and who often, for the first time, became acquainted with those laws when denounced as their victims.

How different were the principles adopted by Mr. Raffles, and so ably seconded by many of the local authorities, among whom, none appeared to hold a higher place in his esteem than Mr. Hopkins, whose sentiments upon this subject deserve to be recorded in his own words:—"If law," says this gentleman, "be a rule for the conduct of mankind, derived from the authority which the particular nation to which it is applied considers as sacred, the people of Java are yet without a code of national laws, and labour under the dangers of foreign legislation and irreconcileable prejudices. Yet the Javanese have a law, which, though not equal in its purity to the code of the Dutch, is yet better adapted to their habits, and is that which the general system of British policy would extend to them.

"I confess my inability," continues Mr. Hopkins, "to reconcile with the common principles of British justice the subjection of the inhabitants of Java to the laws of Europe, in what regards any other description of crime than murder, against which the hand of Providence has written the sentence of death, in the language of all nations, and confirmed the judgment in the feelings of all mankind."

" The Koran, with the commentaries upon it, forms the general law of Java, and every sentence against a prisoner, not to offend the prejudices of the faith, should be supported by some texts of that sacred book, or some gloss of the orthodox commentator. A procedure instituted conformably to this rule, would be comprehended by the understanding, and approved by the judgment of the people.

" It has been the principal feature in the British policy, it has been the brightest decoration of the British government in India, to secure to the inhabitants, whether Hindus or Mahomedans, the possession of their own laws, and a trial conformable to the practice of their own courts. The experiment has been successful beyond measure: the example invites imitation. There is nothing which can be alleged against it; while every thing in practice, analogy, and humanity, urges to its immediate adoption."

So entirely did Mr. Raffles concur in this view, that in order to provide for the prompt and due administration of justice amongst the natives, in a manner the most consistent with their notions of right and wrong, one member of each of the courts of justice was appointed a judge of circuit, to be present in each of the Residencies, at least once in every three months, and as much oftener as found necessary. The formalities of the Roman law were avoided. A native jury, consisting of an intelligent foreman and four others, decided upon the facts; the law was then taken down as expounded by the native law-officers, and the sentence, with the opinion of the judge of circuit, upon the application of the Dutch and colonial law on the cases, was forwarded for the modification or confirmation of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Enough has been said, it is hoped, to convey some idea of the extent of that change, which the enlarged policy of its Governor introduced into the Island of Java; and this portion of his life may be closed with a few observations of his own upon the effects which the change had produced, and was in the act of producing.

" If I look forward," observes Mr. Raffles, " to the effects of the change of system as it may contribute to the happiness of the people, the improvement of the country, and the consequent increase of the public revenue, the result is incalculable. Let the present wretched state of the Dutch metropolis of the East be contrasted with the flourishing state of the British establishments, wherever they have been formed, and it will speak a volume in favour of the change. Desolation and ruin would seem to have tracked the steps of the Dutch power wherever it has extended; individual prosperity and national riches have accumulated under the English. The principles of government are radically different, and with such experience before us, can it be a question on which side we shall rely?

" The mass of the population, snatched as they are, at a favourable moment, from the destructive grasp of Mahomedan despotism and indefinite exaction, and established in the possession of property, to be secured by impartial justice, administered to them in a simple and prompt mode, adapted to their peculiar sentiments

and institutions, afford a wide scope to the philosopher as well as the statesman. A new people, still advancing in civilization even under the former restraints, with what accelerated progress will they not proceed, when their natural energies have fair play? It was but a few months ago, when the lower class of Javanese were apparently lost to every idea of their own advantage, governed by apathy, and almost insensible to the value of property; so strongly prejudiced in favour of their Chiefs, so simple and so unenlightened, that the least breath of disaffection could blow up the flames of rebellion. Mere machines in the hands of designing artifice, they could be rendered subservient to promote the views of ambition, or the frenzy of religious fanaticism. They looked not up to the superior power, but to the intermediate authority: they knew little of the European character, and Europeans were still less acquainted with their habits and customs. The former government had seldom consulted the advancement of their interests, and the result was what might have been anticipated.

"On the part of the Javanese I am justified in asserting, that they feel the present interference in favour of the cultivators of the soil, as a revival of that due consideration of the interests of this important class of the community, which has not existed since the days of Majopahit; and I have the satisfaction to believe, that nothing will be found to have been done, or to be in progress, but what will be useful, and a necessary preliminary to any more permanent or approved system which may be ordered, and which may have for its object justice for individuals, the improvement of mankind, and the prosperity of the government, founded on the mutual advantages of the people."

The reasons for introducing the change in the tenure of the land are given by Mr. Raffles to Lord Minto, in a letter dated January, 1814.

"These measures took their first rise when the province of Bantam fell under our administration. It then became essential that the principles for its future government should be defined without the least practicable delay. Fully aware of the great importance of those measures, I determined to postpone their adoption until the sentiments of the Supreme Government could be received. A reference was accordingly made as far back as 1st May, 1812. But to this no reply was received, and a much longer period having elapsed than was requisite for its transmission, it was concluded, from the silence of the Supreme Government, that no objections existed to the arrangements proposed. Acting on this inference, and the increased necessity of adopting some measures, a system of land-rental was ordered to be introduced into that province according to the plan first suggested. This also was communicated to Bengal, and I have since received the sentiments of the Supreme Government on it, expressed in the strongest terms favourable to the change.

"The arrest of Bugis Rengin, and the restoration of tranquillity in the pro-

vince of Cheribon, placed the resources of that extensive and valuable country once more in the hands of the European power. The disturbances which had so long distracted it were traced to the principles on which its administration under the former government had been fixed, and it became indispensable to establish a better order of things; an object that was only to be effected by the abolition of all those oppressive regulations which had existed under the Dutch government. Nor would the exigency of the circumstances admit of the slightest delay: to have postponed such a measure would have been perhaps to have thrown the country back into that anarchy from which it was just recovering.

"The rich and populous districts of the Cadoe, with the other possessions transferred by the late treaty, were to be taken possession of by the European power; this act could not but be accompanied with the establishment of some system of management, and it could not be a question whether that should be introduced which in every view stood universally condemned, or one which was more congenial to the principles of the British administration in India.

"I am happy to add, that what was done in this respect met with the entire approbation of the Supreme Government.

"An unfortunate occurrence in Probolingo led to the resumption, on the part of government, of the valuable lands sold to the Chinese in the eastern districts by Marshal Daendels, and the state of these districts rendered it indispensable that whatever measures were adopted should be without the slightest delay. With the experience before us of what had so recently taken place, and impressed with a conviction that while feudal service existed the tranquillity of the country might always be endangered, there was evidently but one line of proceeding to be adopted in these districts.

"Thus, in the natural course of events, as a necessary consequence from them, the introduction of the new system of management had become indispensable in several parts of the Island, and the inquiries which had been long on foot in the others, and in which the Regents had been employed, had prepared them for the reception of a similar change.

"It had happened that in the arrangements for Bantam and Cheribon, the Sultans had resigned all authority and interference, and in the provinces transferred by the native Chiefs and Chinese there were no Regents to be provided for. These officers, therefore, in other districts, ignorant of what provision might be made for them, and inferring that a similar mode to what had already been followed would be adopted every where, without regard to local circumstances, might naturally have been alarmed, in contemplating the progress of the change, lest they should not be personally considered, and this alarm may have been heightened by the knowledge of the unreserved opinion of the reformists under the former government, that they should be expressly excluded. In point of fact, I have reason to know that such an

alarm did exist, and it was not until I was confidentially informed by the Resident, Mr. Hope, that delay would occasion danger, that I directed any decided measures in the Eastern districts.

" These circumstances, added to those detailed in my minute of the 11th, on the introduction of the land-rental, and the happy result of the measures in the peace and prosperity of the country, and the unqualified satisfaction of every class of its inhabitants, will, I trust, remove from your Lordship's mind any unfavourable impressions regarding any apparent haste on the part of the government, and tend to prove that the change which was effected was one of those great political measures only to be attended with success if adopted at the moment, and that the exigency which dictated it was sufficient to justify the responsibility taken by the local authorities.

" It was never in contemplation to diminish the emoluments of the Regents, or to deprive them of their rank; in the settlement which has been effected, the whole of them have been liberally provided for. The only real difference, indeed, between the former and present system in this regard has been, that in lieu of their precarious, confined, and frequently taxed emoluments under the Dutch administration, has been substituted a certain, clear, and equitable allowance, which I can confidently assert has proved agreeable to every one of them. The principle which I adopted in settling the amount to be paid to each, was as follows: I visited each district in person, explained myself to the Regent the nature and object of the system to be introduced, and desired him to state the amount of his then emoluments in every shape. I then fixed what he should in future receive, always at a sum exceeding what he stated, and proportioned the payment in money or lands, at his option. By this arrangement the emoluments of no one could be diminished, and as they were still to be employed as the chief native officers in each district, their rank and authority are fully upheld.

" In such districts where it has not been thought necessary to separate the collection of the revenues from the general administration, the Regents are employed under the Resident, not only in the collection of the revenues, but are also placed at the head of the judicial and police departments. Where this separation has been made, there are both a Collector and Resident in the same district."

This amended system was not one hastily digested and introduced, but was originally arranged with Lord Minto previously to his quitting Java; it was deliberately considered for two years before it was introduced, and its practicability and justice formed a principal point of enquiry in a commission, at the head of which was Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie; and so far from having subverted the just rights and authority of individuals, or alienated the minds of any class of the people from the British government, it placed the rights of all classes on a foundation which they never before possessed; and the tranquillity of the country, the increase of

industry, improvement of revenue, and known attachment of the Javanese to the system, proved that it was equally beneficial to the interests of government, and conclusively tending to the industry and happiness of the extensive population of the Island.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Raffles to Lord Minto.

" *Buitenzorg, February 13th,* 1814.

* * * * * *

" Your Lordship is aware of the entire change of management which was contemplated by me some time previous to your quitting India ; and although no official notice has yet been taken of my minute on the subject transmitted to the Supreme Government in July last, I have been able to collect a general opinion on the nature of the settlement you would most approve, from the observations contained in your confidential letter of the 22d November, in which you enter fully on the question of the sale of lands, and the decided objection to perpetual settlement.

" I had already completed my arrangements for the land-rental when that letter arrived ; but before I had put the finishing stroke to the judicial regulations, and the general instructions to the Collectors, the Fifth Report of the House of Commons fell into my hands : and you will be happy to hear that on comparing what I had done and what I had in contemplation, with what seemed most approved by the authorities in England, I found that I had exactly hit on a settlement which, while it was peculiarly applicable to Java, was considered the most advantageous one for India generally. The principles of the *ryotwar* settlement had suggested themselves, without my knowing that they had been adopted elsewhere ; and although I may not easily gain credit for the original design, the promoters and supporters of that settlement will, no doubt, find a strong argument in its favour, from the circumstance of its having been so early and so easily adopted in a foreign and distant colony.

" The principles of the settlement which I have effected, as well as their application, are so fully stated in a minute which I have recorded on the subject, that I cannot do better than forward it to you. In that minute I have first attempted to prove the necessity and policy of the measure, which being established, an abstract statement of the settlement which has been effected is considered ; and I have concluded by observing on the tenures of land and the principles of the detailed system of management which is in progress. May I request your Lordship's opinion on what has been done, and your suggestions on what ought to be attended to in future. Whether Java remains under my control or not, your sentiments on the subject will be most interesting to me. You will observe that I have throughout considered myself as the agent acting under your Lordship's instructions ; and I can assure you that my ambition will be gratified by an assurance that I have not failed in acting up to your original design.

"I have said so much on the effects of the change, and they are so obvious on general principles, that I should but intrude on your time by enlarging upon them here. I cannot but look upon the accomplishment of this undertaking as the most conspicuous and important under my administration; and in its success or otherwise I am willing to stand or fall. I need not tell your Lordship, that while it was in agitation I had many an uneasy hour, and I suffered no small share of mental anxiety and bodily fatigue while it was in progress: but now that it has been happily accomplished I am amply repaid for all. It was my lot personally to superintend the settlement in every district; the necessity of that personal superintendence obliged me to leave Batavia at three several times, and during the last to be absent for three months from the capital; but my immediate presence in the different parts of the Island could alone have concluded the settlement in so short a period, and it has had the advantage of rendering me intimately acquainted with every thing. I have been able to judge for myself throughout, and although I have not failed to avail myself of all the talent and experience I could find, I may safely say that I have in no case decided without a conviction brought home to my own mind that I was right.

"The arrangements for the interior of the country being completed, my next object will be to simplify and modify the unwieldy establishments of the towns, particularly those in Batavia.

"I have gone on as long as it was possible from day to day in the expectation of a change of government, but I shall not feel myself satisfied in longer delaying those radical reforms, so essential for the health and character of our government. Much odium has already attached from the continuance of the Dutch institutions so long, and I owe it to my own character, and to your Lordship, to render my administration 'not only without fear, but without reproach.'

"Next to the internal administration of the colony, I have to request your attention to the interests of the Eastern Islands generally; the kind caution which you sent me regarding our policy, induced me to think very seriously on all I had done, and to weigh well the principles which I had laid down for my guidance. I became the more confirmed in the first view which I took on the subject.

"On the reception of the principles which I have in some cases adopted, and in others recommended, on the two great points of our home and foreign administration, must depend the character of my government; to you, my Lord, I submit them, in full confidence that they will be viewed with an indulgent eye.

"These great questions being submitted to your Lordship's judgment, I feel myself relieved from all the anxiety which attached previous to my putting them to paper. I consider them as now fairly before an impartial judge. I shall, unless otherwise directed by a superior authority, continue to be guided by the principles which I have laid down, and which have appeared to me, after the most deliberate consideration, to be just and right.

" I must now proceed to a point which I ought first to have adverted to. I allude to the firm support which I have invariably received from Major-General Nightingall. He is open and candid in his sentiments; regular and economical in all his public plans, particularly the military. I have reason to believe that he is now planning a general revision and reduction of the military establishment; he sees the necessity of it, and I am led to hope that the period is not far distant when all our financial difficulties will be removed.

" The expenses in the military department do not fall short of three lacs of rupees in each month. This must be paid in silver, and silver is not to be obtained on any terms, except by bills on Bengal, and these with difficulty.

" The great changes in Europe promise to create a demand for our colonial produce, particularly the coffee; but it will be some time before that belonging to the government, or the produce under British administration, will come into play. The larger quantity belonging to the capital must first be shipped off. The prize agents have at last sold the whole, but it will be a long time before tonnage can be obtained to carry it off: the coffee alone exceeds 150,000 piculs measures in pounds still in store. Silver is as scarce as ever, if not decreasing in quantity: the colonists are crying loudly for paper, but as they would no sooner possess it than run it down to a discount, it cannot be issued; it will, therefore, be some time before Java is able to support an extensive *foreign* military establishment.

" I am happy to inform your Lordship that Banca thrives well under the administration of Captain A'Court. A report upon the Island by Dr. Horsfield will be sent to the Court of Directors by this opportunity, accompanied by specimens of the mineralogy of the Island.

" The intercourse with Japan has been opened, and we have received a very advantageous return in copper and camphor. I look forward to the possibility of establishing a permanent British interest in that quarter; but I will reserve this subject for another letter.

" I am, &c. &c.

" T. S. R."

Extract of a private Letter from Mr. Raffles to the late Sir Hugh Inglis.

" *Feb.* 13, 1814.

* * * * *

" Whatever may be the eventual fate of Java, whether it is decided that the colony be attached to the Company's possessions, or even given up at a peace to a foreign power (which God forbid), the inhabitants of Java will have the happiness to bless the day which placed them under such a system of government.

" I trust that the subject will receive an indulgent consideration; and that I may be honoured with the Court's instructions for my future guidance.

" In every reference which has latterly been made to the Supreme Government, a hesitation in forming an opinion for the guidance of this government has been evinced, arising from the uncertain and provisional tenure of the government as it now stands; and it is possible that the same hesitation may still exist with regard to the two great questions now submitted, and it is on this account particularly that I am induced to seek early instructions from Europe.

" I have been forced to act, in every measure of importance, on my own responsibility, not from the superior authorities being ignorant of the real interests of the colony, but from a hesitation on their part to involve themselves with the government which might be finally fixed.

" I have invariably invited and courted the commands of the superior authorities on questions which I considered of moment; and necessity alone, and the conviction that the favourable moment for action might otherwise be lost, has induced me to act expressly from my own judgment. Those only who have been in similar cases, can feel the weight of responsibility which attaches."

Referring to the suppression of piracy, Mr. Raffles writes thus to W. Petrie, Esq. Governor of Prince of Wales' Island:—

" The principles of my suggestions for the suppression of piracy throughout the Archipelago have been, that nothing can tend so effectually to the suppression of piracy, to the encouragement and extension of lawful commerce, and to the civilization of the inhabitants of the Eastern Islands, as affording a steady support to the established native Sovereigns; and assisting them in the maintenance of their just rights, and authority over their several Chiefs, and along the shores dependant upon their dominion.

" It appears to me that the adoption of this principle, and the establishment of British agents accordingly at the leading ports, would gradually change the barbarous and uncivilized life of the people who inhabit the shores of these Islands; and, united with the beneficial effects of the abolition of the slave-trade, would, by its effect of lessening the means of plunder, and securing the exertion of legal superior authority, gradually tend to agricultural improvement, and to the prosperity and interior trade that naturally must follow."

* * * * *

" Yours, &c. &c.

" T. S. R."

Mr. Raffles was anxious to diffuse the blessings of freedom throughout the whole of the varied populations under his charge; and, as the British Parliament had at this time passed an act, which declared the slave-trade to be felony, he esta-

blished it as a colonial law: and it continues in force to this day, since it cannot be repealed without express authority from the mother-country.

The leading inhabitants possessing slaves, concurred with him in his efforts to abolish this dreadful evil throughout the Dutch possessions, the whole of the slaves in the Island were registered, according to the forms of the West India Islands,—with the view of giving them their liberty. The Bengal authorities, however, refused their sanction, because, as they alleged, it had not been determined whether the government of Java was to be permanently administered by the King, or by the Company.

Soon after this determination was received, the face of public affairs entirely changed in Europe; the Dutch colonies were to be restored without reserve, or condition in favor of this unfortunate class of beings. As a last struggle in their behalf, Mr. Raffles effected the establishment of a society termed the "Java Benevolent Society," in the hope of interesting in this effort those who succeeded him.

In a letter to Lord Minto, dated July 2, 1814, Mr. Raffles, referring to the transfer of the Island to the Dutch, says, "If I were to believe that the Javanese were ever again to be ruled on the former principles of government, I should, indeed, quit Java with a heavy heart; but a brighter prospect is, I hope, before them. Holland is not only re-established, but I hope renovated; her Prince has been educated in the best of all *schools*—adversity; and I will hope the people of Java will be as happy, if not happier, under the Dutch than under the English. I say happier, because Java will, in importance, be more to Holland than she could ever be to England; and the attention bestowed by the one country must naturally be greater than that likely to be afforded by the other.

"Mr. Muntinghe has often reminded me that, when conversing with your Lordship on the judicial regulations, you observed, it was not certain whether England would retain permanent possessions in Java; *but in the mean time let us do as much good as we can.* This we have done, and whatever change may take place, the recollection can never be unpleasing.

"While Java exists, the name of Minto will be revered, and thousands bless the day on which you landed."

The Dutch would appear never to have known, and certainly, as a nation, never to have availed themselves of, all the advantages of this fine Island; and yet Java was for many years the queen of the East, and the great financial support of Holland. The hopes of Mr. Raffles upon this subject are thus given by himself:—"Fortunately for Java, a new era has arisen, and I have reason to expect that even in the first years of the British possession, more will be known of its resources, and more actually done for ensuring its permanent tranquillity and prosperity, than has been effected throughout the whole period of the Dutch dominion."

In all the attempts to introduce a better order of things, Mr. Raffles received the warmest support from Mr. Cransen and Mr. Muntinghe, two Dutch gentlemen

of Batavia. In the first period of the British administration, necessarily attended with many difficulties, the active penetration, the clear understanding, and the sound judgment of Mr. Muntinghe, afforded most substantial and essential support.

In the introduction of the land-rental, Mr. Muntinghe took a distinguished part, and his intimate acquaintance with the native character and institutions rendered his assistance and co-operation of great value.

Mr. Muntinghe, as well as Mr. Cransen, although they both approved of and supported the measure ultimately, were at first alarmed, and apprehensive that it would not succeed. The view taken of the subject by Mr. Raffles, the information which he had collected, much of which was new even to Mr. Muntinghe, led him eventually to form the sanguine expectation which he afterwards expressed, but it will appear on reference to the minute which he recorded at the time, that his opinion was given with great caution at first.

Mr. Raffles had long considered an intercourse with Japan an object of great importance to the English nation. The peculiarity of the China trade—the monopoly of the tea—and the uncertainty with which it was attended, made him desirous of opening the trade with Japan to the British merchant. To establish a British Factory in Japan, and furnish a population of not less than twenty-five millions with the staple commodities, and with the manufactures of Great Britain, was in itself a great national object; but it was of more particular consideration from its relative importance to China, and the apparent facility of eventually superseding the commerce which exists between that country and Japan.

From the year 1611, when the Dutch established commercial relations with Japan, till 1671, (a period of sixty years) their speculations were unrestricted, and their profits enormous. This they called their golden age of trade; they opened a mine of wealth, and they thought it inexhaustible, as well as easily wrought. In 1640, the Company obtained a return in gold which yielded a profit of upwards of a million of guilders. For some time previous to 1663, they procured a return of silver to the extent of two hundred chests, of one hundred pounds each, and it was suggested that it would be desirable for as many chests of gold of the same weight to be sent in future. These gold and silver ages of Japan commerce passed away, and in the latter part of the seventeenth century commenced what the Dutch called its brazen age, that is, its export in copper, which has ever since continued the staple of the Japan market. Mr. Raffles resolved, therefore, to send a mission for the purpose of transferring to the British government the trade exclusively enjoyed by the Dutch (but which even with them was confined to two annual ships from the port of Batavia, and this had ceased for four years), and for opening to the manufacturers of Great Britain the supply of that extensive empire, in exchange for the valuable commodities that might be received in return.

Two gentlemen were united in the mission: one of these had formerly resided

in the country as director of the Dutch factory, On their arrival they found the Dutch commercial Director averse from acknowledging the British government, (the transfer of Java being then made known to him,) and he even refused to deliver over the Factory. But the commercial objects of the voyage were accomplished, the continuance of the trade to Japan was provided for, and arrangements were entered into for putting matters in train to secure the introduction of the English, and the prejudices against them were in a great measure done away with. These had been very much excited by an unfortunate occurrence with the Phaeton frigate in 1808, in consequence of which the Governor of Nangasaky and five principal officers to the Prince of Tisung, who commanded the Imperial Guards, were ordered to rip themselves up and die, an order that was usually obeyed, and the Prince himself was spiked up for one hundred days in his house, without leave to have his beard shaved; from this cause not only the Prince, but many of the principal Japanese, had sworn to kill every Englishman that fell in their way.

Few opportunities were afforded of communicating with the natives, for which they appeared anxious, and which was a matter of some importance, Nangasaky being the sole point of contact of Japan with foreign nations, and the sentiments entertained of foreigners being communicated directly to the capital through the established official course, might be presumed to influence the opinion of the Governor of Nangasaky resident at Sulu, an officer who possesses the entire control of the department, which comprises every description of foreign relations, and who has a considerable personal interest in the advantages derived from the foreign trade of the kingdom.

The Emperor was considered to have bestowed a very unusual mark of favour, in condescending to accept the whole of the presents for his own use; this was looked upon as a very flattering testimony of regard.

The character of the Japanese, it was evident, had been subject to the misrepresentation which the jealousy of the Dutch had industriously spread over the whole of their Eastern possessions. They appeared to the Commissioners to be a race of people remarkable for frankness of manner and disposition, for intelligence, inquiry, and freedom from prejudice. They are in an advanced state of civilization, in a climate where European manufactures are almost a necessary comfort, and where long use has accustomed them to many of its luxuries.

The limited extent of the trade latterly carried on by the Dutch was owing, in no trifling degree, to the conduct of their officers, in sacrificing the public interest to a regard for their own private emolument, which was effectually consulted by narrowing the trade: as on that contracted footing, their means of advantage bore a greater proportion to the whole extent, and the smaller number of officers required in conducting it afforded them every advantage of concealment.

At such a distance from control, and himself the channel of communication to

his superiors, the Dutch Resident, in common with the other public officers of the Dutch government, receiving but a very limited salary, was left to his own discretion to improve the advantages, of whatever nature, his place could be made to yield him, a situation little calculated to command or obtain respect; and the spectacle of the representative of his nation, scrambling for every petty advantage, degraded the character of his countrymen in the eyes of the Japanese, endowed as they are with no common share of intelligence and discernment.

While Mr. Raffles was directing his attention to this subject, he addressed the following to Lord Minto:—

"*Buitenzorg, Feb.* 13, 1814.

"My Lord,

"I now proceed to detail to you the result of our communication with Japan; in which if we have not obtained complete success, we have at any rate opened the door for future intercourse; and, I trust, at no distant period, for the permanent establishment of the British interests in that quarter.

"Your Lordship will recollect the arrangement made for sending Dr. Ainslie, and the very little hope of success entertained by the Supreme Government. Had my views been confined to the continuance of the trade with Batavia on its former footing, that object would have been without difficulty accomplished; but I had considered the subject more extensively, and as it might affect our interests permanently. I was too well informed of the corruptions, and of the degraded state of the Dutch factory, to suppose for a moment that it would be either creditable or advantageous to carry on the trade on its former footing, or through Dutch agents. The information we have now obtained is conclusive on this point; and the very peculiar circumstances, in which we find ourselves placed, dictate the necessity and advantage of a more enlarged policy.

"I shall enclose for your Lordship's information some papers on the subject: from these you will perceive the difficulties which attended the first communication, and what has been done with a view to our future intercourse.

"It is made clearly to appear, that the trade heretofore carried on with Batavia forms no criterion by which the extent and value of the trade is to be judged, when a more liberal and upright policy is pursued. It was just as extensive as it suited the personal interest of the Resident to make it; but on a different system it may be contemplated, that its importance will not fall short of that which is now attached to China. The restrictions which exist do not arise so much from the limitations and institutions of the Japanese, as from the nature and constitution of the Dutch factory: the degraded state of which would appear to have sunk the Dutch character very low in estimation. The Japanese are a highly polished people, considerably advanced in science, highly inquisitive and full of penetration.

"There seems no reason to doubt the estimate of the population (twenty-five

millions); nor the high character given of the country, and of the people, by the early voyagers; and on the score of religion and its prejudices, on which so much has been industriously circulated by the Dutch, they are found to be simple and inoffensive. Perhaps on further acquaintance, it may be found that the Dutch were not inactive agents in the dreadful massacre of the Catholics. The interpreters do not hesitate to throw out insinuations to that effect already. The ceremony of walking over the cross, and the degrading ceremonies to which the Dutch have represented themselves to be subject, are in a great measure fictitious; and, with the exception of the ceremony of obeisance by prostration to the emperor, unnecessary. The Dutch are only despised for the ceremonial which they perform to the inferior Chiefs.

" A British Factory once established, that of the Dutch would be superseded for ever; and all their misrepresentations and collusions would but serve to complete the destruction of their interests, and the detestation with which their character must be viewed, when compared with that of those who succeed them. The demand for woollens and hardware, the staple manufactures of Great Britain, would be unlimited. No prejudices are to be surmounted; the climate and habits of the people create a want which it would be our interest to supply; and the returns might either be made in those articles which we now receive from China, such as tea, silk, and cloths, or in copper, corn, or oil, the staples of Japan. In a word, Japan can furnish in return every article that is now obtained from China, of better quality, and at a lower price. The fact of the principal export from China to Japan being woollens speaks for itself; and the observations of Dr. Ainslie tend to prove that it would be an easy matter to supersede the ten Chinese junks now allowed to trade annually.

" Whether, therefore, we consider Japan separately, as affording an extensive field for the commercial capital of Great Britain, as affording a copious outlet for our staple manufactures, or in a political view, as it may tend to the security of the China trade, it is most important.

" In Japan we should find all the advantages that could be derived from China without any of the humiliations, any of the uncertainties, any of the tricks, impositions, and difficulties, with which we are now hampered. As connected with the present China trade, would not a knowledge of our influence at Japan render the Chinese more humble? they look up to the Japanese as a most superior race of people, and the Japanese, in return, treat the highest Chinese with the greatest indignity. Or should any accident put a stop to the trade at Canton, either partially or *in toto*, would it not be of essential importance to be able to have recourse to Japan?

" In every point in which I can view the subject, it appears to me most important; and as the acquisition of the trade, and the permanent establishment of our

interests, is almost within my grasp, I should consider it a dereliction of my public duty did I not strain every nerve to effect the accomplishment of an object in every way so inviting and so interesting. We are now no longer amused with the speculative dreams of what Japan is supposed to be; we have the evidence of a British agent to speak to every fact; and when his detailed Memoir is completed, in which he purposes taking an historical review of the trade and intercourse with Japan, I am confident it will be found that, in no instance, have we advanced what cannot be clearly proved.

"The question is of too much importance for your Lordship not to take a deep interest in it. I acknowledge that I am anxious to accomplish the task which I have undertaken, and I appeal with confidence, but with the utmost solicitude, to your Lordship to assist me, by urging a quick reply, and an immediate and particular attention to my requisitions.

"Java, my Lord, is yours, and every act of mine in its administration has been considered as springing from your parental direction; the British influence is now spreading into every quarter of the Archipelago; the civilization of so large a portion of the human race will, I hope, emanate from the just and wise principles on which you established the British empire in the Eastern Seas. Japan is yet unconnected with this conquest, and I have only to entreat that I may be empowered to act as your agent."

Mr. Raffles was disappointed in this hope. The Bengal Government did not consider it a matter of importance, but the subject was referred to the Court of Directors. The Court, indeed, approved of Mr. Raffles' plans, but by the time their answer was received, Java was no longer under British authority; and the favourable moment, once passed over, could never be recalled, and it is believed the attempt has never been renewed.

CHAPTER VIII.

Domestic afflictions—Tour of the Island for the benefit of his health—Native companions—Malay character—Origin of their race—Their literature—Civilization—The Moluccas—Celebes—Expedition to Bali and Macasar—People of Bali—Casts—Funeral ceremonies—Wives burning—Account of eruption of Tomboro mountain—Prospects of the Restoration of Java to the Dutch—Letter to Lord Buckingham on advantages of retaining it—Value of the Moluccas—Banca—Character of the East insular tribes—New government proposed for Java—Merits of the individuals employed—His own labors—Javanese language—Ancient sculpture and remains—Intention to write the History of Java—Review of his administration in Java—Close of it.

At this period (1815) it pleased God to deprive Mr. Raffles of some of his nearest and dearest connections *, as well as of many of his earliest and most intimate friends; and whilst he was mourning the death of these, he heard, to use his own words, "that Lord Minto was snatched away from the embraces of his friends and family, at the very moment he was to receive the only reward which in this world could recompense his past labours—a calm and placid recollection of the successful career he had run." To an ardent enthusiastic mind, warmly alive to the brightest feelings of friendship, and delighting in all the closer ties of domestic life, such a rapid succession of melancholy events, added to the anxiety and uncertainty of public duty, was most trying; and even Mr. Raffles' buoyant spirit yielded to the pressure. For a long time it was feared his life would fall a sacrifice to the keenness of his feelings. The moment he was able to attend to any business, he was recommended to make an excursion over the Island, in the hope that change of scene would dispel the weight of grief with which he seemed to be overwhelmed.

During this tour he found employment for his active mind, in visiting all the remains of antiquity in the country, and collecting information connected with its early history, with which Europeans were previously unacquainted. These materials were, at a future period, published in his History of Java.

But though his mind was thus occupied, his health derived no material advan-

* Death of Mrs. Raffles. Mr. Raffles married, in the year 1805, the widow of W. Fancourt, Esq. of Lanark, North Britain.

tage from the journey. It was thought advisable that he should leave Buitenzorg, and remove to Ciceroa, a more elevated situation. He took with him several of his staff, and a party of natives, whose good sense and intelligence had attracted his notice, and whom he had brought with him from the eastern part of the Island.

With these last he passed the greater part of every morning and evening in reading and translating, with the greatest rapidity and ease, the different legends with which they furnished him, particularly the Brata Yudha. His translation of this singular and curious poem will be found in his History of Java. It was a work requiring considerable labour and time; but it was a common remark with him, that if a man were fully and seriously determined on accomplishing any undertaking within human power at all, he would succeed by diligence and attention. At this time he rose early, and commenced business before breakfast; immediately after this he went through the official duties of the day; after which he devoted the remainder of the morning, till dinner-time, to the natives who were living with him. He dined at four o'clock, and took a walk for the sake of his health in the evening; and, until he retired to rest, he was occupied in reading, translating, and compiling. But his strength and health did not return, perhaps from his not being able to amuse his mind without over-exertion and too much application.

The following are letters which he wrote at this period:

To Mr. Marsden from Mr. Raffles.

"*January* 1*st*, 1815.

"My Dear Sir,

* * * * * * *

"The Malays are a people by no means far advanced in civilization; nor in their traditions, regarding their origin, do they trace back to a far distant date. In common with other nations in a similar state of civilization, their ideas may not be very numerous, nor their abstract notions very correct; but their meaning and their attention to passing events are remarkable. Their generally wandering and predatory life induces them to follow the fortune of a favourite Chief, and to form themselves into a variety of separate clans. They may not be inaptly compared, as far as their habits and notions go, to some of the borderers in North Britain, not many centuries ago. The traditions regarding their early history are far less blended with the marvellous than the mighty feats of Fingal; and if in their attempts to account for their origin, we find a mixture of mythological fable, this surely is not of itself sufficient to invalidate what may otherwise be considered as matter of fact.

"In relating any event which has recently passed, a Malay is always peculiarly simple and clear. The following character of a Malay, as a man, will be found tolerably correct:

"'The Malay, living in a country where nature grants (almost without labour) all his wants, is so indolent, that when he has rice, nothing will induce him to work. Accustomed to wear arms from his infancy, to rely on his own prowess for safety, and to dread that of his associates, he is the most correctly polite of all savages, and not subject to those starts of passion so common to more civilized nations. But with all his forbearance, he is feelingly alive to insult; submits with a bad grace to the forms to which, in a civilized life, he finds himself obliged to conform; and when these are either numerous or enforced with supercilious contumely, or the delays of office, he flies to the woods, where, with a little rice boiled in a bamboo, eaten with sprouts of the surrounding trees as a leaf, *he feels he is free.*

"Example will gradually generate wants; and wants, industry, and a sense of safety supersede the use of arms, and generate other manners.

"That strong predilection which has been observed in the natives of the Malay peninsula and surrounding countries, for the English, will soon cease on their more intimate connection, if treated with the contumely common in India. This results from the independant spirit of the people, who value that independance beyond any consideration of advantage, if accompanied with what they deem insult.

"The consequence of such behaviour is first felt by individuals who interest their families, a number of families interest a clan, a number of clans a nation, and in their revenges they await with patience for years, when they seldom fail to retaliate, and that often on the innocent.

"As a scholar, it is allowed that the only knowledge of which he is inclined to boast, is derived from the Arabs. That literary compositions should bear the stamp of Mahomedan direction will, therefore, not be surprising; but it will be observed, that in poetry, and in every essay from the heart, allusion is only made to natural objects, and the earlier fables of Hindu mythology; while in historical and dry compositions of the head, these more natural feelings usually give way to Mahomedan notions. This distinction is easily discernable by any person in the least acquainted with Malayan literature, for literature I must call it.

"To prove that the traditions and historical notices of the Malays are not altogether devoid of interest, would require little more than the publication of a fair translation of some of their more popular performances. I hope, at no very distant date, some of these may appear.

"The Indian Islands appear to have been very fertile in alphabets; they are all, with the exception of the characters now used by the Malays, of Hindu origin. It was long the idea that Sumatra was the *Tapro Bana* of the ancients.

"The general opinion entertained regarding the origin of the different native establishments in the Indian Archipelago, and which is supported by tradition and native history, and by the traces of character, language, and habits discernable among the different nations at the present day, is, that the Indian Islands were first

peopled from the continent of Asia; and the country lying between the Gulf of Siam and China was, in all probability, the main-land from whence the first settlers emigrated.

" This probability is supported by the contiguity of this part of the continent to the Islands; its extensive population; the intimate connection which appears in the earliest time to have existed between the principal states of the Archipelago and the countries of Siam, Laos and Champa; the similarity which still exists in many of the customs and usages, and in the languages of the less civilized tribes in the Eastern Seas.

" At what period this emigration first took place, is at present beyond rational conjecture; but a more intimate acquaintance with the Eastern Peninsula of India may hereafter throw some light upon the subject.

" If the original inhabitants are thus admitted to have issued from this part of the Continent, it will be no difficult matter to account for the resemblance of the Malay to the Tartar, and the similarity which is found to exist in all the genuine languages of the Islands.

" The next point is to trace from whence those rude and savage tribes received their first rudiments of civilization; whether from Egypt or the colonies established by that power, or at a subsequent period from an Indian country, may be matter of doubt, but that they were early visited by traders from the west of India seems established on incontrovertible evidence.

" The Javanese annals do not trace the first coming of the people from Western India much beyond a thousand years back, but tradition justifies us in believing, that long before Java was civilized, the inhabitants of the more Eastern Islands, and particularly the Moluccas, had considerably emerged from a state of barbarism. This tradition is strongly confirmed by the probability that the rich productions of the Spice Islands would have been the first to excite the cupidity of Indian traders, in the same manner as they were subsequently the first to attract the attention of European speculators; and by the circumstance of the acknowledged antiquity and superiority, even at this day, of the language spoken in the Moluccas.

" It is an extraordinary fact, that while the question regarding the country from whence the Malayan tribes first issued, should be confined almost exclusively to Sumatra and the Peninsula of Malacca, the highest Malay is admitted to be spoken in the Moluccas; in proof of this fact, it is only necessary to refer to the Malayan version of the Scriptures, printed by the Dutch government, which is universally allowed to be composed in the best language, and in the language of the Moluccas, but to be scarcely intelligible to ordinary readers belonging to the more Western Isles.

" When the intercourse between Western India and the Eastern Islands

declined, or when it was first replaced by the traders from Arabia, we are not correctly informed.

" In Java the Indians would appear to have established their principal colony: but traces of their communications with the other Islands may be easily found, particularly in Sumatra, and in the Celebes, where the written characters now in use bear the evident stamp of Sanscrit origin. From this intimate connection between Western India and all the Islands of the Archipelago, we may easily account for the extensive introduction of Sanscrit terms into the languages of the Islanders, and to the establishment of the earliest independent states of which tradition makes mention.

" Thus the sovereignties of the Moluccas, of Celebes, of Java, and of Sumatra, may have been first established, while colonies from these, in process of time, extended the habits of civilization to the coasts of Borneo, the adjacent Islands, and the Peninsula of Malacca.

" Before the Eastern Seas were visited by European navigators, the Moluccas had fallen under the sway of the Chieftains of Celebes, and the people had lost much of that importance of character for which in earlier times they had been distinguished. Yet there is reason to believe that many of the petty states in the Eastern part of the Archipelago and in the South Seas were first planted by colonies from the Moluccas.

" But it was principally from the Island of Celebes at a subsequent period that colonies were thrown out: these peculiar and enterprising people appear to have extended their influence at one period, so as to have included within the range of their authority the Philippines on one side, and the countries in the Straits of Malacca on the other. Acheen and the Peninsula of Malacca were early visited by adventurers from Celebes; and it was in one of these distant expeditions that the people of Celebes are said to have established the kingdom of Menangkabu in Sumatra, and to have given the designation of *Malaya* to the people now so called.

" The people of Celebes have a tradition that when their celebrated Chief, Sawira Geding, was exploring the Western countries, he put into one of the rivers in Sumatra, where a considerable part of his followers deserted him, and running into the interior, connected themselves with the people of the country, and established the kingdom of Menangkabu. These people were for the most part of the lowest class, employed by Sawira Geding in cutting fire-wood and procuring water for his fleet, and are represented by him to have been captives from the Moluccas, or savages from the interior of Celebes, and have the term Malaya, from Mala, to bring, and aya, wood: Malaya, a wood-bringer, or as we should say a woodcutter, and to this day the people of Celebes look down with the greatest contempt on a Malaya, and are in the habit of repeating the origin of the name.

" The people of Celebes have from time immemorial, been distinguished among the Eastern nations, for their spirit in commerce in maritime enterprise, at a period when the more peaceable inhabitants of Java were diligently cultivating the soil, and confining their views to domestic concerns. This enterprising people will be found to have established themselves in almost every other part of the Archipelago.

" The tradition above noticed regarding the origin of the Malays, is supported by the very great similarity of language, of features, of character, of dress, and of habits, as observable at the present day: the Malay resembles the inhabitant of Celebes very closely, both in his features, and form, in his moral character, his dress, and his occupations; but in every thing he is his inferior—a lower caste of the same character and people.

" It was probably during this period, that the Malay countries first imbibed that portion of Javanese literature which is to be found in their books; but the principal accession which the Malay and other languages derived from the Sanscrit, was in all probability received direct at a much earlier date; and this supposition will account for the Sanscrit words which are used by the Malays being, in some instances, much purer than those forming part of the Javanese language.

" The higher language of Java is almost entirely Sanscrit; but the termination of the words would appear in many instances to have assumed an arbitrary form. In the Malayan language, the Sanscrit words are not subjected to this arbitrary or peculiar form, and when words of this description, of which there are many, are engrafted on the Malayan, the Malays invariably term them *B'husa Java*, or the Javanese language.

" At the period when the influence of Java was thus extending itself over the Archipelago, it was arrested in its progress, by the rapid establishment of the religion of Mahomet, and Java itself had scarcely recovered from the shock of conversion to this faith, when the Europeans found their way round the Cape of Good Hope.

" To bring forward all the evidence that could be adduced in support of the above general conclusions would swell this," &c. &c. * * * * * * *

To Mr. Marsden,

" *Buitenzorg, Feb.* 7, 1815.

" My Dear Sir,

" I have first had the pleasure to receive your kind letter of the 21st of August, and lest any attempt to bring up the long arrears standing against me, might delay my reply beyond the period fixed for the departure of the Alcyon, I proceed at once to notice the points alluded to in this letter, without particular reference to your former communication.

" I am ashamed to acknowledge that the accusation of not writing oftener lies

against me. I can only plead in my excuse, the heavy and unremitting duties of my public situation, and recently afflictions which have befallen me in private life. I have not, however, been inattentive to your kind suggestions; and although my communications have been sparing, my collections have been gradually increasing.

* * * * * *

" I have lately sent an expedition under General Nightingall, to Bali and Macasar; the information obtained from Bali is briefly as follows:—The natives are divided into four castes, Bramana, Satriga, Wisya, and Sudra.

" The Bramanas are of two classes, Bramana Sava and Bramana Budu; the former prevails. The Budus eat of all food, even dogs, and it is said by the Bramanas (their enemies) that they eat rice off a corpse which has been kept several months. The Bramanas do not perform public religious offices, the Sudras have charge of the temples; there are rude images among them and in these temples, they worship chiefly tutelar deities of places; a Bramana is respected according to his age and learning, he cannot eat from the hands of a younger. The Bramana does not worship idols. They say the four castes issued from the mouth, breast, belly, and feet of Brahma.

" A Bramana may marry into another caste, the offspring are called Bujanga, a distinct class. There are outcasts called Chandalas—potters, dyers, distillers, butchers, and sellers of toddy.

" The Bramanas have care of law and religion; they try the sovereign; can order a second trial, but not alter the decision. They cannot serve in any mean condition, nor are they bound to make obedience to any other caste or class.

" The Siva Brahmins say nine-tenths of them originally emigrated from Java, about the time of the destruction of Mujapahit.

" The Budus, who are very few, occupying only three districts, reckon the commencement of their era (which is 1735,) corresponding with the year of Christ 814, as the period at which they came.

" The Rajahs are Sadrayas or Wisayu; after death the corpse is kept a long time, by the higher classes above a year, by the lower at least two months; the dead bodies are preserved by daily fumigation with benzoin, &c.; they are then burned, except children who have not shed their teeth, and persons dying of small-pox, who are buried immediately. The widow of the Sadraya and Wisayu classes generally burns herself with her husband's corpse, this, however, is voluntary, and not the wives only, but concubines, and female slaves also, sacrifice themselves on such occasions. The father of the present Rajah of Balibing was burned with seventy-four women. It is customary with some classes to throw the dead bodies into the sea.

" The era is denominated Isahia, each month has thirty-five days, the year four hundred and twenty.

" The Brahmins do not eat beef, or drink milk, the latter, however, is not proscribed. Hogs-flesh is the common food of the Buluse.

" The Bali language is written in the Javanese character, but the language is different. Balinese books of law and religion are numerous. I have set further enquiries on foot. I entirely concur with you in thinking a grammar and dictionary of the Javanese language an important desideratum, and at one time I was in hope works of the kind would have been attempted.

" I can, however, assure you that however reluctantly I may attempt a work of the kind, I shall go home, whenever I leave this, prepared with the materials for breaking the ice. My vocabularies are extensive, and I have some idea of the grammatical construction, but the words are so numerous and the phraseology so various, that it is one of the most difficult languages I ever met with ; but I will, at all events, keep sufficient materials by me to work upon, should no other better qualified person undertake the task.

" In my late affliction I found it necessary to take a trip to sea, and if the weather had permitted, it was my intention to have made an incursion into the Lampong country. We were, however, prevented from landing, and all I could do for you was to correct the names of places in the map; a copy also of the best Dutch map of Sumatra is now in hand for you, and shall be forwarded by an early opportunity. General and Mrs. Nightingall still remain with us, his appointment for Bombay not having arrived; they are now residing with me at Buitenzorg, and I shall part with them with a heavy heart whenever it may be necessary for them to leave Java."

Mr. Raffles gives the following account of the eruption from the Tomboro Mountain, in the Island of Sambawa, which took place at this time, (the 11th and 12th of April, 1815,) one of the most violent and extraordinary of such explosions yet known.

" To preserve an authentic account of the violent and extraordinary eruption of the Tomboro Mountain on Sambawa, in April last, I required from the several Residents of districts on this Island a statement of the circumstances that occurred within their knowledge, and from their replies, the following narrative is collected; it is, perhaps, incomplete until some further accounts are received of the immediate effects upon the mountain itself; but the progress is sufficiently known to render interesting a present account of a phenomenon which exceeds any one of a similar description on record. The first explosions were heard on this Island in the evening of the 5th of April, they were noticed in every quarter, and continued at intervals until the following day. The noise was, in the first instance, almost universally attributed to distant cannon; so much so, that a detachment of troops were marched from Djocjocarta, in the expectation that a neighbouring post was attacked, and along the coast boats were in two instances dispatched in quest of a supposed ship in distress.

" On the following morning, however, a slight fall of ashes removed all doubt as to the cause of the sound, and it is worthy of remark, that as the eruption continued, the sound appeared to be so close, that in each district it seemed near at hand; it was attributed to an eruption from the Marapi, the Gunung Kloot or the Gunung Bromo.

" From the 6th, the sun became obscured: it had every appearance of being enveloped in fog, the weather was sultry, and the atmosphere close and still; the sun seemed shorn of its rays, and the general stillness and pressure of the atmosphere foreboded an earthquake. This lasted several days, the explosions continued occasionally, but less violently, and less frequently than at first. Volcanic ashes also began to fall, but in small quantities; and so slightly as to be hardly perceptible in the western districts.

" This appearance of the atmosphere remained with little variation, until the 10th of April, and till then it does not appear that the volcano attracted much observation, or was considered of greater importance than those which have occasionally burst forth in Java. But on the evening of the 10th, the eruptions were heard more loud, and more frequent from Cheribon eastward; the air became darkened by the quantity of falling ashes, and in several situations, particularly at Solo and Rembang, many said that they felt a tremulous motion of the earth. It is universally remarked in the more eastern districts, that the explosions were tremendous, continuing frequently during the 11th, and of such violence as to shake the houses perceptibly; an unusually thick darkness was remarked all the following night, and the greater part of the next day. At Solo, on the 12th, at four P.M., objects were not visible at 300 yards distance. At Gresie, and other districts more eastward, it was dark as night the greater part of the 12th of April, and this saturated state of the atmosphere lessened as the cloud of ashes passed along and discharged itself on its way. Thus the ashes, which were eight inches deep at Banyuwangi, were but two in depth at Sumanap, and still less in Gresie; and the sun does not seem to have been actually obscured in any district westward of Samarang.

" No description of mine, however, can so well express what happened, as the extracts from the reports at several places; the remarks there made are applicable also to all the other districts, only in a lesser degree, as the same became more distant from the cause of the phenomena."

Extract of a Letter from Gresie.

" I woke on the morning of the 12th, after what seemed to be a very long night, and taking my watch to the lamp, found it to be half-past eight o'clock; I immediately went out, and found a cloud of ashes descending; at nine o'clock no day-light; the layer of ashes on the terrace before my door at the Kradenan measures one line in thickness; ten A.M. a faint glimmering of light can now be per-

ceived over-head: half-past ten, can distinguish objects fifty yards distant; eleven, A.M. breakfasted by candle-light, the birds begin to chirrup as at the approach of day; half-past eleven, can discover the situation of the sun through a thick cloud of ashes; one, P.M. found the layer of ashes one line and a half thick, and measured in several places with the same results; three, P.M. the ashes have increased one-eighth of a line more; five, P.M. it is now lighter, but still I can neither read nor write without candle. In travelling through the district on the 13th, the appearances were described with very little variation from my account, and I am universally told that no one remembers, nor does their tradition record so tremendous an eruption. Some look upon it as typical of a change, of the re-establishment of the former government; others account for it in an easy way, by reference to the superstitious notions of their legendary tales, and say that the celebrated Nyai Loroh Kidul has been marrying one of her children, on which occasion she has been firing salutes from her supernatural artillery. They call the ashes the dregs of her ammunition."

Extract of a Letter from Sumanap.

" ' On the evening of the 10th the explosions became very loud; one in particular shook the town, and they were excessively quick, resembling a heavy cannonade. Towards evening, next day, the atmosphere thickened so much, that by four o'clock it was necessary to light candles. At about seven, P.M., of the 11th, the tide being about ebb, a rush of water from the bay occasioned the river to rise four feet, and it subsided again in about four minutes; the bay was much agitated about this time, and was illuminated from a northerly direction. On the Island of Sahotie, fire was seen distinctly at a short distance to the south-east. The uncommon darkness of this night did not break till ten and eleven, A.M. of the 12th, and it could hardly be called day-light all day. Volcanic ashes fell in abundance, and covered the earth about two inches thick, the trees also were loaded with them.' "

Extract of a Letter from Banyuwangi.

" ' At ten, P.M. of the first of April, we heard a noise resembling a cannonade, which lasted, at intervals, till nine o'clock next day; it continued at times loud, at others resembling distant thunder; but on the night of the 10th, the explosions became truly tremendous, frequently shaking the earth and sea violently. Towards morning they again slackened, and continued to lessen gradually till the 14th, when they ceased altogether. On the morning of the 3d of April, ashes began to fall like fine snow; and in the course of the day they were half-an-inch deep on the ground. From that time till the 11th the air was constantly impregnated with them to such a degree, that it was unpleasant to stir out of doors. On the morning of the 11th, the opposite shore of Bali was completely obscured in a dense cloud, which gradually

approached the Java shore, and was dreary and terrific. By one, P.M. candles were necessary; by four, P.M. it was pitch-dark; and so it continued until two o'clock of the afternoon of the 12th, ashes continuing to fall abundantly: they were eight inches in depth at this time. After two o'clock it began to clear up; but the sun was not visible till the 14th, and during this time it was extremely cold. The ashes continued to fall, but less violently, and the greatest depth, on the 15th of April, was nine inches.

" All reports concur in stating, that so violent and extensive an eruption has not happened within the memory of the oldest inhabitants, nor within tradition. They speak of similar effects in a lesser degree, when an eruption took place from the volcano of Carang Assum, in Bali, about seven years ago; and it was at first supposed that this mountain was the seat of eruption in the present instance. The Balinese attributed the event to a recent dispute between the two Rajahs of Bali Baliling, which terminated in the death of the younger Rajah, by order of his brother.

" The haziness and heat of the atmosphere, and occasional fall of volcanic ashes, continued until the 14th, or, in some parts of the Island, until the 17th of April; they were cleared away universally by a heavy fall of rain, after which the atmosphere became clear and more cool; and it would seem that this seasonable relief prevented much injury to the crops, and removed an appearance of epidemic disease, which was beginning to prevail. This was especially the case at Batavia, where, for the two or three days preceding the rain, many persons were attacked with fever. As it was, however, no material injury was felt beyond the districts of Banyuwangi. The cultivators every where took the precaution to shake off the ashes from the growing paddy as they fell, and the timely rain removed an apprehension very generally entertained, that insects would have been generated by the long continuance of the ashes at the root of the plant. At Rembang, where the rain did not fall till the 17th, and the ashes had been considerable, the crops were somewhat injured. In Gresie the injury was less; but in Banyuwangi and the adjacent part of the Island, on which the cloud of ashes spent its force, the injury was more extensive: 126 horses and eighty-six head of cattle also perished, chiefly from want of forage during a month from the time of the eruption.

" The local effects of this eruption have been ascertained by Lieutenant Owen Phillips, who proceeded to Sumbawa for this purpose, and was charged to distribute to the sufferers a supply of rice, dispatched by this government on hearing of the extreme distress to which the inhabitants of Sumbawa had been reduced.

" The Noquedah of a Malay prow from Timor had reported that on the 11th of April, while at sea, far distant from Sumbawa, he was in utter darkness; that on his passing the Tomboro mountain at a distance of five miles, the lower part of it was in flames, and the upper part covered with clouds; he went on shore for water,

and found the ground covered with ashes to the depth of three feet, several large prows thrown on the land by a concussion of the sea, and many of the inhabitants dead from famine. On leaving Sumbawa, he experienced a strong current to the westward, and fell in with great quantities of cinders floating on the sea, through which he with difficulty forced his way; he was surrounded by them the whole of the night of the 12th, and says they formed a mass of two feet thick, and several miles in extent. This person states that the volcano of Carang Assam in Bali, was in commotion at the same time; and it appears from the several reports, that a greater rumbling than usual was heard in the mountains in the Rembang district, as well as in the Gunnug Gede in the Preanger Regencies, but after a strict enquiry, it does not appear that any simultaneous movement or connection could be traced on this occasion along the chain of Volcanic Mountains running east and west in Java.'"

"The Honorable Company's cruizer Benares, was at this time at Macasar, and the following official report, received from the Commander of this vessel, confirms the circumstances already related.

"'On the 5th of April, a firing of cannon was heard at Macasar, continuing at intervals all the afternoon, and apparently coming from the southward:—towards sun-set the reports seemed to have approached much nearer, and sounded like heavy guns, with occasional slight reports between. Supposing it to be occasioned by pirates, a detachment of troops was embarked on board the Honorable Company's cruizer Benares, and sent in search of them, but after examining the neighbouring Islands, returned to Macasar on the 8th, without having found any cause of the alarm. During the night of the 11th, the firing was again heard, but much lower, and towards morning the reports were in quick succession, sometimes like three or four guns fired together, and so heavy that they shook the ship, as they did also the houses in Fort Rotterdam. Some of them seemed so near, that I sent people to the mast-heads to look out for the flashes, and weighed at day-dawn, proceeding to the southward to ascertain the cause. The morning of the 12th was extremely dark and lowering, particularly to the southward, and S.W., the wind light, and from the eastward. At eight A.M. it was apparent that some extraordinary occurrence had taken place; the face of the heavens to the southward and westward had assumed a dark aspect, and it was much darker than before the sun rose; as it came nearer it assumed a dusky red appearance, and spread fast over every part of the heavens; by ten it was so dark that a ship could hardly be seen a mile distant; by eleven the whole of the heavens were obscured, except a small space near the horizon to the eastward, the quarter from which the wind came. The ashes now began to fall in showers, and the appearance was altogether truly awful and alarming. By noon the light that had remained in the eastern part of the horizon disappeared, and complete darkness covered the face of day. This continued so profound during the remainder of the day, that I never saw any thing to equal it in the darkest night;

it was impossible to see your hand when held up close to your eyes. The ashes fell without intermission throughout the night, and were so light and subtile, that notwithstanding the precaution of spreading awnings fore and aft as much as possible, they pervaded every part of the ship.

" ' At six o'clock the next morning it continued as dark as ever, but began to clear about half-past seven; and about eight o'clock objects could be faintly discerned upon deck. From this time it began to get lighter very fast.

" ' The appearance of the ship when day-light returned was most singular; every part being covered with the falling matter: it had the appearance of calcined pumice stone, nearly the colour of wood-ashes; it lay in heaps of a foot in depth in many parts of the deck, and several tons weight of it must have been thrown overboard; for though an impalpable powder or dust when it fell, it was, when compressed, of considerable weight; a pint measure of it weighed twelve ounces and three-quarters, it was perfectly tasteless, and did not affect the eyes with painful sensation, had a faint burnt smell, but nothing like sulphur; when mixed with water it formed a tenacious mud difficult to be washed off.

" ' By noon of the 12th, the sun made his appearance again, but very faintly, through the dusky atmosphere; the air being still charged with ashes, which continued to fall lightly all day.

" ' From the 12th to the 15th, the atmosphere remained thick and dusky, the rays of the sun scarce able to penetrate through it, with little or no wind the whole time.

" ' On the morning of the 13th left Macasar, and on the 18th made Sumbawa; on approaching the coast passed through great quantities of pumice-stone floating on the sea, which had at first strongly the appearance of shoals, so much so that I sent a boat to examine one, which, at the distance of less than a mile, I took for a dry sand-bank, upwards of three miles in length, with black rocks in several parts of it. It proved to be a complete mass of pumice-stone floating on the sea, some inches in depth, with great numbers of trees and logs, that appeared to be burnt and shivered as if by lightning. The boat had much difficulty in pulling through it, and until we reached the entrance of Bima Bay, the sea was literally covered with shoals of pumice and floating timber.

" ' On the 19th arrived in Bima Bay, in coming to an anchor grounded on the bank of Bima Town, shoaling suddenly from eight fathoms; hove off again as the tide was rising. The anchorage at Bima must have altered considerably, as where we grounded the Ternate cruizer lay at anchor in six fathoms a few months before. The shores of the bay had a most dreary appearance, being entirely covered with ashes.'

" From the account of the Resident of Bima, it appears that the eruption proceeded from the Tomboro mountain, situated about forty miles to the westward

of Bima. On the night of the 11th, the explosions he represents to have been most terrific, and compares them to the report of a heavy mortar close to his ear. The darkness commenced about seven in the morning, and continued twelve hours longer than it did at Macasar. The fall of ashes was so heavy as to break the Resident's house in many places, and render it uninhabitable, as well as many other houses in the town. The wind was still during the whole time, but the sea greatly agitated, its waves rolled in upon the shore, and filled the lower parts of the houses with water a foot deep. Every prow and boat was forced from the anchorage and driven on shore, and several large prows are now lying a considerable distance above high-water-mark.

" ' On the 22d, the Dispatch country ship arrived in the bay from Amboyna. It appears that this vessel had mistaken a bay to the westward, called Sampo or Sangin Bay, for Bima, and had gone into it; the Rajah of this place informed the officer that the whole of the country was entirely desolated, and the crops destroyed. The town of Sangin is situated about four or five leagues to the S. E. of the Tomboro mountain; the officer found great difficulty in landing in the bay, a considerable distance from the shore being completely filled up with pumice-stones, ashes, and logs of timber; the houses appeared beaten down and covered with ashes.

" ' Understanding that messengers had been sent into the interior, I waited till the evening of the 22d, and as they had not then returned, owing, as was supposed, to having found the country impassable, I left the bay at eleven o'clock that night, and the next day was off the Tomboro mountain; in passing it at the distance of six miles the summit was not visible, being enveloped in clouds of smoke and ashes. The sides were smoking in several places, apparently from lava which had flown down them not being cooled, several streams had reached the sea; a very considerable one to the N.N.W. of the mountain, the course of which was plainly discernible, both from the black colour of the lava contrasted with the ashes on each side of it, and the smoke arising from every part of it. The Tomboro Mountain in a direct line from Macasar is about 217 nautical miles distance.'

" It has been ascertained that these eruptions of the Tomboro Mountain were heard through the whole chain of the Molucca Islands. The Honourable Company's cruizer Teignmouth was lying at anchor at Ternate on the 5th April; between six and eight, P.M., several very distinct reports like heavy cannon were heard in the S.W. quarter, which was supposed to be a ship in the offing, in consequence of which the Resident sent a boat round the Island to ascertain if it was so. The next morning, however, the boat returned without seeing any vessel in the offing, and the conclusion then drawn was that it might be occasioned by the bursting of some volcanic mountain in that quarter. Ternate Island 5° 0′ N. 127° 30′ E.

" The easterly monsoon, however, had at this time distinctly set in, and consequently the sounds would not be heard so loudly and distinctly in the Moluccas, as from the relative distance would otherwise have happened. They extended, in the opposite direction, to Fort Marlbro', and several parts of Sumatra, as appears from the following extract from thence.

" ' It is an extraordinary fact, that precisely the same noise (taken by all who heard it to be a cannonade) occurred at several stations along this coast at the same time, viz. the morning of the 11th April several gentlemen heard it in Marlbro', the people from the interior came down with accounts of it, and those from the higher Dusuns spoke of a kind of ash-dust which had covered the herbage and the leaves of the trees. Reports to the same effect, (not mentioning any fall of ashes however,) were received from Moco-moco, Laye, Salumah, Manna, Padang Guchee, Croee, and Semanka. From some of these stations the hill-people came down armed, to assist against attacks which they imagined might be made upon the head factories.'

" It has not appeared that any noise of this kind was heard at Padang, or much further north than Moco-moco. I have since heard that the same noise was heard at Trumon in about 2′ 40′ N. lat. and at Ayer Bungi in about 0′ 15′ N. lat. at all on or about the 11th April last.

" From Sumbawa to the port of Sumatra, where the sound was noticed, is about 970 geographical miles in a direct line; from Sumbawa to Ternate is a distance of 720 miles; and the existence of the S. E. monsoon at the time may account for the difference of distance to which the sound was heard in the westerly and easterly directions; the distance also, to which the cloud of ashes was carried, so thickly as to produce utter darkness, is clearly pointed out to have been the Island of Celebes, and the districts of Gresie on Java. The former is 217 nautical miles distant from the seat of the volcano—the latter in a direct line more than 300 geographical miles distant.

" I shall conclude this account with an extract of a letter from Lieutenant Owen Phillips, written from Bima on the 23d ultimo. It has been mentioned in a former part, that on receiving intelligence of the extreme distress that had been occasioned by this extraordinary event, I dispatched a supply of rice to their relief, and Lieutenant Phillips was desired to proceed and adjust the delivery thereof, with instructions, at the same time, to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the local effects of the volcano. His report is as follows:

" ' On my trip towards the western part of the Island, I passed through nearly the whole of Dompo, and a considerable part of Bima. The extreme misery to which the inhabitants have been reduced, is shocking to behold; there were still on the road side the remains of several corpses, and the marks of where many others had

been interred; the villages almost entirely deserted, and the houses fallen down, the surviving inhabitants having dispersed in search of food.

"'In Dompo, the sole subsistence of the inhabitants for some time past has been the heads of the different species of palm, and the stalks of the papaya and plantain.

"'Since the eruption, a violent diarrhœa has prevailed in Bima, Dompo, and Saugar, which has carried off a great number of people. It is supposed by the natives to have been caused by drinking water which has been impregnated with the ashes; and horses have also died, in great numbers, from a similar complaint.

"'The Rajah of Saugar came to wait on me at Dompo on the 3d inst. The sufferings of the people there appear, from his account, to be still greater than in Dompo. The famine has been so severe, that even one of his own daughters died from hunger. I presented him with three coyangs of rice in your name, for which he appeared to be truly grateful.

"'As the Rajah was himself a spectator of the late eruption, the following account which he gave me, is, perhaps, more to be depended upon than any other I can possibly obtain:

"'About seven, P.M. on the 10th of April, three distinct columns of flame burst forth, near the top of Tomboro mountain, all of them apparently within the verge of the crater; and after ascending separately to a very great height, their tops united in the air in a troubled confused manner. In a short time the whole mountain next Saugar appeared like a body of liquid fire extending itself in every direction.

"'The fire and columns of flame continued to rage with unabated fury, until the darkness caused by the quantity of falling matter obscured it at about eight, P.M. Stones at this time fell very thick at Saugar; some of them as large as two fists, but generally not larger than walnuts. Between nine and ten, P.M. ashes began to fall, and soon after a violent whirlwind ensued, which blew down nearly every house in the village of Saugar, carrying the tops and light parts along with it. In the part of Saugar adjoining Tomboro, its effects were much more violent, tearing up by the roots the largest trees, and carrying them into the air, together with men, houses, cattle, and whatever else came within its influence (this will account for the immense number of floating trees seen at sea.) The sea rose nearly twelve feet higher than it had ever been known to be before, and completely spoiled the only small spots of rice-lands in Saugar, sweeping away houses and every thing within its reach.

"'The whirlwind lasted about an hour. No explosions were heard till the whirlwind had ceased, at about eleven, A.M. From midnight till the evening of the 11th, they continued without intermission; after that, their violence moderated, and they were only heard at intervals; but the explosions did not cease entirely until the

15th of July. The mountain still throws out immense volumes of smoke, and the natives are apprehensive of another eruption during the ensuing rainy season.

"'Of the whole of the villages of Tomboro, Jempo, containing about forty inhabitants, is the only one remaining. In Precate, no vestige of a house is left. Twenty-six of the people who were at Sambawa at the time are the whole of the population who have escaped.

"'From the most particular inquiries I have been able to make, there were certainly not fewer than 12,000 individuals in Tomboro and Precate at the time of the eruption.

"'The trees and herbage of every description along the whole of the north and west sides of the Peninsula, have been completely destroyed, with the exception of a high point of land near the spot where the village of Tomboro stood; on it a few trees still remain. In the night of the eruption, two men and two women, I am informed, escaped to this point, and were saved. I have sent in search of them, but have not yet been able to get hold of them; no person has yet been along the eastern side of the hill.

"'A messenger who returned yesterday from Sambawa, relates that the fall of ashes has been heavier at Sambawa than on this side the Gulf, and that an immense number of people have been starved: they are now parting with their horses and buffaloes for a half or quarter rupee's worth of rice or corn. The distress has, however, I trust, been alleviated by this time, as the brig, with sixty-three coyangs of rice, from Java, arrived there the day he was leaving it.'"

"*Batavia, September* 28, 1815."

To Mr. Marsden.

"*Buitenzorg, Aug.* 6, 1815.

"My Dear Sir,

"I have only time to thank you for your very kind letter by Captain Travers, and to return you my grateful acknowledgments for the warm and steady support which you have given to my cause. *Magna est veritas et prævalebit.*

"The wonderful events in Europe still leave some hope that Java may remain permanently English. I have, therefore, addressed the Earl of Buckinghamshire direct, both officially and in a private letter. The letters were written in haste, but I hope are to the point, and not being very long they may probably be read. You will observe with satisfaction that the cloud which overhung our finances has been dispersed, and that the complete success of our land revenue arrangements, and the fruits of that new order of things, which could not be established without labour, expense, and risk, are beginning to shew themselves.

"A severe domestic affliction has banished for a time the hope I once entertained of an early retirement—activity and the cares of public responsibility are now

almost necessary for my existence. I trust, however, that a few months more will restore that serenity of mind which will admit of my looking on the past with calmness. You will see that although I do not like to stand in the way of the arrangement I have suggested for the government of this Island and its dependencies, I am by no means indifferent or disinclined to act, and to continue to act in any capacity in which my employment may not injure the public interests.

" I have just returned from a three months' tour through Java, and I have visited Bali. It is impossible to enter upon the subject at the present moment of confusion. I have much to say; so much that is altogether new, and perhaps unexpected, that I really know not where to begin, and it will require some arrangement and consideration how to bring the extent of matter within the limits of a letter.

" I entreat of you to advocate the cause of Java, if there is a possibility of its remaining under the British protection."

To W. B. Ramsay, Esq. from Mr. Raffles.

" *Buitenzorg, Aug. 5*, 1815.

* * * * *

" The wonderful and extraordinary change in the politics of Europe, by the re-appearance of Buonaparte, has, with all its horrors, shed one consoling ray on this sacred Isle; and Java may be yet permanently English. In this hope I have addressed Lord Buckinghamshire, both officially and privately. You will learn with satisfaction that the measures introduced by me for establishing a better system of internal administration have succeeded, even beyond my most sanguine expectations; that the amount of the estimated land revenue has been more than realized; and that the detailed settlements and surveys have been nearly completed. Whatever may have been said of former disappointments, facts now speak for themselves, and facts you know are stubborn things.

* * * * *

" I have no idea of returning to Europe while any thing is to be done hereabout. I am really too tired to write you fully; my back aches from sheer hard writing for the last two days.

" Pay a little attention to my dear sister Marianne, and her child, when you can. I am glad Flint has come out again.

* * * * *

" I should wish to remain in the country until a decision on this reference was known, until time had been given to my successor in office to appreciate and report on the character of my administration, and until a sufficient lapse occurred in Europe between the effects of the stigma passed on my conduct, and the change of

opinion which a subsequent better knowledge of the true state of things must occasion."

The following is an extract of the letter to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, to which Mr. Raffles alludes :—

" *Buitenzorg, Java, August* 5, 1815.

" My Lord,

" The appearance of Napoleon at the head of the French nation, and the declaration of the Allied Sovereigns at Vienna, of which intelligence too authentic to be doubted has just reached us, so completely deranges every plan connected with the pacific arrangements about to have been concluded, that it is impossible to hazard a conjecture when and on what basis the peace of the world may be eventually established. If there is to be neither peace nor truce with him, and he continues successful in maintaining his sceptre, England must doubtless hold what now she has, and gain what more she can. Holland, too weak even in the past time of peace to equip an adequate force for the repossesion of her colonies, must at all events forego every attempt of the kind during the existing power of Buonaparte, and should the fate of Europe remain undecided six months longer, the question must arise—' what is to be done with Java and the Dutch possessions in the Eastern Seas ?'

" For the last twelve months we have been in the constant expectation of the Dutch fleet, and every measure of precaution preparatory to the delivering up of the colonies has been taken ; and a faint hope is again revived that Java may still be permanently English. It can alone arise from the contemplation of the possible issue of the desperate contest into which England is again thrown. In the expectation that a plain statement of facts, and some suggestions from the spot, in as few words as possible, may be useful to the authorities at home, under any circumstances, I venture, my Lord, on the liberty of addressing you.

" The bankrupt state of the Dutch Company in former days, and the bad appearance of our own finances in later times, may have induced an unfavourable impression with regard to the real value of these possessions ; but the causes of both are so obvious, that they cannot fail to have struck your Lordship's observation. Neither the one nor the other is to be attributed to the want of resources in the country. The Dutch empire owed its fall principally to the corruption of its servants, who filled their own pockets with that treasure which should have flowed into the coffers of the state. The causes of distress and disappointment in our own times were of a temporary nature, and those attributable to events which cannot well recur.

" If it was mortifying to my feelings to be told, after all the labour, all the

anxiety, all the responsibility I had incurred in changing the whole internal management of the country, 'that my calculations were flattering, but that they were not to be depended upon;' it is now as consolatory and satisfactory to those wounded feelings to know that these calculations have proved, on the unerring testimony of experience, to be just and correct. In support of this I do myself the honour to request your Lordship's perusal of the enclosed minute, with the several abstract statements which accompany it. You will therein perceive not only that the amount of the revenue actually collected under the new system of internal management equals the estimate, but that the grand work of establishing the detailed system has been perfected; that every acre of cultivated ground has been measured, assessed, and brought to account; that a body of information the most complete, the most valuable, perhaps, that any government can boast of, has been collected; and that the revenue has been considerably enhanced, whilst the most liberal consideration has not only been paid to the rights, but to the feelings, the vanities, the wishes of those, whose interests might be affected by the change.

"I shall stand excused from the narrow views of personal interest when I declare, that I should have no inclination to accept, were it offered, the charge of such an administration as I shall venture to propose; it will require a person of high rank, either noble or military; and I have had too much experience already of the injuries which accrue from the want of that high rank. These injuries, as far as they might affect private comfort, or what may be termed the state of domestic mind, are little heeded, for I feel myself superior to them; but the public interests suffer when exalted rank does not accompany exalted station. I am far, however, from the want of a nobler feeling of interest; it fell to my province in some way first to point out the object, then to direct the course of measures which led to its attainment; it was in consideration of this, and of some favourable impressions of personal ability on the indulgent mind of the late Earl of Minto, that induced him to select me for my present charge; that charge I have administered with steadiness and uprightness: and, after encountering all the storms of contending interests and unparalleled difficulties, I have the pleasure to find my vessel tight and trim, and fit for any voyage. She has long been at the mercy of the waves, and like an anxious pilot, I shall anticipate with delight the hour when I may deliver her over to her duly appointed Commander. In October, 1816, I shall have been Governor of these colonies five years, the usual period for which such a post is held. My health is delicate, and having completed twenty years' service in anxiety, fatigue, and constant application, I would indulge the hope of some relaxation. My inclination would lead me to revisit my native land, but a want of the pecuniary means would dictate the advantage of accepting the honourable retreat which has, with a view to such event, been kept open for me at Bencoolen.

"Before I proceed to notice the value and importance of these colonies, and

the great interests involved in their eventual fate, allow me to draw your attention to some circumstances with reference to the disadvantages under which they have hitherto been placed—it is necessary I should do so, to account for any disappointment that may have been felt, in a partial failure of expectations at first held out, and to remove the shade which such failure may have cast on the authority and correctness of my representations.

" To meet what I conceived to have been a very unfair attack upon the character of my administration, I felt myself called upon to take a general review of all the leading measures of my government which appeared to have excited displeasure. I am told that so little is the interest taken in Leadenhall-street, that the Directors will not even read dispatches from Java.

" It is not possible for your Lordship to conceive the real injury to the public service, to the public character, and to the national interests, by the state of suspense, the indecision, which has been connected with every thing concerning Java affairs. Circumstances have thrown Java without the pale of the Company's exclusive jurisdiction, the late charter has reduced their power.

" It will be found that on the first establishment of the British dominion in these seas, it was contemplated to place the Moluccas and the general control of the Eastern Archipelago in the hands of the Java government. Acting under this impression, our attention was directed to the re-establishment of the out-stations, the general suppression of piracy, and the introduction of that system of wholesome control which had of late years been wrested from the hand of our predecessors. Military expeditions became necessary; and expences for the benefit of trade and the British interests in general, and altogether foreign from what would have been demanded for the internal management of Java alone, were of necessity incurred.

" The advantages of the Moluccas are easily stated: they consisted in one or two annual cargoes of spices for the Europe market. The disadvantages and disgrace which attaches to the existing government of them is great. Nutmegs which ought to be as cheap as betel-nut, and cloves no dearer than pepper, are by the present system confined to the consumption of the rich alone. But this is not the main evil: did the unfortunate people by whose industry these spices are produced, and on whose soil they grow, benefit in any way by this high price, an excuse might be found; but to the disgrace of humanity, the original inhabitants of these miserable Islands are nearly extinct: the wretched remains are in a state of the most abject poverty. The gardens of Banda, where all the nutmegs are produced, are worked by *slaves*, and the public duties carried on throughout by forced services. The inhabitants of these remote Islands as yet know nothing of the principles of the British government, and the British government knows still less of its unfortunate and suffering subjects. If on commercial principles it may be deemed advisable that these spices shall be collected into few hands, let the gardens or their produce be farmed out; let the

East India Company, or any association of Europeans, enter into the speculation—but let the British government preside—let the people derive some advantage from their industry and toil—and let them have an appeal against injustice—leave the produce to fair and open competition, and allow the cultivators to serve or supply those who will pay them best. There is nothing intricate in this, or in the management of the Moluccas on this principle; and I believe, if the people were freed, and the gardens let out to individuals, with free permission to sell the produce when and where they pleased, every just end would be answered, and every pecuniary advantage obtained.

"The Island of Banca will produce upwards of 2000 tons of tin in the year—let the mines be rented out for a period of years, or sold to the Chinese miners on payment of a duty on the exportation, or of an annual quit-rent.

"The great Island of Borneo, as rich perhaps in the precious metals as Mexico or Peru; possessing in one convenient spot a population of nearly 100,000 Chinese, who work on the gold mines of their own accord, and for their own benefit; but who would gladly submit to, and have invited British regulations; and affording in common with all the Islands in the Malayan Archipelago, abundance of that peculiar kind of produce, which in all ages, in all times, and which from the infancy of navigation to the present day, has always been in request on the continents of Europe and of Asia, opens a wide and interesting field.

"These Islands, my Lord, are doubtless the real Taprobana of the ancients—the sacred isles of the Hindus!

"Who that has mixed with the East insular tribes, who that has become in the least acquainted with their ways of thinking, that will not bear ample testimony that their character is as yet unknown to Europe? Even their piracies and deadly creeses which have proved such fertile sources of abuse and calumny, have nothing in them to affright; nay, there is something even to admire in them—their piracies are but a proof of their spirit and their enterprize, and the regulation of good government is alone wanting to direct this spirit and this enterprize in a course more consonant with our notions of civilization. And now, may I ask what was the state of Scotland two hundred years ago? In the last prints from Europe I observed the particulars of the trial of some unfortunate people of these Islands, who were subsequently executed for attempting to cut off the ship Governor Raffles on her voyage to England. No doubt a general horror was excited by the atrocity of their conduct; but if it is considered that these men were in all probability cajoled on board the ship in the expectation of her going only a short voyage, and within their own latitudes, some allowance may be made for their feelings when they found themselves deceived, and hurried into a cold, tempestuous, and bitter climate, of which, judging from their own seas, they could have formed no previous conception. Suffering under the acuteness of bodily pain and mental anguish, thinking on their families and their

homes, which they were daily leaving further behind, perhaps never to visit again, and seeing no end to the increase of their miseries—may not some allowance be made for them? I am far from wishing to insinuate discredit or censure on the parties connected with this particular instance. I doubt not that every thing was done that could be done by the owners and captain; but I know that, generally speaking, such is the way that sailors in this country are procured for long voyages. If even they were apprized of the length of their voyage, and promised payment accordingly, will not their case, in some degree, resemble that of the first adventurers to the new world? The creeses is to the Malay what the practice of duelling is to European nations. There are certain points in the composition of every man's notions which cannot be regulated by courts of law; the property, the life, the character of the European is protected by law; but yet there are some points, and these are the very points on which all society hinges, which are not protected. In support of these he contemns the law which stigmatizes him as a murderer, and the very men who made the laws still say he is right. Neither the property, the life, nor the character of the Malay is secured by law—he proudly defends them with his own hand whenever they are endangered. The readiness with which an injury is thus redressed has a wonderful effect in the prevention of injuries; and except in warlike enterprize the Malay is seldom known to draw his criss, unless perhaps in defence of what he considers his *honour*. The certainty of resentment has produced that urbanity and consideration for the feelings of each other, that they are habitually well-bred, and if they are to be termed savages, certainly they are the most polite of all savages; but in truth they are very far from being savages.

" With regard to the establishment for the general administration, it will first be necessary to decide on the principles which should guide the conduct of the local authority. And here two questions present themselves; first, in what manner are the Dutch inhabitants and Dutch institutions to be considered? and secondly, what system of policy is to be observed towards the native inhabitants and states of the Archipelago? The first question will, I fancy, be easily decided; the second not without some difficulty, as opinions may vary.

" It is not necessary for me to inform your Lordship of the light in which the Dutch inhabitants and their institutions have hitherto been viewed by the local government; it has been in strict accordance with the benevolent principles which induced the Earl of Minto to depart from the instructions which required him to deliver up the colony to the natives; but I am ready to add, that it has been the cause of immense expense, and not the least of the difficulties we have had to encounter.

" The Dutch government certainly, for the last fifty years, derived no advantage from this colony, and as rapidly as vice and corruption increased abroad, the profits to the government at home declined, for one was the natural cause of the

other. This state of affairs, added to the disorders of the revolution, ended in the ruin of public prosperity in Holland, and the loss of private character in Java; and I am reluctantly obliged to say, after the experience I have had, that it is as hopeless to attempt any improvement in the morals, habits, and principles of a great proportion of the European colonists, as it is to purify their institutions. There is a large portion of the Island in the neighbourhood of Batavia in possession of these colonists as private property: from this the majority and the most respectable obtain a handsome independence. The liberality of the British Government will, no doubt, be extended in pensions to such as want, and the Dutch population in general will be entitled to all the advantages of British subjects. Thus far, I should think, we are bound to go, and there are individuals among the mass entitled to still higher consideration—to respect, to confidence; but the main point is, how far a consideration for these few, and very few they are, would justify us in continuing the seat of government at Batavia. The nature of the administration, and the success of the whole arrangement, appears to me so peculiarly to turn upon this last point, that it is deserving of the first and most particular attention.

"The unhealthiness of Batavia would, of itself, be conclusive with many, without the additional consideration of the clog which would be fastened upon our administration by the Dutch institutions. It is as vain to attempt rendering the town and sea-coast of Batavia salubrious, as it is to restore those institutions to any thing like a sound and sane state.

"The British Government will doubtless commence its operations without being fettered and dishonoured by the petty speculations of commercial profit, and it is alone on account of its convenient station for commerce, and from the store-houses and public-buildings which it contains, that Batavia has any advantages whatever over other parts of the Island.

"I would at once propose that the seat of the new government should be fixed in the neighbourhood of Samarang. A Commissioner or Resident may be entrusted with the affairs of Batavia, where the Dutch court of justice and the Dutch institutions may be provisionally continued, and where a revenue equal to their expenses will easily be derived. At Samarang there is already a Government-house on a large scale; it is in the neighbourhood of the native courts, and being about the centre of the Island, great advantage will be obtained in quick communications east and west. The Dutch inhabitants would, I am confident, in the end, benefit by this arrangement, although perhaps some might, in the first instance, be interested in the probable reduction of the value of their fixed property. If the British Government was once firmly established in Batavia, the whole of the Dutch institutions must be rapidly broken down and abolished, and the inhabitants themselves would soon lose that influence and consideration which they have hitherto been allowed to enjoy; for my own part, I would make them a present of Batavia and

its environs if they required it, to administer in their own way under a political Agent or Commissioner: they could not call this illiberal, and the British Government would lose no revenue by it, while it would be free to introduce and establish its own principles elsewhere, without apprehension of disquieting or annoying those who, from having been educated in a different school, never can or will think in the same manner as we do. Batavia might then be to Java what Chinsurah is to Bengal.

" The British Government being thus relieved from the necessity of attending to long-established forms, may in its immediate establishments be extremely simple. A principal secretary with good assistants, a treasurer, an accountant and auditor, and a legal adviser, will be the leading men. There will be no necessity for the establishment of any British court of justice, at any rate in the beginning, for the Dutch will be subject to their own laws, as modified by our regulations, and the jurisdiction over the native inhabitants is already, and far better, provided for by the provincial courts of the Residents.

" Concluding that the arrangements for the general administration and collection of the revenues will continue nearly on the same footing as at present, I enclose an abstract of the existing establishments, from which your Lordship will perceive, that besides the two native courts there are fourteen principal Residencies, two Collectors of land-revenue, and three Collectors of customs required on Java. Besides these officers, a Superintendent of the forests, who may also be Resident of the forest districts, and a Superintendent of marine will be required, and these are all the appointments which appear to me necessary to be adverted to or filled up by authority from home. There are several gentlemen now on the Island who would do honour to his Majesty's service, and whose talents and information would be essential in the first establishment of the government: these I have named in a separate memorandum enclosed.

" The second question, namely, What system of policy is to be observed towards the native inhabitants and states of the Archipelago, must be decided before any plan for the administration of the dependencies and out-stations can be offered. If the principle which I have attempted to lay down in my minute on the Eastern Islands is adopted, and the British Government resolves to wash its hands of the iniquities of the existing order of affairs in the Moluccas, the administration will be simple: a Resident for the Moluccas, with three or four able assistants, a military Commandant for Celebes, a Resident at Banjarmasing, with subordinates at Pontiana and Sambas, and a Resident at Banca, with subordinates at Lingen and Billiton, will complete the number required.

" The inferior arrangements to be attended to are numerous, but these are, perhaps, best left to settle themselves, under the superintendence of the local authorities. The above are, I believe, all the main points necessary to be considered

at home, as far as the civil establishment is concerned. With respect to the military, the particulars of the force now maintained on the Island, and its present dependencies, with an opinion on what would be requisite on the change, are contained in the memorandum regarding establishments in general.

" This last-mentioned opinion is given with all deference to professional judgment, but in the decided conviction that while the principles of the administration are just, and established rather with a view to protect and exalt the native character than to debase it, we need never for one instant doubt the attachment of our East insular subjects and allies. There are no people more capable of appreciating a benefit or of forming an attachment; they have no prejudices of moment, or which stand in the way of civilization, and they will readily assimilate with Europeans in as far as Europeans are inclined to assimilate with them; they will identify themselves as British subjects whenever they feel the benefits of British principles, and the permanency of British power.

" I will say nothing of the Eastern Islands in general, but of Java and of its inhabitants I can speak plainly and decisively; they have felt the advantage of British principles, they acknowledge the benefit, and feel grateful for our interference. I have just returned from a three months' tour throughout the Island, and I can safely say, that regret, apprehension, and dismay precede the expected return of the Dutch; that the native population, feeling and profiting by the arrangements of the British Government, are decidedly attached to it; that they will not, for they cannot, understand the wisdom of that policy which, after the price of so much blood and treasure, would transfer them to their former task-masters, and deliver them up unconditionally to their vengeance.

" Before the establishment of the British power in Java, the Dutch held but a disputed sovereignty. The native princes of Souracarta and Mataram allowed them no interference within their dominions, which then comprised the richest part of the Island. The Sultans of Bantam and Cheribon were still the nominal heads of the people; while both those provinces were in a continued state of insurrection, the tranquillity of the Island and our interests required a reduction in the power of the native princes. The British arms were carried to the Craton of Djocjocarta, and to defray the expenses incurred, and as a security for future attachment, they by treaty transferred into our hands some of their richest provinces, and disbanded all their military in return for our protection. They are now, consequently, completely within the power of the European government; but seeing no advantages taken or contemplated by the British Government beyond what the treaties stipulated, they are still respectable, and place such unreserved confidence in our good faith, that they are without apprehension. It may be a question, on the transfer of the colony, in what light are these treaties to be considered? And the reflection will naturally occur, that if we transfer the princes and the provinces as they now stand, will they

not, by being left bare and unprotected, and stripped of the means of defending themselves, on being thrown at the mercy of a power perhaps less just and considerate than ourselves, have some grounds to complain of the injury we have done to them?

"The rebellious provinces have been brought into order, universal tranquillity prevails, and confidence is every where established. The Sultans of Bantam and Cheribon, witnessing and admiring the principles of our Government, have voluntarily transferred the direct administration into our hands. Are we not, in some measure, bound to the native population, to secure to them, by every means in our power, the enjoyment of that liberty and independence we have allowed them to taste, or is the cup to be dashed from the lip as soon as it is touched?

"When I assumed the delegated administration of Java, humanity dictated consideration and respect for its European inhabitants, but policy required and justice demanded protection to the native population. This protection has been given, and is felt in the cottage of the peasant; he acknowledges, and is proud of the benefit, and in *one word,* the Javanese are decidedly English; give but the *other word,* and Great Britain produces not more faithful adherents to the crown than Java may afford.

"In September 1815, Lord Minto went home fully prepared to explain the principles on which he had established the provisional government of Java, and also to support all my measures, which to the last met his unreserved approbation.

"I have the honour to remain, &c.

"T. S. R."

It is evident from what has been stated, that during the whole period of his administration, Mr. Raffles had constantly been occupied with the varied and extensive duties of his situation, which had required from him incessant labour and attention; every thing, in fact, rested upon himself. He was unacquainted, or but slightly acquainted, with the principles or characters of most of those whom he had to employ; he was compelled to instruct, direct, and confide in all; and these, untried and unknown, were to be surrounded by temptations and examples of peculation, bribery, and corruption. It is to the honour of the individuals so employed and so chosen, that, under all succeeding circumstances, so few were found to fail in their duty, and so many proved themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in them.

Mr. Raffles was occupied constantly from four in the morning until eleven and twelve at night; and the weight of this heavy duty was much increased by his being under the necessity of acting entirely upon his own responsibility in all the great measures of his government.

Such a state of anxious uncertainty would have made a less conscientious person refrain from such constant and unremitting action; but it was one of his

principles in public as well as private life, to do good to the utmost of his power; and in the accomplishment of this object, no labour was too severe, no responsibility too burdensome to be borne.

The deep interest which Mr. Raffles took in the happiness of the Javanese, induced him to exert every faculty of his mind to instruct and improve them; and this was to him comparatively easy, even in the pressure of all the more direct and ordinary business of his station; he was gifted with a power of such rapid decision, his discrimination was so clear, and his arrangements so immediate and perfect, that he was able to effect more business, of every kind, than any single person of those around him could have thought possible. It is stated by some of those who were in the habit of observing him at this time, that they have seen him write upwards of twenty sheets of minutes, orders, &c. &c. without any correction or even alteration being necessary. It has already been stated, that he required three clerks to copy and keep up with what he wrote; and that he frequently dictated to two persons whilst engaged in writing letters himself.

The following letter to Mr. Marsden is on literary and scientific subjects:

To Mr. Marsden.

"*Java, September* 18, 1815.

"My Dear Sir,

"In my last I promised you a long account of the discoveries we had made on Java, and of our progress in the collection of materials for a Grammar and Dictionary, as well as for an historical account of Java. I have been compelled to read a discourse to the Batavian Society, which, however general and vague, will in some measure reduce the extent of the particular communications I now sit down to make, and I therefore enclose you a few copies, which have been struck off in haste. I also take this opportunity of enclosing an *authentic* account of the violent and, I believe, unparalleled convulsion of nature, which has recently occurred in these regions, and I hope you will approve of my having taken measures for preserving a proper record of the event; it will appear, nearly in its present shape, in the next volume of our Transactions; but as the press is going on but slowly, and the subject may be interesting in Europe, you have my free permission to communicate the substance to the Royal Society, or even more extensively, if desired.

"I have not failed to notice what you observe on the paucity of information respecting the Javanese language, and I trust our next number will not be liable to the same objection. I have attempted to break the ice, but further, as yet, and until I can communicate with those who are acquainted with the more ancient languages of Western India, I dare not go. Of the ancient Kawi, I have ventured to pronounce that it is almost pure Sanscrit; but in doing so, I have been rather guided by the general opinion, and the probabilities, than by any knowledge of my own, or reference to Sanscrit authority: I do not even possess the Dictionary of Dr. Wilkins.

I enclose you a fac-simile of the inscriptions on the brass plates, together with the alphabetic character and version in Roman letters: it is probable that Dr. Wilkins may throw some light upon them. Fac-similes of the several alphabets to which I have referred in my Discourse are also enclosed: these I propose should, at some future period, be engraved.

"Of the present language, or rather languages, of Java, my collection amounts to upwards of seven thousand words, and is daily increasing. Nothing is more remarkable than the extent and delicacy of these languages; for independent of there being almost two distinct languages in constant use by one people, the words themselves, especially in the court, or polite tongue, are expressive of such nice distinctions and shades, that it is almost impossible to explain them in English without much circumlocution. This evinces a degree of civilization beyond what was to be expected; and the people who could devote so much time and study to the improvement and accuracy of their language, must have had something of a literary turn. * * * * * * *

"The Grammar may be formed on the principle of the Malayan, and the words of a Dictionary arranged in alphabetical order, shewing the vernacular and polite dialects opposed to each other, with examples, on the plan of your incomparable Dictionary, which, with the Grammar, is a model for whatever may be further attempted in this line.

"I have visited nearly all the remains of sculpture to be found on the Island; they are far more extensive than at first I had any idea of, and drawings of the different images, as well as ground-plans, elevations, &c. of the different buildings, are in great progress. Many of the Hindu deities have been found in small brass and copper casts; of these I have a collection containing nearly every deity in the Hindu mythology. We have also discovered some very ancient coins with dates, in the Chando Sangkolo, and from the Discourse you will perceive that I have succeeded in decyphering nearly all the inscriptions, with the exception of that found at Brambana; the stone has been removed to Solo, where a fac-simile has been taken roughly from the stone, a copy of it, or indeed the original, if a favourable opportunity offers, shall be sent to you. It is rather a curious circumstance which the Javanese historians relate regarding inscriptions at Brambana; these they say were left by Adi Soko, and recognized 500 years after by Sewolo Cholo, at a period when none of the inhabitants of the Island could read them. Should this Adi Soko be the same with the founder of the Budhist religion in China, &c. it is not improbable that as soon as the new faith was established on the Continent, emissaries were sent into the different Islands to extend its influence; perhaps the Brambanan inscription may relate to this event, and at all events the inscription has a particular interest.

"I have ventured to offer some notions on the plan of a history of Java and the Eastern Islands, rather with the view of inviting observation and discussion, than as

binding myself to any preconceived opinion. It was necessary to say something on the subject, and at all events I can answer for its general correctness as far as Javanese data can be depended upon.

" You will not fail to notice a hint thrown out regarding the establishment of Menangkabu, during what I have termed the first Eastern Empire of Java, and at the period when the states of Wahar and Koripan were in all their glory.

" It is related that about the Javanese year 800, the Prince of Angráwan, on Java, had a son, who, when an infant, was carried off by a celebrated Bramin, by name Bromono Sacondo; the Bramin substituting his own son in his place. Bromono Sacondo originally came from Sabrang, under which general name all the *opposite* Islands are included, and when he had succeeded in the object of his visit, he fled again to *Sabrang,* carrying with him the young Prince. Under his tuition the Prince attained maturity, and assuming the title of Klono Tanjung Pura, carried his arms with success throughout the Malayan Islands, finally establishing himself at Goa, on Celebes. He did not, however, remain there long, but like many of his Malayan descendants, again shifted his quarters to Sumatra, where his authority was said to be acknowledged in the country inland and to the northward of Palembang, probably Menangkabu; from thence he waged war against the celebrated Panjé, and the Javanese romances are full of his adventures and achievements; they are the subject of constant dramatic exhibition, and in these he is termed the Rajah of *Musa Kanchono,* the Golden Island. He was continually defeated by Panjé, but as constantly saved by the advice and assistance of the Bramin, who always appears to carry him off just he is about to fall. These are the adventures alluded to in the Malayan compositions, which refer to the beautiful Princess of Dahar, &c., and I strongly suspect that the Sunda Empire, or what may be called the Western Empire of Java, which was established about the year 1000, was founded in connection with this authority on Sumatra; the investigation into the extension of the sovereignty of Bantam over the southern provinces of Sumatra, would, on this account, be very interesting—this is an object which I have not forgotten, and at present I will only mention that the celebrated *Kris* of Bantam, and which is in my possession, is understood to have been obtained from Menangkabu; it has, on the blade, the impression of a Bramin, or figure with a long flowing dress like that of India.

" This Klono is sometimes called Si Malayu, and Klono and Malayu Suon, synonymous terms for a wanderer.

" The above anecdote has no connection whatever with the subsequent colonization of Palembang by Ario Damar, in the time of Majapahit; there was a lapse of above 500 years between the two events.

" I have taken measures for collecting vocabularies of the Papua, or woolly-haired race. I was at first inclined to think them distinct from the African, but I

now apprehend there is little difference beyond what may be easily reconciled by the effects of long separation and change of climate. We find them in considerable numbers on Sumbawa, and if they have not all been destroyed by the volcano, I expect to obtain extensive information from this quarter.

" I have procured from Bali copies of all the written compositions of the country, and of many of those common on Java, in the hope that they may be purer than those found at this day on Java; but it is deserving of remark, that although the Javanese are all Mahomedans, and that every man of the least respectability studies the Arabic, it has as yet made no inroad whatever into either the written or spoken language of the country.

" As the time draws nigh when the fate of this colony must be decided, and when it is probable I may either proceed to Bencoolen, or close my administration in these seas by visiting some of the out-settlements, I should feel very much indebted by your directing my attention, either by a list of queries or otherwise, to such points as may appear to you of most importance. My object, as you know, is rather to collect the raw materials, than to establish any system of my own; and notwithstanding I have in some instances assumed something of an hypothesis, I am by no means wedded to it or bound to support it. I have no idea of publishing until I go to Europe, and even then I would rather see the materials worked up by an abler hand, than incur the risk and responsibility of undertaking the task myself. I am afraid it will hardly be possible to do justice to Java in one volume, and it would require the powers of the steam engine to compress into so small a compass the vast variety of material which has been collected.

" My plan in such a work would be, after giving a sketch of the natural history and geography of Java, to enter on an abstracted statistical account of its present population and produce; then to give the native history down to the date of the establishment of the British Government, introducing between each grand division a supplementary chapter on the other Islands, and the inferences to be drawn during each period; an account of the European establishments would necessarily follow; and here the ground on which I should rest would principally be the collection which I have made of the treaties entered into by the Dutch with the different Eastern States, and deductions regarding the progress made in civilization; a few chapters would then be required on the language—the literature—the agriculture—the commerce—the character of the people, &c. with a general concluding view of the whole subject embraced. Considering the intimate connection which appears at all times to have existed between Java and the Eastern Islands, it will not be possible to enter into the history of the one without continual reference to the other; but while the narrative is exclusively relating to Java, and the commentary only adverts occasionally to the other Islands, it will not I hope be thought that I extend my views too far. The colonies planted by Java, though themselves deserving a

separate history, cannot be thrown off until some historical record of the mother country gives her the credit of having established them.

" I should be most happy to receive your candid and unreserved opinion on this plan. An accurate map, principally from actual survey, would of course accompany the work, and a supplementary volume might contain engravings of the remains of antiquity, and Hindu worship, with the inscriptions, alphabets, &c.

" I have lately made a very considerable addition to my Malayan, as well as Javanese library; and I have set, not only the Regents, but the Susuhunan himself, at work in compiling historical accounts of their respective divisions of the country; these will be of use in checking the general account which I had previously collected; and at all events, it has given a fashion to literary pursuits which cannot fail of being highly advantageous to all parties in the long run. A taste for letters is now the sure passport to preferment; and an old MS. or Indian relic, is found to have more influence now-a-days than all the golden profusion of former times. The Dutch colonists accuse us of folly; and the only answer I can make to them is, that I am ambitious of the title of Bitara in after days. Objects have a different appearance when received by the rising sun, to what they may present under one that is setting.

" I feel that I have not yet redeemed my pledge, and yet hope I have said enough to prove that we are not altogether idle.

" Believe me always, my dear Sir,

" Most sincerely yours,

" T. S. Raffles."

To William Brown Ramsay, Esq.

" *Buitenzorg, October* 18, 1815.

* * * * * *

" You will be anxious to know my determination as to proceeding to England; my character—my future happiness—require my presence in England. The impression on my mind is, that I shall quit this country at the close of 1816; but this depends upon circumstances not within my control. I may go earlier—I may go later. Your advice will, I think, be for the best, and I am inclined to concur in it: for here I am ' a lonely man, like one that has long since been dead;' and should any thing keep me away for one year, from friends who I am sure would be glad to receive me with open arms! I want leisure to recover from the effects of that weight of responsibility which has almost weighed me down; yet I am high and proud in my own integrity. I thank you for the warmth and attachment which breathe through every line of your letter now before me; it has roused the finest

feelings in my breast; and in the test of friendship, where is the heart that would not be glad?"

Before leaving Java, Mr. Raffles addressed the following letter to the Court of Directors:

"*Batavia, March* 11, 1816.

"At the close of an arduous and extensive administration, which will be admitted to have commenced at a moment of peculiar financial difficulty, and to have been attended with embarrassments unusual to a new government, in consequence of the bankruptcy of the preceding government, and of a necessity having nevertheless existed of respecting, in some degree, the forced and imperious measures to which that government resorted, in order to carry on their ordinary details; I am anxious to place in your possession a view of the present financial state of this colony. This review I shall found, not on estimates, but on actual records; and I confidently trust it will prove to the satisfaction of your Honourable Court, that my ideas on the value and importance of this colony have not been raised too high, but that time only was wanting, and a perseverance in principles of liberal and extended policy, to render it equal to all the extent that has either been contemplated or reported.

"I shall not detain your Honourable Court by any review of the past financial arrangements adopted at different periods of my administration. The opinions which have been passed upon them by the Supreme Government in India, and the explanations which we considered ourselves enabled to offer, are already before your Honourable Court; and my letter of the 5th of August, 1815, will have explained the foundation of our present revenue and resources, and prepared you to expect that the general result would be more favourable, since the system of administration which it has been my object to introduce into this Island, in accordance with the principles laid down by the late Earl of Minto, began to have effect.

"I now request to lay before you further documents, illustrative of the progressive improvement that has taken place.

* * * * * * *

"By these it will be perceived, that the revenues of the Island of Java itself have gradually augmented during the three years therein mentioned, the revenues of 1813-14 having exceeded the former year in the sum of 42,273,729 rupees, and those of 1814-15 shewing a further excess of 1,130,871 rupees. On the other hand, it will appear that the expenses of the year 1813-14 were less than the preceding year, in the sum of 1,173,873 rupees, and those of the year 1814-15 exceeded only in the sum of 539,058 rupees, which gives a clear balance in favour of the comparative receipts and disbursements of the Java government, at the expiration of the

years 1814-15. This fact will speak more forcibly than any comments I could offer upon it. In this document your Honourable Court will further be able to trace the rapid increase of the revenue of this colony, in comparison with what it was under the preceding Dutch government; and as it is sufficiently obvious, from former reports and documents, that the increase of revenue has resulted, in a very principal degree, from the introduction of land-rental, which now amounts to nearly one-half of the whole revenues of the Island, it is a fair conclusion to draw, that the improvement thus effected is rendered permanent; and that a very short time only has been required to repay, in a pecuniary point of view, those temporary and partial sacrifices which, in the introduction of a radical change, that had equally in view the amelioration of the condition of the people and the interests of the government, could not be avoided.

" Another enclosure gives further proof of the improving state of the public treasuries in this Island, on the one hand, and of a diminution of the public debt on the other, by a decrease in the amount of government securities in circulation. Your Honourable Court will observe, that as soon as the arrears of the troops had been paid up to the date which is usually done at the Presidencies in India, we appropriated the funds derivable from the improved state of our treasuries, towards the discharge of these securities; and by a gradual progress of this procedure, the public debt, arising from this cause, is now completely at command.

" Thus it will be found, that at the expiration of the years 1814-15 the amount of government securities which had been in circulation was 288,126,166 rupees. On the 1st of January last it amounted, as appears by the accountant's report, to 196,819,615 rupees, and at the present date it is reduced to 122,734,224 rupees, while by the opposite columns of assets in the balance of government treasuries, it is evident that the amount of cash in hand considerably surpasses the extent of the outstanding debts.

" It would occupy too much time to enter fully into all the inferences that might be drawn from these documents; and on the present occasion my object is rather to place facts before you, than to draw inferences from them: but your Honourable Court will permit me to observe, that as this improvement has arisen from ordinary causes, and is solely attributable to the establishment of that system, without which it always appeared to me that the government of Java could not be administered but under heavy loss to the mother-country, there is every reason and ground to expect, that a perseverance in this system will continue, and even encrease the benefit that has resulted from its introduction. The difficulty in short is removed; and the political tranquillity that has continued throughout the Island is a guarantee, that the change is equally advantageous in whatever point of view it be considered.

" Thus far my remarks have been confined to Java only, but the inclosures will

also shew, that the expence of the dependencies has, of late, become much lessened, or in other words, that the surplus profits derived on the sale of the produce of Banca make good the expences of maintaining that chain of possessions which is undoubtedly necessary to secure the tranquillity of the coasting-trade of those seas.

" The possession of Banca is now complete, and its resources brought forward. The revenue derivable from them will continue undiminished, as far as can be foreseen, since the tin has a ready and certain sale, and there is no necessity for any considerable increase of establishment, unless the opening of new mines gives a corresponding increase of revenue. The settlement of Banjermassing also continues on the footing already brought to the notice of the Governor-General in August last; and Macasar, though at all times burdensome, and maintained, not for its intrinsic value, but from former usage, and the necessity of holding a check on the native establishment, as well as for the suppression of piracy and for the protection of the spice monopoly, cannot in any way incur an expence equivalent to the surplus revenue accruing in Java, under the present system of internal administration.

" On the whole, therefore, I feel considerable confidence in the report which I am now enabled to present to your Honourable Court. The outlay on the first establishment of this government was great, and unavoidably so; it was, in fact, a complete purchase of every necessary article, even to the furniture of the public offices, and it is in this manner that the accounts with the prize agents became so extensive; but on the other hand the particulars and the returns of that outlay will, in a great degree, be shewn at the transfer of the colony, in the amount of stock which then will either be taken over by the succeeding government, or be disposable to be converted into money. By the account enclosed you will perceive there remains a surplus of 37,84,10,416 rupees to the credit of the government of Java. The quantity of coffee also now in store, and which has long been waiting the necessary tonnage to be conveyed to Europe, is 60,000 peculs, which at the present market-price at Batavia is equal to 13,20,000 rupees."

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CHAPTER IX.

Mr. Raffles hears he is to be relieved in the Government—Residency of Bencoolen secured to him—Forced to return to England by ill health—Arrival of Mr. Fendall—Reception of him—General regret at Mr. Raffles' departure—Presentation of plate—Endeavours by a last memorial to secure justice to the native princes and people—The objects of their treaties with the English—Objects neglected by the English Government—Island restored without conditions to the Dutch—Embarkation—State of mind on quitting Java—Extract from Captain Travers' Journal during the voyage—St. Helena—Interview with Buonaparte—Arrival at Falmouth—Mines in Cornwall—Journey to London.

Mr. Raffles was at Ciceroa when he heard that he was to be relieved from the charge of the government. Though the mode in which the intelligence was conveyed was most unexpected, it did not affect his equanimity and composure.

Lord Minto had secured to him the Residency of Bencoolen, as a provision in case Java had been transferred to the Crown, when of course a Governor and Council would have been sent out from England. This appointment was now offered to him, but his health was so impaired, his strength so exhausted, that his medical advisers considered it absolutely necessary for the preservation of his life, that he should proceed to Europe without delay.

As soon as it was ascertained that Mr. Fendall was appointed to succeed to the government, and was actually on his way to Java, Mr. Raffles determined to leave Ciceroa, and return to Buitenzorg, in order to be ready at the shortest notice to proceed to Batavia for the purpose of receiving his successor. He felt himself aggrieved, but he well knew his being so was in no way attributable to Mr. Fendall; and he wished to pay the respect and attention which he thought due to the station that Mr. Fendall was about to fill. Mr. Raffles was alarmingly reduced at this time by the joint action of illness, and of the violent remedies which had been applied; but his spirits rose superior to his bodily strength, and he could not be persuaded to allow any personal consideration to interfere with a public arrangement. He exacted little himself, but he was most scrupulous in his attentions to others. Accordingly, the moment the report reached Buitenzorg, that Mr. Fendall had arrived in Batavia Roads, Mr. Raffles was ready to proceed, and although he had been confined

to the house for several days before, he left Buitenzorg at 3 o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Ryswick in time to make the necessary arrangements for receiving the new Governor with suitable honors.

Mr. Raffles introduced Mr. Fendall to all those who had been useful whilst employed under his government, with some private recommendatory tribute of praise, or some public acknowledgment of their merits. The scene was an interesting one; from the total absence of all selfish consideration which marked Mr. Raffles' conduct; he was entirely absorbed in the desire of promoting the welfare of others, and if possible, securing to them any advantages which they might have derived from his presence. The exertion, however, as may be supposed, was too great for him in his debilitated state, and at the close of the day, he was obliged to retire. Having previously made every arrangement, he quitted the Government-house in the evening for Mr. Cransen's, where he remained until his embarkation. When it became generally known that Mr. Raffles was obliged to proceed to England as the only hope of preserving his life, the European and native inhabitants united in expressing their deep regret at his departure, and in acknowledging in the warmest terms their gratitude for the benefits which he had conferred upon them during his administration. A magnificent service of plate was given to him by them on his arrival in England; and his own immediate staff, besides uniting in this noble gift, presented him with a separate and exclusive piece of plate, as a testimony of their affection and gratitude for the kindness which he had shewn to them, and the interest that he had taken in their welfare.

The delay preparatory to embarkation gave Mr. Fendall an opportunity of looking into the public proceedings, and of forming an opinion on the principal acts of the government. He frankly avowed his approbation of them all; and without one alteration continued Mr. Raffles' personal staff in their former situations, and expressed his determination to attend to all Mr. Raffles' wishes.

Mr. Raffles did not depart from Java without making an effort to induce those who succeeded him to secure justice to the people whom he was leaving. He gave a memorial to Mr. Fendall, of which the following is an extract:—

"1st. Either the existing treaties between the British Government and the native courts of Solo and Djocjocarta should be guaranteed, or their princes should be placed as nearly as practicable on the same footing as they stood towards the European authority previously to those treaties being entered into. Under the Dutch government there was no limitation regarding the number of troops that might be maintained by these princes; and with the exception of some monopolies, they enjoyed the direct receipt of all the revenues of their states.

"By the treaties entered into with the British Government they have consented to disband these troops, and to make over a portion of their revenues, on

condition of our affording them protection, and allowing to each an annual stipend for their support.

" On reference to the evidence brought forward in the late investigation at Solo, it is apprehended that the Dutch Government may not continue to pay their stipend as hitherto; and that, taking advantage of the present defenceless state of these powers, they may bear heavy upon them. The question therefore arises, in how far the British Government might not be subjected to reproach, were they unconditionally to hand these princes over, thus reduced, to the mercy of their former rulers. On withdrawing our protection, are these treaties to be considered to have ceased, or is the succeeding government to be assisted by us in occupying the present commanding influence possessed by the European authority in these provinces? It appears to me that either the Dutch should consent to guarantee the existing treaties in all their conditions, should the native courts assent thereto, or that the native princes should be allowed to place themselves in the same position as they stood at the close of the Dutch and French administration in 1811. The point, however, should be decided upon before the Dutch are allowed to supplant us, otherwise these princes will not have the means of regaining this position.

" In the last case, a further question will arise regarding the provinces ceded to the British Government by these treaties, and from which provinces the princes derived their principal strength and resources. It is true that some of these provinces had been nominally ceded by the court of Djocjocarta to the former government, but they had never been actually transferred; and in the Kedu, for instance, the Susuhunan still retained, unshaken, his right to at least one-half of the population and revenues. In endeavouring to replace the native princes in the situation in which they stood under the Dutch, are these provinces, or is any, and what portion of them, to be given back?

" The court of Solo has sufficiently evinced its conviction of the justice of some arrangement on our part; and as the British Government is the guardian and trustee for the young Sultan, they are bound to defend his just rights from invasion. This is a question in which the national character is so deeply concerned, that I conceive it deserves the most early, and at the same time, the most serious consideration."

The rest of the memorial relates to measures of finance. Unfortunately Mr. Raffles' appeal in behalf of those for whose welfare he had so anxiously laboured, was not attended to; and the Island was transferred to the Dutch without one stipulation in favour of the natives, who had in justice a right to expect that some provisions would have been made for their interests. The events which followed the re-occupation of the Island by the Dutch afford a melancholy proof of the sad effects of this neglect.

Mr. Raffles engaged his passage in the Ganges, a fine vessel in Batavia Roads,

at that time preparing for England. Lieutenant-Colonel, then Captain Garnham, Captain Travers (two of his Aid-de-camps) and Sir Thomas Sevestre, his medical attendant, with all the disinterestedness of devoted zeal and friendship, determined to accompany him. The natives and Europeans, Dutch as well as English, evinced a strong feeling of interest and regret. The inhabitants had experienced, from his administration, benefits which were fresh in their memory; the welfare of all had been watched with a parental solicitude; and perhaps no conquered country had ever been so quickly restored to tranquillity, or so strictly preserved in quietness and good order as Java, during the period of British rule. There were also many amongst the respectable Dutch inhabitants who attributed, and perhaps with justice, to Mr. Raffles, the line of conduct adopted by Lord Minto on the first capture of the Island.

If, in addition to this, it is remembered how warmly he devoted himself to the improvement of the people, the information which he collected on every point connected with the Island, the total ignorance that previously prevailed, the assistance which he rendered to literature, the zeal with which he promoted all objects of science, of which a more detailed account, by Dr. Horsfield, will be found in the appendix, the charts and maps which were executed under his superintendance for the general benefit of the inhabitants, it will be no matter of surprise that he established a name and character which will not be soon forgotten in the Island of Java.

On the morning of Mr. Raffles' embarkation, the Roads of Batavia were filled with boats, crowded with people of various nations, all anxious to pay the last tribute of respect within their power to one for whom they entertained the most lively affection. On reaching the vessel, he found the decks filled with offerings of every description—fruits, flowers, poultry, whatever they thought would promote his comfort on the voyage. It is impossible to describe the scene which took place when the order was given to weigh the anchor; the people felt that they had lost the greatest friend whom Java ever possessed; and perhaps they anticipated, as too near, their redelivery to the Dutch power, and the consequently too probable revival of the scenes of misgovernment, from which, under the administration of Mr. Raffles, they had been relieved for five years, and ought to have been relieved for ever.

The following extract of a letter to Mr. Edmonstone at this time will shew the temper of mind in which Mr. Raffles relinquished his authority.

To N. B. Edmonstone, Esq. (then one of the members of the Supreme Council in Bengal, and now one of the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company.)

On board the Ganges, off Bantam, March 26, 1816.

" My Dear Sir,

" I cannot quit Java without returning you my warmest acknowledgments

for the consideration which you have always evinced for me, and in particular for the kindness and protection with which I am confident you have endeavoured to shield my public as well as my private character, in discussions in which both have been most violently and wantonly attacked.

* * * * * * *

" Of the public measures of my administration, it is, perhaps, improper for me to speak; and probably it may be as well that they are left to speak for themselves. All I ask, and all I urge, is, that the results of my administration be not partially considered; these cannot be fairly understood, nor duly appreciated until the close of the British Government, and, as the Dutch authorities are now on the way out, a delay in the decision will not occasion inconvenience.

" The Court of Directors appear to me to have formed a very hasty judgment on questions regarding which it was impossible for them at the time to possess full information. The apprehension that, by the introduction of the land-revenue system, I have alienated the affections of the people, is absurd, and hardly deserves refutation. In the whole arrangements I have carried the Regents along with me; and I leave it to others to inform you of the feeling which has existed among the native population on the occasion of my quitting the government *.

" I sincerely trust, however, that on this question, as well as on that which relates to the conduct of the Java government at Palembang, the explanations afforded by us will have induced the Supreme Government in their subsequent communications with Europe, to relax the severity of their censure, and in some degree remove the unfavourable impression which the earlier despatch has made.

" The statement of quick stock some time since forwarded to Bengal, and closed up to the end of the official year 1814-15, will have placed you in possession of the state of our finances; and when the accounts of the present year 1815-16 are closed, I am justified in assuring you that you will observe a still more favourable result; for our finances have been rapidly improving, and time was only wanting to prove by the unerring testimony of figures, that the revenues and resources of these colonies were never over-rated by me. Should the Dutch Commissioners be disposed to accede to the very reasonable demands which it becomes our duty to make upon them, previous to the transfer, I still hope that the close of the British administration will be as satisfactory as its commencement was honourable and gratifying.

* The Dutch have annulled the leases of lands in the territories of the native Princes to Europeans and Chinese, and declared them to be illegal, with the view of obtaining for Government the monopoly of the produce of the whole Island: they have also laid heavy restrictions upon merchants and travellers wishing to visit the native provinces, which were open of access to all during Sir Stamford's government. To the first of these measures in particular is attributed, by those who have the best means of judging, the present distracted and ruinous state of the Island.

"I leave the character of my administration in general to be appreciated by my successor; and I look forward with confidence to a period when it will be proved that I have not been found wanting in the discharge of the high, arduous, and responsible trust committed to my care.

* * * * * * *

"My public letter will inform you of the necessity which drives me to the Cape, and eventually to Europe; and unfortunate as this unexpected circumstance must be considered, I must hope that the necessity of proceeding to Europe, and of consequently giving up a lucrative employment, occasioned as it is by an illness brought on by great exertions, by anxiety, and a sense of injustice, will not weaken any claims which I may possess on the consideration and justice of the higher authorities.

"Into the hands of Mr. Fendall I have resigned my charge without reluctance. * * * * * * *

An extract from Captain Travers' Journal will give an account of the voyage:—

"Our voyage commenced under the most favourable circumstances; the weather was mild, the wind fair. On the third day after leaving Batavia Roads, being entrusted with the address to Mr. Raffles from his own immediate staff, to present to him after our getting out to sea, I waited upon him in his cabin with it; and the scene which ensued was the most distressing I had ever witnessed. After perusing it, he became so completely overcome as to be unable to utter a word: but the moment he began to recover a little, he took up his pen; and whilst the feeling and impression was fresh, he wrote the beautiful and affectionately-expressed reply, which was afterwards printed by his friends, and is attached to the addresses and replies presented on the occasion of his leaving Java.

"The presentation of this address was altogether unexpected on Mr. Raffles' part; and as it was meant to convey to him the sentiments of cordial and heartfelt esteem and affection of those who had the best opportunity of judging of the spotless integrity and amiable qualities which shed a lustre over his private life, as well as the purity and uprightness of his public conduct, it was but natural to suppose that such a testimonial must have been most gratifying at such a moment, and he certainly prized it very highly.

"As we proceeded on our voyage the change of climate and the pure sea air seemed to be of great service to Mr. Raffles, whose general state of health began visibly to improve. He employed his time on board ship chiefly in assorting his papers, for the first part; and until his health began to get better, he read for amusement, and paid strict attention to medical advice, and no doubt derived much benefit from so doing.

"As we approached St. Helena, Mr. Raffles expressed much anxiety to touch

there, in the hope of seeing Buonaparte; and Captain Falconer, ever ready to meet the wishes of one for whom he seemed to entertain the highest respect and esteem, determined on going there for the avowed purpose of taking in a fresh supply of water, and we accordingly made the Island at three o'clock, A.M., on the 18th May, 1816; and meeting with no opposition, notwithstanding our having heard of vessels being stationed to windward, as well as leeward, of the Island, to speak all vessels as they approached, we stood in, and actually came close to one of the batteries before we were discovered; but immediately on being seen we were brought to, and soon after a boat came off from the Admiral's ship to take charge of the Ganges, inquire into our wants, and communicate by signal with the flag-ship.

" At this moment all our hopes of seeing Buonaparte, or indeed of being permitted to land, were destroyed, by the naval officers who came on board informing us that we would not be allowed to land; and as our vessel could be quickly watered from the flag-ship, no communication with the shore would be allowed.

" The disappointment occasioned by this intelligence I never can forget. After so long a voyage, to come within the reach of shore, and not to be allowed to land, appeared to us, at the moment, to be one of the most disappointing and vexatious occurrences in our lives.

" Mr. Raffles, who shared with us all our disappointment, but with more command of himself, endeavoured to reconcile us to our fate; and in place of looking from the deck at a spot which we could not reach, and the sight of which would only tend to excite our chagrin and annoyance, suggested that we should retire to our cabins, and commit to paper our feelings at the moment, which would amuse us during our detention. To this we all assented; but I believe the only person of the party, who was sufficiently collected to write any thing appropriate was Mr. Raffles himself; all the rest entertained a hope that permission would be granted to land, when the Admiral knew who was on board, and I had written to the Secretary by the Lieutenant who had come from the flag-ship.

" In this we were not mistaken, as, in a very short time after the Lieutenant left us, a signal was made from the flag-ship to anchor in a particular place, and this was quickly followed by Colonel Mansel, of the 53d, and Captain Le Blanc coming on board, with permission from the Admiral to land.

" When the boat was close to the Ganges, I went into Mr. Raffles' cabin to inform him of the circumstance, and was just in time to save the following verses from destruction, which he had written as quickly as it was possible to write, and had not read it over, or corrected a word;—on my telling him that we should certainly be allowed to land, he was just going to destroy the paper, when I entreated him to allow me to read it, with which he complied, and I immediately copied it

verbatim, as it was written, and returned the original; but know not whether Mr. Raffles ever looked at it again, nor did I ever see it afterwards.

* * * * * * *

"On our landing we were most kindly received by the Admiral, Sir George Cockburn, who requested us to call at the town-major's and peruse the garrison orders, to which he directed our particular attention. After which we paid our respects to the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, who invited us to dinner, and promised to send horses for us. We then solicited permission to visit Buonaparte, which was granted, on condition that during our interview we were not to address him as Emperor, but simply as General, and in the event of our being received by Buonaparte with his hat on, we were not to continue in conversation uncovered; to all which we willingly assented, and after passing a very pleasant evening at the Government-house, we commenced our journey to visit Buonaparte immediately after breakfast in the morning. Our first object was to see Marshal Bertrand, whom we found in a miserably poor habitation, together with his charming Countess. The Marshal received us with the easy air of a well-bred gentleman, and the Countess with great affability and good humour, contrasting her present abode with that which she lately occupied in France.

"The Marshal seemed to feel anxious that we should not be disappointed in the object of our visit, but expressed some fears, in consequence of his royal master having signified his intention not to receive any visitors for some days; he, however, kindly offered us letters to Count Las Casas, entreating him to use every exertion to obtain an interview for us. With this letter we proceeded to Longwood, and were most kindly and politely received by Count Las Casas, with whom we enjoyed some very agreeable conversation.

"On our informing him that we were to leave the Island in the evening, he seemed anxious that his royal master should see us, and he left us for a short time, and on returning informed us that the Emperor would dress in an hour, and although he could not say for a certainty, yet he hoped, and thought, he would see us. With this we took our leave and went to Dead Wood, about a mile distant, where the 53rd regiment were stationed. Whilst we were taking refreshment with Colonel Mansel, Mr. Raffles received a note from Count Las Casas, saying that the Emperor would see us, and we accordingly returned to Longwood; where, before being introduced, we found this once great man in earnest conversation with Countess Bertrand, who was walking with him in the garden; General Gourgaud preceded, Marshal Bertrand, Count Las Casas, Captain Poniatowusky, and a page followed, all uncovered. On our arrival being announced, we were quickly informed that the Emperor would receive us in the garden; and Count Las Casas added, that although it had been the Emperor's intention not to see any person for some days, yet on being

told that it was Mr. Raffles, late Governor of Java, who wished the interview, he immediately consented to see us.

" On our approaching, Napoleon turned quickly round to receive us, and taking off his hat, put it under his arm. His reception was not only not dignified or graceful, but absolutely vulgar and authoritative. He put a series of questions to Mr. Raffles in such quick succession, as to render it impossible to reply to one before another was put. His first request was to have Mr. Raffles' name pronounced distinctly. He then asked him in what country he was born? how long he had been in India? whether he had accompanied the expedition against the Island of Java? who commanded? and on being told Sir Samuel Achmuty, he seemed to recollect his name, and made some observations to Las Casas respecting him. He was particular in asking the extent of force, and the regiments employed, and then enquired if Mr. Raffles delivered up the Island to the Dutch, or was relieved by another Governor. He appeared to be acquainted with the value and importance of the Island, but put some strange questions to Mr. Raffles, such as how the King of Java conducted himself. On Mr. Raffles explaining, he seemed most attentive, and then asked whether the spice plantations at Amboyna were doing well, and whether the Spice Islands were to be also restored to the Dutch. He then asked the name of the ship in which we were going home, with what cargo laden, and which was best, Bourbon or Java coffee; all these questions were put with great rapidity, and before replied to he turned round to Captain Garnham and myself, asked our names, and what service we had seen; whether we were ever wounded, or were ever taken prisoners; how long we had been in India, and several other similar questions. He then again addressed himself to Mr. Raffles, and seemed interested with his remarks on Java. He conversed with Sir Thomas Sevestre, and put similar questions to him with those he had put to Garnham and myself. On his making a slight inclination of the head, we prepared to take our leave, and on our making our bow we parted, Napoleon continuing his walk, and we returning to the house. During the whole time of our interview, as Napoleon remained uncovered, common politeness obliged us to keep our hats in our hands; and at no time was it found necessary to give him any title, either of General or Emperor.

" Las Casas returned with us to the house, where a cold collation was prepared. He was most polite and attentive, and seemed much pleased with Mr. Raffles, with whom he conversed most freely. Of Napoleon he spoke in terms of the highest possible praise, and seemed to lament most bitterly his present situation.

" After our interview with Bonaparte, we made all possible haste to get on board the ship; and as we descended from Plantation-house were much surprised to see the Ganges was under weigh; but, on reaching the beach, we found that the Admiral, Sir George Cockburn, on ordering the vessel to get under weigh, had kindly sent his own barge to attend Mr. Raffles, and take his party to the ship, which we

did not reach till dusk. We immediately proceeded on our voyage, delighted at our visit to St. Helena, which afforded a fine subject for conversation for many days afterwards.

" Our weather was delightful, although the winds were light and baffling, and so much retarded our progress that we did not make the Island of Ascension for six days after leaving St. Helena, which is considered a long passage.

" We did not, as is customary, send a boat on shore for turtle, as the wind springing up favourable we did not wish to lose a moment, and so proceeded on our voyage, and soon began to experience the benefit of a fine brisk trade-wind, which swept us along most pleasantly, at the same time at a most rapid rate.

" With the return of health Mr. Raffles' spirits greatly improved. He used often to amuse us with translations of different papers connected with the ancient history of Java, and would often read aloud for us in the evening. In conversation he was fond of alluding to, and explaining, the several acts of his administration in Java, which he thought would ultimately tend much to the improvement of the Island, and the amelioration in the condition of the Javanese, whom he always seemed to feel a great interest for. In these conversations he never spoke with severity or harshness of those whom he knew to be the cause of his removal from a government, which established for the British name a character and credit in the Eastern Seas which will ever be respected and revered. He seldom touched upon the annoying circumstance of his supercession, except to express a hope that justice, however late, would not be altogether denied to him; and he felt convinced that on being heard at home all possible amends would be made him by the Court of Directors.

" In this most agreeable way we continued our voyage without interruption or annoyance of any kind till the 17th of June, when a most extraordinary circumstance occurred. The Auspicious, a country ship, laden like ourselves with coffee, and bound from Batavia to London, which had been keeping company with us from the day of sailing, was close along-side the Ganges within speaking distance, in the evening, when the breeze increasing the Auspicious went a little ahead. The night was fine and bright, and we all remained on deck longer than usual, enjoying it, and admiring the brisk rate at which both vessels were going, each having royals, and as much sail as they could carry. About three o'clock we were alarmed at hearing a shot from the Auspicious, and on looking towards her it would be impossible to describe our dismay and surprise at finding that she had lost her three topmasts, fore, main, and mizen, and seemed a perfect wreck. As morning dawned, and we could discern more distinctly, nothing could look more miserable than she did; how strikingly different from what she was the preceding evening, when with swelling sail she seemed to cut the waves, whilst now a perfect wreck she lay completely at their mercy.

" To account for this sudden squall injuring the Auspicious so very much, and not reaching the Ganges, only a few hundred yards distant, was more than any one on board either vessel could do. The sailors called it a white squall, desperate for the moment but of short duration. During the night, on board the Ganges, we had not experienced the slightest increase of breeze, nor was there the appearance of a squall observed by any one on board; and all remarked that we had not passed a smoother or more tranquil night during our voyage. We remained with the Auspicious for a day or two, to render all assistance in our power; and it is astonishing how soon she repaired her injuries and became fit to join company again. We made all sail on the third day after the accident, and then proceeded with fair weather and favourable winds.

" The 6th of July was Mr. Raffles' birth-day, when he had completed his thirty-fifth year; and the weather being mild and favourable, Captain Falconer invited our *compagnon de voyage,* Captain Nesh, to dine on board the Ganges, and do honour to the day; when we passed a most agreeable and happy one, delighted to see the health of him whose birth-day we were thus celebrating, holding forth such fair prospects of our being able to celebrate many such anniversaries. We drank toasts in bumpers, and made speeches without number, and concluded the day as we had commenced it, with rejoicings; not a little increased, perhaps, by the prospect before us of so soon touching the blessed shores of old England once again, from whence we had been so long absent."

The following is an extract of a letter to his friend Mr. W. B. Ramsay, written on the voyage :—

" To be plain, I must tell you, my dear friend, that after suffering severely from an illness brought on in consequence of great anxiety and personal fatigue, I embarked on the 25th March last from Batavia, and am now looking out for the English coast. My party consists of three gentlemen and my family, among whom I have to reckon your friend Travers, who, if not too lazy to write, ought to tell you a great deal more about the matter; for myself, although I am considerably recovered, I yet remain wretchedly thin and sallow, with a jaundiced eye and shapeless leg. Yet, I thank God, my spirit is high and untamed, and the meeting of friends will, I hope, soon restore me to my usual health.

" I return to you, however, a poor solitary wretch; and the rocks of Albion, which under other circumstances would have met my eye with joy and gladness, will not now present themselves without reflections which I cannot dwell upon.

" If the Alcyon has arrived, you will have been apprized of the result of Lord Moira's proceedings. His Lordship deemed it advisable to postpone any decision on Gillespie's charges; the Supreme Government, however, have declared my character unaffected by these charges, and further stated that they considered it but an act of

justice to leave my reserve appointment to Bencoolen unshaken, this being the test by which the Court judged of my having explained my conduct satisfactorily. But the manner in which my removal from Java was effected, and the whole course of proceedings adopted towards me by the Governor-General has been such, that it was impossible for me to rest satisfied with this tardy and incomplete judgment. I therefore resolved to appeal to the authorities in England, and in the mean time quietly to go to Bencoolen; but the shock was too severe, my health had been undermined, and this injustice threw me on my back. It was the opinion of the faculty that remaining longer in India was dangerous, and I took the resolution of proceeding to the Cape, and eventually to England.

" My successor arrived on the 11th, and in thirteen days after I quitted Batavia, in the Ganges, leaving my appointment to Bencoolen untouched. It would appear to have been the opinion of Mr. Edmonstone, that the orders of the Court left a latitude for the Supreme Government to exert themselves in my favour; but this opinion was over-ruled by the influence of Lord Moira. A struggle, however, was made, and I am left to hope that even in the proceedings of the Governor-General in Council I have found something like justice, and acknowledgement for my services recorded.

" It is my intention to appeal most forcibly to the Court against the whole course of measures. I feel confident I shall obtain justice from them; this is all I shall ask for. I have a cause that will carry conviction. I am prepared for every member being prepossessed against me, but I have documents with me that will prove they have been imposed upon. I am prepared to prove that so far from having been a burden to the finances of Great Britain, that in the wind-up there is every chance of a surplus; that in the affair of Palembang I acted according to the principle laid down by the Governor-General in Council, and received the full and unreserved approval of the Governor-General in Council; but this was while Lord Minto was at the head of affairs. That in my land-revenue arrangements the rights of no one had been subverted, and the just rights of all have been placed on a footing more advantageous than was ever before felt by them. I come prepared to meet every one of my enemies, but with a determination to turn them into friends.

" You will have to pay many a sixpence for this letter, yet I hope you will not grudge it, considering that it comes from one, who although he brings back with him from India but a sorry carcase, and wants the blazonments of power, returns with a heart and soul as purely and devotedly attached as it was on the day of parting; neither time, nor distance, nor the coldness of silence itself, which by the bye I have sometimes experienced, has quenched that flame in my breast which was once lighted by the torch of true and generous friendship; and it is with these feelings I still subscribe myself your devoted and affectionate friend,

" T. S. R."

Continuation of Extracts from Captain Travers' Journal.

" On the 11th of July, we made the Scilly Isles, the announcement of which soon brought all hands on deck. We quickly approached Falmouth, when several boats came off to take us on shore, all most exorbitant in their demands, and whilst I was arranging some reasonable bargain, Mr. Raffles agreed to go with the first man who made the vessel, giving him his own terms, as a consideration for the exertions he made in reaching our assistance first. We quickly prepared for the boat, and were ready about noon, when we took our leave of Captain Falconer, but not without some expressions of what we felt, and ever would gratefully acknowledge for his unremitting kindness and attention, his great hospitality, and liberal conduct, during the long time we were on board his ship. His anxiety to study the comforts, anticipate the wants, and in every possible way meet the wishes of Mr. Raffles, had at an early period of the voyage attracted our admiration, and his subsequent steady adherence thereto, added to his agreeable manners and accommodating disposition, had rendered him a favourite with all on board. Not a want was experienced by any during the voyage, and I believe no vessel ever yet made the trip from India to England under more happy or agreeable circumstances than the good ship Ganges.

" On leaving the vessel, Captain Falconer, ever anxious to evince his high respect for Mr. Raffles, fired the salute due to his rank as a Governor, which was immediately repeated by one from the Auspicious, when both ships, although with native crews, gave us three hearty cheers, and I am very sure accompanied them with sincere good wishes, as we could distinctly hear in passing the vessels the terms of praise in which they were speaking of Mr. Raffles.

" Our party in the boat consisted of Mr. Raffles, and his faithful servant Lewis, a native of Malacca, who had lived with him many years; Captain Garnham and myself, aides-de-camp; Sir Thomas Sevestre, who accompanied him as his medical attendant, a Mr. Graham, a passenger from Batavia, a gentleman well known to us all, of high respectability, who, during the time of Java being in our possession, had made a very large fortune by trading as a merchant in Batavia, and Râden-Rana-Dipura, a Javanese Chief.

" The day was beautiful, the sun shining bright, the sea smooth, being but little agitated by the gentle breezes. The land, as we approached, had to us the most delightful appearance, the fields looking so green, and the country so luxuriant, so that our trip from the ship, though long, was not tedious, but, on the contrary, most agreeable. We reached shore about four o'clock, when we were immediately examined by the custom-house officers; first, as to the state of our health, and next, whether there was any infection on board the ship, or at the port we had

sailed from. These questions were easily answered, but methought the officer seemed rather doubtful as to the positive assurances our mouths were giving, in direct opposition to the strong evidence of our cheeks, which, with the exception of Captain Garnham's, were of the most pale and emaciated caste: however, we got through the examination, and were permitted to land, and afterwards had a hearty laugh on communicating to each other our fears and apprehensions at the examination, which we were in no way prepared to meet or expect. We had not, however, yet done with examination, for we had no sooner landed than our baggage was taken to the Custom-house: but this took little time, as we had only a small trunk each, and nothing seizable about us, Mr. Raffles having strongly recommended us, and indeed given us the example himself, of putting every article, even of the smallest value, into the ship's manifest.

" After these several delays we proceeded to the inn, where we ordered the best dinner procurable at the place, to be got ready as quickly as possible, and passed a most joyous, agreeable evening.

" Having seen all we wished of Falmouth before dinner, we determined on going early to Truro next morning, and reached there to breakfast at nine, Mr. Raffles being anxious to avail himself of the opportunity whilst in Cornwall of reviewing some of the mines, and enquiring into the nature of the ores, for the purpose of comparing them with the products of those which, under his directions, when in the government of Java, had been brought into full power and force at Banca.

" Immediately after breakfast Mr. Raffles had an interview with a gentleman at Truro, who was well acquainted with mining business. He seemed a sensible, intelligent, well-informed gentleman, and afforded Mr. Raffles much useful and satisfactory information. After some delay at Truro, employed as I have mentioned, we proceeded to Welbesy, distant from Truro about five miles, close to Chesswater where we were informed one of the best copper-mines was to be seen, and here we were much pleased with all we saw. The gentleman to whom we had been introduced at Truro accompanied Mr. Raffles, with the view of rendering every assistance in his power, and was very kind and useful.

" The appearance and working of this mine astonished us, and the wonderful power of the steam-engine was no less a novelty. Mr. Raffles, Captain Garnham, and Sir Thomas Sevestre went down, which I was afraid to do, not being very strong at the time; but nothing could dissuade Mr. Raffles from descending, although, in his then delicate state of health, we were most anxious to prevent him from doing so; but his reply was that he never would forgive himself if he were to lose such an opportunity, and accordingly he went down and made himself quite master of the whole routine, and did not seem to suffer in the least.

" From what he had seen at Falmouth, Truro, and Welbesy, of the different

specimens of the ores, he appeared quite confirmed in his original opinion of the superiority of the Japan ore.

" We experienced the greatest possible civility and attention during the time we were inspecting this mine, and Mr. Raffles was greatly pleased with the anxiety and willingness evinced to afford him information on every point connected with mining in all its branches."

Mr. Raffles reached London on the 16th of July, 1816, and the next morning he announced his arrival at the East India House. He looked with the greatest confidence to the Court of Directors for ample justice, when they were in possession of the facts of his case. The serenity of his temper, the buoyancy of his spirit, and the joyous feeling of returning health, absorbed the recollection of past misery and disappointment, in bright anticipations of future reward and happiness.

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Raffles appeals to the Court of Directors—Their opinion—Writes his History of Java—Princess Charlotte—Visits the Continent—Meditates the establishment of a Society on the principle of the Jardin des Plantes—Is appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen and its dependencies—Embarks for India—Death of Princess Charlotte—Arrival in Sumatra—Description of the Settlement—Dispute with the Dutch Government—Earthquakes—State of Bencoolen—His opinion of the effects of former government—Emancipates the slaves—Cultivation of pepper declared free—Murder of Mr. Parr—Instructions from the Court of Directors to Sir Stamford to watch the proceedings of the Dutch—Lord Hastings' opinion of the conduct of the Netherlands' Commissioners—Sir Stamford's view of the state of affairs—Recommends a line of stations for the protection of trade, and the command of the Straits of Sunda—Appeals in favour of the native population—Prince of Wales's Island the only spot between the Mauritius and China where the British flag could be raised—His habits of intercourse with the natives.

As soon as Mr. Raffles reached London, he addressed the Court of Directors. He had laboured for ten years with unwearied zeal to promote their best interests, and he therefore claimed a revision of his services.

A short summary of the principal events connected with his government, will explain the circumstances under which he made his appeal. After the capture of Java, a system of government was drawn out by Lord Minto, upon which he was at liberty to enlarge as he saw fit.

Java itself afforded no pecuniary means. It was absolutely necessary to maintain a considerable force, as military operations had not ceased; it was equally necessary to relieve the public credit from the pressure of the debts of the former government. Drafts on Bengal became the only resource, and until the new system should be in full operation, and yield (which it afterwards did) the advantages contemplated at its introduction, that was the only channel of relief left open. These drafts were to a considerable extent, and arrived in Calcutta at a period of all others the most inconvenient to the Bengal treasury; whilst the demands from India on the home treasury of the Court of Directors became a source of embarrassment and led to the formation of a most unfavourable opinion of the newly acquired possession, which, unable to bear its own expenses, became for a short time a weight on the

British Government. These circumstances added to the doubtful tenure of the Island, and the impression created by charges which were preferred against him, totally without foundation, led to his recall.

It is not intended here to animadvert upon the judgment which the Court of Directors passed upon that occasion. It was the duty of Mr. Raffles to bow with submission to their authority, although such decision deeply involved his personal interests, and even placed his succession to Bencoolen contingent with his refutation of those charges.

To have remained in India, even if his health would have permitted it, subject to the prejudices and misrepresentations which had arisen against him was impossible. He owed it no less to the memory of his friend and patron, (whose death he had then most deeply to deplore) than to his own honour and character, to seek at the hands of the Court of Directors that justice which he felt he deserved. With reference to the policy of the public measures he adopted, they were in accordance with the policy of Lord Minto, and were calculated for a permanent state of things. The results of this policy were extensive revenue and judicial arrangements, affecting both European and native inhabitants; the reform of courts of justice, and establishment of a magistracy; the institution of trial by jury, and of laws for the abolition of slavery; the passing a code of regulations for the Dutch courts, the prosecution of statistical surveys under a committee, by which a knowledge was obtained of the value and importance of the Island, till then unknown, even to the Dutch, who had been there for three centuries. The revival of the Batavian Society, and researches and collections in Natural History now deposited at the India House.

The importance attached by the Netherlands Government to these measures, as well as the improved state of the colony itself, clearly shewed that time alone was required to develop the advantages which were contemplated at their introduction into Java. The highest revenue that had ever been raised by the Dutch in Java, did not exceed four millions of rupees, in any one year. Before Mr. Raffles left it, the receipts into the government treasury were not less than thirty millions, and on the restitution of the Island to the Dutch, not a pensioner was thrown as a burden on the Company, not a complaint was preferred by a single Dutch or native inhabitant against the British Government.

In his appeal to the Court, he took a general view of his services from the period of his first acquaintance with Lord Minto. His arrangements for the capture of Java; the unreserved approval of all the measures of his government during the administration of that nobleman, which approbation embraced all those measures, for which he was afterwards deprived of his government; the totally opposite view that was taken by Lord Moira of all that had been done; the hardship of never obtaining from the Bengal Government any reply or notice of his answers to the

charges of General Gillespie, until an order for his removal from the government of Java, on distinct grounds, was sent to him.

The removal he felt to be unjust, because it was grounded on measures, all of which had been approved by Lord Minto, and he therefore felt assured that the Court of Directors would take into consideration the unexampled time during which he was kept in suspense, the painful anxiety to which that suspense naturally gave rise, to the injury of his health, as well as to the disadvantage of his administration; the serious nature of the original charges, and the loose and unsatisfactory manner in which the decision had been communicated; and if any doubt still existed affecting his character, he begged that an immediate investigation might take place; but if, on the contrary, the Court should think the case was one of peculiar hardship, then he prayed that the Court would consider the manifest injury done to his character by the particular circumstance of Lord Hastings not having allowed him to proceed to Calcutta, or come to any decision until an order for his recal on distinct grounds had been received; and after thus considering, grant him some public acknowledgment of his services.

In reply to this Memorial, the Court of Directors declined giving any opinion on the measures of his government; but, as has been before stated, (page 204,) expressed their conviction, that they *sprung from motives perfectly* correct and laudable.

Mr. Raffles' health was so much impaired by his residence in India, that his friends strongly urged the necessity of his relinquishing all thoughts of returning to that country, but to this advice it was unfortunately not in his power to attend; previously to leaving England, however, he was anxious to record the information which he had collected regarding Java. The Island had been transferred by the English Government in total ignorance of its value to the Dutch. The presence of Mr. Raffles in England created an interest in the subject as far as his personal influence extended. To diffuse this interest more generally, and to make the country sensible of the loss sustained by the relinquishment of so flourishing a colony to a foreign and a rival power, he determined to write his History of Java, which he completed with his usual quickness. A few sheets were rapidly written off every morning for the printer, and corrected at night on his return from his dinner engagements. It was commenced in the month of October, 1816, and published in May, 1817 *. It was at this time that Mr. Raffles was presented to His Majesty, then Prince Regent, and received the honour of Knighthood.

During this period Sir Stamford enjoyed the pleasures of society with a zest which may well be imagined, when the vigour of his mind and the variety of his tastes are

* Early in this year Mr. Raffles married Sophia, daughter of T. W. Hull, Esq. of the county of Down, Ireland.

considered. He left England, indeed, at an age when he had no opportunity of judging of the attractions of its best society; but whilst he was occupied in his public duties in the East, he seized eagerly every opportunity to gratify his thirst of knowledge, and to improve the talents with which God had blessed him; he, therefore, in every station surrounded himself with all of every class from whom he could derive information; and he returned to England with talents ripened, and with a taste formed for all the intellectual enjoyments of life. During the fifteen months which he thus passed he had the happiness to obtain the friendship of many, whose sympathy in after scenes of anxiety and sorrow with which it pleased God to visit him, proved a source of comfort and consolation. He had also the high gratification of being one of those whom Their Royal Highnesses Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold honoured with proofs of regard. He was a frequent guest at Claremont. His last dinner before he set out on his last expedition was there, and the Ring which, on that day, the Princess gave to him, was the gift which, of all such gifts, he prized most.

In the month of June Sir Stamford Raffles visited the Continent for the purpose of obtaining an interview with the King of Holland, and making some representations to his Majesty in behalf of the native and some of the Dutch inhabitants of Java.—The following letters give an account of this tour.

To her Grace the Duchess of Somerset.

" *Brussels, July 14th,* 1817.

" You will have had cause to call me a very bad correspondent; I have neither kept my word nor kept my journal; and as it is now too late to attempt bringing up arrears, I must hasten back to London, and make the best apology I can, and trust to my personal influence for forgiveness.

" I send you, within, a ' Forget me Not,' or, as the Swiss call it, ' *Rose ne m'oubliez pas,*' from the Alps.

" Your Grace will expect that I should say something of the countries I have passed through, and yet what can you expect from one who knows so little of the European world, and is scarce in one place before he flies to another. Of France you have so many accounts that it would be presumptuous in me to offer an opinion; of Switzerland and the Alps your Grace knows every thing; and to attempt to extol the banks of the Rhine, or the fertility of Belgium, would be like giving you an account of the banks of the Thames and the fields of England. I was certainly surprised and delighted with the appearance of agriculture in France, not that the fields were as highly cultivated as in England, nor that any thing like an advanced state of agriculture was to be seen. I was pleased to observe two things, which I

know are highly condemned by agriculturists, the smallness of the properties, and the cultivation of the fruit-trees in the grain and hay-fields. Agriculturists maintain that capital is essential to improvement; that when the properties are so small there can be no capital; this I grant to be good diction where the soil is poor and requires much improvement, but when it is rich, and wants little or no improvement, capital is unnecessary. For the greatness of a country it may be an object that the greatest possible quantity of produce should be brought to market; and those who are for raising a nation maintain that this can only be effected by large farms and the outlay of capital. The philanthropist, however, and even the philosopher, will hesitate before he sacrifices every thing to the greatness of the nation; unless its happiness goes hand in hand with its greatness he will think the latter but of little value. Now when I see every man cultivating his own field, I cannot but think him happier far than when he is cultivating the field of another; even if he labours more, that labour is still lighter which is his pride and pleasure, than that which is his burden and sorrow. In France there seems to be so much good land that it can be hardly managed amiss, and in the provinces through which I passed it struck me that the crops were full as good as those I have seen in England. Throw the people out of these little properties and they lose their independence of character, their pride, and when only accustomed to daily wages are soon fitted for the army, the manufactory, or the poor-house. But you will say how is it that in France, where the government is so despotic, that the people are happier than in England? Many causes may have contributed to the present state of agriculture in France; the revolution abolished the feudal rights and service, with ten thousand vexations under which it had previously laboured; and the land in general fell into the hands of the actual cultivators, and the people who were seen to cultivate it with so much pleasure. It did not suit Buonaparte's policy to grind the peasant; from the lower class he wanted men and took them, but this only left the more for those who remained; it was from the rich that he took money, and the demands of his government gave employment to all; all the energies of France were exerted at his command; but however dearly it cost his subjects to maintain his authority, the burden seems to have fallen so lightly on the agriculturist that he even benefited by it.

" I like to see fruit-trees growing among the corn, because it not only affords a refreshing and beautiful scenery, but because it reminds me of those patriarchal times, those days of simplicity, when the son and the grandson, and even the great grandson, honoured the trees that their forefathers planted.

" Upon the whole, I cannot but think that, notwithstanding agriculture as a science may be almost unknown in France, and that France as a nation has been greatly impoverished both in men and money, there is a foundation in the present

state of her land and peasantry to support a much greater nation than France ever yet was; all now depends upon the wisdom of their government and the fortune of her politics. So much for the agriculture of France.

* * * * * * *

" Switzerland seems to have felt the weight of French influence, and is certainly very different to what it is represented to have been some twenty years ago; but the valley of Chamouni, the Alps are the same; that troubled sea which seems to have been in a moment stayed and fettered by an icy hand, still shines in all its majesty; nor has all the vice nor all the blood which has stained the lower world, cast one spot to sully the heavenly purity of Mont Blanc.

" The Rhine, with its hundred castles which line the heights along its banks, still flows in its ancient course to delight the traveller, enrich the land, and spur the industry of man.

" Of this place, and its politics, I have seen but little."

* * * * *

Sir Stamford Raffles reached London from Holland on the 26th of July, and on the following day he wrote his friend

Mr. Marsden,

" *Berners Street, July 27th*, 1817.

" My Dear Sir,

" I have the pleasure to enclose you a letter from Mr. Langles, which relates, I believe, principally to a copy of Marco Polo in the Royal Library, that he conceives may be useful for you to refer to.

" We arrived yesterday evening, after a very pleasant tour of seven weeks, having crossed France from Dieppe through Rouen, Paris, and Dijon, to Geneva; passed through the valley of Chamouni, along the foot of the Alps, and returned by Lausanne and Berne to Basle and down the Rhine to Cologne, whence we traversed the Low Countries to Brussels and Ostend. We had fine weather throughout, and met with neither delay or difficulty to render the journey unpleasant. At Paris and Brussels we remained from eight to ten days, which enabled us to see all the lions; to have seen more would have taken months, and these I could not spare.

" I met with very great attention in the Netherlands, and had the honour to dine with the King last Monday; they were very communicative regarding their eastern colonies; but I regret to say that, notwithstanding the King himself, and his leading minister, seem to mean well, they have too great a hankering after profit, and *immediate* profit, for any liberal system to thrive under them. They seem to be miserably poor, and the new government in Java have commenced by the issue of a

paper currency from every bureau throughout the Island; formerly, you will recollect, that paper money was confined to Batavia, it is now made general, and will, I fear, soon cause all the remaining silver to disappear. The King complained of the coffee culture having been neglected, and expressed anxiety that he should soon have consignments; and while he admitted all the advantages likely to arise from cultivation, and assured me that the system introduced under my administration should be continued, maintained that it was essential to confine the trade, and to make such regulations as would secure it and its profits exclusively to the mother-country. I had an opportunity of expressing my sentiments to him very freely, and as he took them in good part, I am in hopes they may have had some weight.

"We shall remain in town about three weeks, and I hope to embark in September.

"Your's, &c. &c.

"T. S. R."

The period was now approaching when it became necessary to make the requisite arrangements for returning to India. Sir Stamford was incessantly occupied in scientific and literary enquiries, and formed his plans for still further contributing to the valuable and interesting collections he had sent home from the Eastern Islands. At this time he meditated the establishment of a Society on the principle of the *Jardin des Plantes* at Paris, which finally, on his last return from the East, he succeeded in forming, in 1826, under the title of the Zoological Society of London. He was also deeply engaged in the duties and pleasures of private friendship. He visited Liverpool, Manchester, the Lakes of Westmoreland, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, and Wales; travelling with his usual speed, sixteen hours in the day.

In October, 1817, Sir Stamford, with his family, embarked for Bencoolen at Portsmouth, on board "The Lady Raffles." The Court of Directors "in consideration of the zeal and talents displayed during the period he filled the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Java, conferred upon him the title of Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, as a *peculiar mark of the favourable sentiments which the Court entertained of his merits and services.*"

The following are extracts of letters written to the Duchess of Somerset.

"*October 13th*, 1817.

"Oh! that this leave-taking was at an end; my heart is sad, and yet what avails it to repine? I must go, and the sooner I am off the better; my house is filled with those who all are determined to say good-bye, and make me more miserable when it requires all my fortitude to keep my spirits calm and uniform."

"*Falmouth, October 29th.*

"We had a fair wind down the channel, but had hardly got to the Land's End when a heavy gale came on from the westward with a tremendous sea; this we stemmed for three days, but at last finding we were losing ground, and every one being tired out, some with severe sickness, others with severe duty, we were compelled to seek shelter in this friendly port. Lady Raffles has suffered severely from the motion of the ship, and for the last four days refused every kind of nourishment, even a glass of cold water, so that I cannot help thinking it fortunate we have an opportunity of recruiting her. Often, very often, I might say always, do we regret it is Falmouth and not Plymouth, we might then have hoped once more to have said good-bye! * * * * *

"I am going into the country to descend a tin mine, and I hope to be quite *learned* in the mineralogy of Cornwall."

"*Falmouth, November 6th*, 1817.

"Last night I was gratified by the receipt of your kind letters: this morning we are greeted with a fair wind, and summoned to embark within half an hour. God grant we may be fairly off—as we must go—the sooner the better."

* * * * * * *

"*November 7th.*

"We sailed yesterday, and by the pilot I sent a few hurried lines—to say farewell—but alas! the wind soon after changed, and we are again driven into port. We were obliged to run in quickly, otherwise we should have been driven back to Plymouth. I cannot say I should have regretted this, but it would have been a very bad way of commencing a voyage.

"How long we may remain here seems uncertain: the wind now blows what the sailors call 'great guns,' and perhaps it will expend its fury, and change about to a more favourable quarter.

"We are now detained on board on account of the violence of the wind, but we hope to have a boat off in the evening."

"*Falmouth, November 9th.*

"We landed this morning, and if the wind continues equally unfavourable to-morrow, we have it in contemplation to set off post for Plymouth.

* * * * *

"What a melancholy and unexpected event has occurred, it has shocked me beyond measure—I dare not dwell upon it *."

* The reader has already supplied the event,—the death of Her Royal Highness Princess Charlotte. The kindness which Sir Stamford received from this noble-minded Princess, and from His Royal Highness

"*Off Falmouth, November 19th.*

"Once more we are off, and as we must go, God grant it may be for good! We left Plymouth after sunset yesterday, travelled all night, and are now many miles from Falmouth on our watery way.

"And now then I must say good-bye in earnest, for the wind is decidedly fair, and promises to continue so."

"*At sea, December 1st,* 1817.

"The die is now cast, and we are at last fairly off. We have just weathered the Bay of Biscay, and hope, in the course of next week, to reach Madeira. We are at present harassed by contrary winds, but the weather is fine, and we are already sensible of a warmer climate. Lady Raffles has suffered very much, and has not yet left her couch.

"The concerns of our little community are of too monotonous a nature to deserve detail, and as yet the heavens and the ocean have been our only prospect from without. You will be glad, however, to hear that all the individuals of the ark are well and thriving. The cows, dogs, cats, birds, the latter singing around me, and my nursery of plants thriving beyond all expectation; the thermometer is at 76°. What a waste of waters now lies between us, and yet the distance daily widens, and will widen still until half the world divides us."

It is by many considered impossible to occupy the mind and time steadily and usefully, under all the discomforts and disadvantages of a sea voyage; but Sir Stamford never relaxed his occupations—he regularly devoted his mornings to study—and only allowed a small portion of the day to be occupied in the idle exercise of walking on the deck. He spent most of his time in the retirement of his cabin—read and wrote on serious subjects till the evening, when he read aloud some books of poetry or light work; and thus, though never well at sea, he had the satisfaction of feeling that the time, if not agreeably, was not unprofitably spent.

The passage was long and tedious—five months without any object to vary the scene, relieve the eye, or divert the mind from the contemplation of what has been compared to *one great monotonous idea.* "The Lady Raffles" reached Bencoolen, without touching at any port, on the 22d of March, 1818.

Sir Stamford found the settlement in a state of great confusion; the Government-houses were deserted; there was no accommodation for any of the party, and

Prince Leopold, was returned by him with the most devoted attachment. Those who remember the universal feeling of grief, when the whole nation was humbled under this calamity, with which it pleased God for an all-wise purpose to afflict them, will not wonder that Sir Stamford mourned her early and unexpected death with far more than a subject's sorrow.

he was obliged to put his family into a habitation which was so impaired by the shocks of earthquakes, that the inhabitants would not trust themselves in it. His letters to his friends describe his feelings on his first arrival.

To William Marsden, Esq.

" *Bencoolen, April* 7, 1818.

" My Dear Sir,

" I have only time to advise you of our safe arrival here.

" We had a very tedious passage of more than four months, exclusive of our detention at Falmouth. Lady Raffles presented me with a beautiful little girl, when to the southward of the Cape; fortunately we had moderate and fine weather, and both mother and child did wonderfully well; neither of them suffered from the privations attending a protracted voyage. At the suggestion of the Radin *, my daughter has received the name of Tunjong Segâra, (the Lily of the Sea,) in addition to those of Charlotte Sophia.

" This is, without exception, the most wretched place I ever beheld. I cannot convey to you an adequate idea of the state of ruin and dilapidation which surrounds me. What with natural impediments, bad government, and the awful visitations of Providence which we have recently experienced, in repeated earthquakes, we have scarcely a dwelling in which to lay our heads, or wherewithal to satisfy the cravings of nature. The roads are impassable; the highways in the town overrun with rank grass; the Government-house a den of ravenous dogs and polecats. The natives say that Bencoolen is now a *tâna mati* (dead land.) In truth, I could never have conceived any thing half so bad. We will try and make it better; and if I am well supported from home, the west coast may yet be turned to account. You must, however, be prepared for the abolition of slavery; the emancipation of the country people from the forced cultivation of pepper; the discontinuance of the gaming and cock-fighting farms; and a thousand other practices equally disgraceful and repugnant to the British character and government. A complete and thorough reform is indispensable, and reductions must be made throughout.

" As soon as I have effected some essential changes here, I mean to go to Croee by land, afterwards to Padang; from the latter place I shall go by sea to Tappanooly, and thence most probably to Acheen, where there will be much to do. I must not omit to tell you that it is my intention to visit Menangkabu from Pedang. Mr. Holloway seems half afraid, but, *nolens volens*, as he is Resident, he must accompany me.

" I am already at issue with the Dutch Government about their boundaries in the Lampoon country. They insist on packing us up close to Billimbing, on the

* Râden-Râna-Dipùra, a Javanese Chief, who had accompanied Sir Stamford to England.

west coast. I demand an anchorage in Simangka Bay, and lay claim to Simangka itself. If we obtain this, we shall have a convenient place for our China ships to water; and should we go no further within the Archipelago, be able to set up our shop next door to the Dutch. It would not, I think, be many years before my station in the Straits of Sunda would rival Batavia as a commercial *entrepôt*. If I have time, you shall have copies of my dispatches, and I hope to have your support with Mr. Canning on this point. You will at once see the immense importance of what I am standing out for, both for this coast and our interest generally.

"Another point which occupies my attention is, the command of the northern ports, from Acheen down to Tappanooly. I wish to form a small factory of *tumpat tuan* at *Pulo Dera*, and to fix Mr. Holloway there. My object in the reference, however, is to procure direct orders, and in this I shall hope for your assistance.

"We are beginning to make ourselves comfortable—happy we always are. Our kindest regards to Mrs. Marsden."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*Fort Marlborough, April 8th*, 1818.

"What an age has passed! what a distance are we apart! fifteen thousand miles on the opposite sides of the world * * *

"In my last I gave you a dry detail of our voyage. My arrival was not hailed by the most auspicious of omens, for the day previous to it, a violent earthquake had nearly destroyed every building in the place, and the first communication which I received from the shore was, that both Government-houses were rendered useless and uninhabitable. These earthquakes are said to occur every five or six years, and they have now lasted from the 18th of the last month up to the present period, the shocks occurring within short intervals twice or thrice a day. The most violent shock happened on the 18th, before our arrival; it occurred during the night, and by the accounts given, it must have been truly awful. Every building has suffered more or less; some are quite ruins, others hardly deserving repair: the house which I now occupy is rent from top to bottom, there is not a room without a crack of some feet long and several inches wide; the cornices broken and every thing unhinged; from some houses many cart-loads of rubbish have been cleared away, and still they are inhabited, notwithstanding they rock to and fro with every breeze.

"This you will say is but a bad beginning for my Eastern Empire, but as we are not inclined to make difficulties, or murmur against Providence, we shall, I have no doubt, contrive to make ourselves very happy. The earthquake might have been worse, for in the accounts of a shock felt on this coast in 1797, it is stated that the vibratory shocks continued for three minutes, and recurred at intervals during the space of three hours, till the shock completely ceased. At Padang the houses of the

inhabitants were almost entirely destroyed, and the public works much damaged. A vessel lying at anchor was thrown by the sudden rise of the tide upwards of three miles on shore. The number of lives lost there amounted to above three hundred; of these some were crushed under the ruins of falling houses, some were literally entombed alive by the earth closing upon them, and others were drowned by the sudden irruption of the waters of the ocean; but after all, this is nothing to our Java volcanoes; there is nothing here half so grand and magnificent, and from what I have seen of Sumatra, I would not give one Java for a thousand such Islands.

"I have been here so short a time, and have had so little opportunity of looking about, that I have not much to say of the further East.

"I am now preparing for a tour overland to the Southern Residencies, as far as the straits of Sunda, and on my return shall go northward as far as Acheen, and inland to Pageruyung or Menangkabu, the capital of the Malays." * *

To William Marsden, Esq.

"*Bencoolen, April* 28, 1818.

"My Dear Sir,

"There have been no less than nineteen Americans at the northern ports this season, and they have taken away upwards of sixty thousand pekuls of pepper at nine dollars; there are five or six at the different ports even now. It is quite ridiculous for us to be confined to this spot in order to secure the monopoly of five hundred tons, while ten times that amount may be procured next door, without any establishment at all.

* * * * * *

"Our best regards to Mrs. Marsden.

"Your's very faithfully,

"T. S. R."

Although Bencoolen was one of the first establishments formed by the Company in the East, it had benefited less than any other part of the country under their controul. This may be accounted for from the different circumstances and condition of the place, compared with the Company's possessions on the continent of India. There they found a cultivated country, and a redundant population. At Bencoolen an establishment was formed, (solely for the purpose of procuring pepper) in a country deficient in population, and in a new and almost unappropriated soil which could only be rendered productive by the introduction of capital and foreign industry. The expenses of the establishment were £100,000 per annum, the returns for this were only a few tons of pepper.

The Company, on first forming settlements on the coast of Sumatra, bound down the native Chiefs to compel their subjects, each, to cultivate a certain number

of pepper vines, the produce to be delivered exclusively to the Company's agents, at a price far below the value of the labour employed in the cultivation.

For a certain time, while the influence of the Chiefs continued, the stipulated quantity of pepper was cultivated and delivered to the Company, the Chiefs having an allowance granted to them on the quantity of pepper delivered; but it could not be long before the oppression was felt; the cultivators held back their labours, and the Chiefs, destitute of a sufficient influence to enforce it, left to the agents of the Company the task of driving the people to their work. While an efficient establishment was kept up, the stipulated number of vines was still cultivated, and the usual consignments made to Europe.

In the year 1801, the Court of Directors sent orders to reduce the establishment to a Resident, four Assistants, and four Writers; and to withdraw from what were termed the out-residencies (these extended from Padang to Croe, at the southern extremity of the Island, and a civil servant was at the head of each establishment.)

On carrying these orders into execution, instead of leaving the people to the free employment of their labour, the command of their service was secured for a time, on a system of contracts; by which, in return for a certain quantity of pepper to be delivered to the Company at a given rate, the out-residencies were literally given over in farm to those gentlemen who made the most advantageous offers. That system had terminated, but its effects were still experienced. That the Resident might have an interest in forcing the people to cultivate pepper, he was allowed one dollar per cwt. on the quantity he delivered to Government.

Besides this there was in the neighbourhood of Bencoolen what were termed free gardens. An advance of 79,000 dollars, (£19,750 at par) had been made to induce the natives to cultivate pepper; in the course of sixteen years, 24,000 dollars, (£5,999 at par) were repaid, leaving 44,000 dollars, (£11,000 at par) still unpaid. Many of those to whom the money was advanced had either emigrated or died. But by the Malay law the children in the first instance, and after their death, the village to which they belonged, are liable for the debt. Thus not only the original contractors were rendered slave-debtors, as they were termed, but their offspring, and eventually the people in general, were reduced to the same hapless state.

There were also at this time (1818) in Bencoolen upwards of two hundred African slaves, most of them born in the settlement, who were the children of slaves, originally purchased by the East India Company; they were considered indispensable for the duties of the place, and it was asserted that they were happier than free men. They were employed in loading and unloading the Company's ships, and other hard work. No care having been taken of their morals, many of them were dissolute and depraved, and the children in a state of nature, vice, and wretchedness.

As the chief revenue of the government was derived from the gaming and cock-fighting farms, there was but little check to the natural vices of the people.

Of the desolating effects of such a state of things, it is scarcely possible to convey an idea. Public gaming and cock-fighting were not only practised under the eye of the chief authority, but publicly patronized by government; and as might be expected there was no security for person or property to be found. Murders were daily committed, and robberies perpetrated, which were never traced, and profligacy and immorality obtruded themselves in every direction.

In remarking upon the sad state of the settlement, in a letter to the Court of Directors, Sir Stamford added: "It has been but too common, and I regret to say the authorities which sanction the opinion are most respectable, that the Malayan character is too despicable to be entrusted with personal freedom, and that the degree of restraint, exercised over them, on this coast, is not only wholesome, but necessary. That indolence and vice prevail among the Malays on this coast, and to a considerable extent I am not prepared to deny, but I apprehend they are rather to be attributed to the effects of the system hitherto prescribed than to any original defect of character.

"My own experience of twelve years, in different parts of the Archipelago, enables me to assert that there is no radical defect in the character of the common people, however bad their Mahomedan government may be. They are alive to the same incentives, have the same feelings, and, if once allowed, would as rapidly advance in civilization as their fellow men; once relieved from the oppression and disabilities under which they labour, and placed under an honourable protection, there would be no want of energy or enterprise; the temptations to vice by which they are surrounded, once removed, they would be amiable and trustworthy. Of some of the oppressions and disabilities under which they labour I have already spoken; of the temptations to vice by which they are surrounded, I need only observe, that the principal local revenues of government both at Bencoolen, and at the different Residencies, are in the gaming and cock-fighting farms. Of the first, I shall not at present speak, as it is connected with the revenues of Bengal, but of the latter, which are entirely local, it is incumbent on me as chief magistrate to point out, that the continuance of the farms is destructive of every principle of good government, of social order, and the morals of the people.

"The forced services and forced deliveries at inadequate rates must be abolished. The labourer must be allowed to cultivate pepper or not at pleasure, and such radical changes made throughout, as will enable the people to distinguish the political influence of the British Government from the commercial speculations of the Company and their agents. I am aware that the task is difficult, if not invidious; but under the confidence placed in me, and having at heart the honour and

character of the nation, and of the East India Company, I shall not hesitate to undertake it.

" My first public act must be the emancipation of the unfortunate Caffre slaves: when I have done this, and abolished the gaming and cock-fighting farms, I may with some conscience call upon the Chiefs to assist me in the general work of reform, amelioration and improvement.

" But there is another class of people that call for immediate consideration; since 1797, a number of persons have been transported to this place from Bengal, for various crimes of which they had been found guilty.

" The object of the punishment as far as it affects the parties must be the reclaiming them from their bad habits, but I much question whether the practice hitherto pursued has been productive of that effect. This I apprehend to be in a great measure, in consequence of sufficient discrimination and encouragement not having been shewn in favour of those most inclined to amendment, and perhaps to the want of a discretionary power in the chief authority to remit a portion of the punishment and disgrace which is at present the common lot of all. It frequently happens that men of notoriously bad conduct are liberated at the expiration of a limited period of transportation, whilst others whose general conduct is perhaps unexceptionable are doomed to servitude till the end of their lives.

" As coercive measures are not likely to be attended with success, I conceive that more advantage would arise from affording inducements to good conduct by holding out the prospect of again becoming useful members of society, and of forcing themselves from the disabilities under which they labour. There are at present above five hundred of these unfortunate people. However just the original sentence may have been, the crimes and characters of the different individuals of so numerous a body, must necessarily be very unequal, and it is desirable that some discrimination should be exerted in favour of those who show the disposition to redeem their character. I would suggest the propriety of the chief authority being vested with a discretionary power of freeing such men as conduct themselves well, from the obligations of service, and permitting them to settle in the place, and resume the privileges of citizenship. The prospect of recovering their characters, of freeing themselves from their present disabilities, and the privileges of employing their industry for their own advantage, would become an object of ambition, and supply a stimulus to exertion and good conduct which is at present wanting.

" It rarely happens that any of those transported have any desire to leave the country; they form connections in the place, and find so many inducements to remain, that to be sent away is considered by most a severe punishment.

" While a convict remains unmarried and kept to daily labour, very little confidence can be placed in him; and his services are rendered with so much tardiness and dissatisfaction that they are of little or no value; but he no sooner marries and

forms a small settlement than he becomes a kind of colonist, and if allowed to follow his inclinations, he seldom feels inclined to return to his native country.

" I propose to divide them into three classes.

" The first class to be allowed to give evidence in court, and permitted to settle on lands secured to them and their children; but no one to be admitted to this class until he has been resident at Bencoolen three years.

" The second class to be employed in ordinary labour.

" The third class, or men of abandoned and profligate character, to be kept to the harder kinds of labour, and confined at night.

" In cases of particular good conduct, a prospect may be held out of emancipating deserving convicts from further obligation of services, on condition of their supporting themselves and not quitting the settlement.

" Upon the abstract question of the advantage of this arrangement, I believe there will be little difference of opinion. The advantage of holding out an adequate motive of exertion is sufficiently obvious, and here it would have the double tendency of diminishing the bad characters, and of increasing that of useful and industrious settlers, thereby facilitating the general police of the country, and diminishing the expenses of the Company."

These intentions were acted upon afterwards, and the good effects of the regulations were soon apparent; a large body of people, who had been living in the lowest state of degradation, soon became useful labourers, and happy members of society. So grateful were they for the change, that when they were sent round to Penang, on the transfer of Bencoolen to the Dutch in 1825, they entreated to be placed on the same footing as they had been at Marlborough, and not reduced to the state of the convicts at Prince of Wales' Island, who were kept as a government gang, to be employed wherever their services might be thought most desirable.

It is a matter of individual regret to the Editor, and perhaps of reproach to others, that the plans of Sir Stamford Raffles, equally wise and benevolent, were discontinued as soon as these people were transferred to that settlement; and the system of retaining them in bodies, ready to be employed in all government work, a temptation always to those who are governors, was resumed.

Sir Stamford gave the following account of the state in which he found the establishment on his arrival at Bencoolen, in a letter to William Marsden, Esq.

" *Fort Marlborough, April* 27, 1818.

" In consequence of the reduction of the number of civil servants which took place in 1818, and the non-appointment of writers by the Court for several years, the local authorities at Bencoolen would appear to have availed themselves of the services of different gentlemen resident on the spot, and to have appointed many of them to offices of trust; subsequently as the number of civil servants became still

less from the death or departure of the Company's civilians, nearly all the offices of trust fell into the hands of these gentlemen. Some years since, however, the Court of Directors having, on the repeated applications of the late Resident for additional assistance, resolved to appoint eight regularly covenanted writers to this establishment, those young gentlemen who came out from England naturally looked forward to holding offices of trust, and to advancement in the service, on the same principle as at the Presidencies of India.

" At the date of my arrival only two of them could be considered as holding offices of any trust, and the salary of one of them only amounted to 150 dollars a month. Some had either quitted the place in disgust, or returned to England, and the remainder were posted as assistants under the other description of servants, with an allowance of 150 dollars per month, a salary which in this place is most certainly not equal to the subsistence of a gentleman.

" If a cure for the evils that have been depicted is to be found, it is not to be sought in the simple provisional reduction of establishment. An inadequate salary given to the Overseer by Government, creates the greater motive to draw his advantage from the people subjected to him. A subsistence, and even a liberal one, he expects, and will obtain, if not by open, certainly by clandestine means. The evil is in the system of management, and a thorough change is indispensable."

Sir Stamford assembled the whole of the Company's slaves before an assembly of the native Chiefs, and explained the views of the British Government with regard to the abolition generally; a certificate of freedom was given to each, a measure which made a considerable impression, and promised to be followed by the most favourable results *.

The next step was to ascertain the sentiments of the native Chiefs, and, if practicable, to enter into such agreements with them, as might leave it in the power of Government to effect any change that might be deemed most advisable in the mode of management.

Finding them reasonable on the subject, he entered into a provisional treaty with them, whereby,

1st. All former treaties were annulled.

2dly. Authority was given to the Company to administer the country according to equity, justice, and good policy; and,

* The children of these poor people were at the same time assembled at the Government-House; and as a considerable degree of prejudice existed against them, the Editor at the moment selected one of them, a little bright-eyed girl about eight years old, whom she put under the charge of her European nurse. She proved a most docile, affectionate little attendant; and the Editor, on leaving Sumatra, had the pleasure of giving her a dower on her marriage.

3dly. The cultivation of pepper was declared free, the people being at liberty to cultivate that article or not at pleasure.

The Chiefs represented the disgrace attached to the native character by the regulations which prohibited the inhabitants from wearing their crees and other weapons in the town of Marlborough, according to the custom of the country, and the usages of nearly a century, in consequence of the unfortunate murder of Mr. Parr.

The rescinding of this regulation, the dismissal of the body-guard in attendance on the chief authority, and the general reduction of the military sentinels, by shewing the confidence placed in the inhabitants, seemed to raise them in their own estimation, and, in some degree, to relieve them from the state of listlessness into which they had sunk. And when the gaming and cock-fighting farms were discontinued, and an idea gone abroad that every one might reap the fruits of his own industry, there was reason to hope the Malayan character might appear in a different light to that in which it had for many years been viewed.

The murder of Mr. Parr, a former Resident, had created a strong feeling of distrust among the European inhabitants, and was one cause of the general appearance of desolation that prevailed. The house he inhabited was immediately after the unfortunate event deserted, and allowed to fall into ruin, though its beauty and situation were both conspicuous. The fruit and ornamental trees were all cut down, and no one would venture beyond the precincts of the settlement.

The circumstances which led to this singular event were gradual. In 1801, the original establishment of Fort Marlborough was reduced, and it became a dependency on Bengal. The private-trade of Bencoolen, anterior to this period, was carried on by the Governor and Council, and the servants of the Company, to an extent which made the port respectable, and contributed to the improvement of the settlement. This trade consisted in the importation of articles from Western India, a small portion of which were sold on the spot; but the principal part were for export to the Java market. The restrictive policy of the Dutch Government, and the corruption of their servants, had given rise to an extensive contraband trade, of which a large portion, particularly in opium and piece-goods, was carried on through the medium of Bencoolen. But from the period of the arrival of Mr. Parr, when a more strictly economical and purer system of administration was enforced, and the support of the Company's capital, and the influence of the chief authority was withdrawn, this commerce sunk into an insignificance from which it never emerged. Connected with the forced cultivation of pepper, Mr. Parr endeavoured to force the cultivation of coffee, which was considered as one of the causes that led to his unfortunate death. The true causes of this melancholy event perhaps lay deeper than in the enforcement of a single order. On the arrival of Mr. Parr, great reductions took place in all the public establishments, by which numbers of people were suddenly thrown out of employ, and many reduced to starvation. Trained in the strict

practical forms of Bengal, and accustomed to unlimited obedience from a submissive and subjugated people, Mr. Parr unintentionally gave great disgust by carrying the same arbitrary ideas and principles among a people who require an opposite mode of treatment. He made great alterations in the native courts, without the concurrence or advice of the Chiefs, and occasionally assumed an arbitrary and independent authority in it, which made them fear for their ancient institutions and customs.

It is unnecessary to go into much detail on the causes which led to the unfortunate assassination; it was not occasioned by a single act, but by a long series of offensive measures, which at length roused the people to rebellion. In carrying into effect his plans of economy, he certainly proceeded with too much haste, and without due consideration; insults offered on various occasions to some of the principal Chiefs, produced a deep sensation in men of violent and vindictive tempers, and the attempt to coerce the cultivation of coffee appears to have brought the discontent to a crisis. The circumstances under which the murder was perpetrated are strongly illustrative of the peculiar character of the people. They appear to have fully discussed among themselves the measures of Government, and finding reasons to be dissatisfied, to have deliberately resolved on vengeance; and to satisfy that vengeance, the head of Mr. Parr was required. Meetings were held, oaths administered, and every inhabitant of the town was apprized of the danger. The country was in a state of revolt; but Mr. Parr was blind to the danger with which he was threatened. The Government-house was surrounded, the guard overpowered, Mr. Parr murdered, and his head carried off. It may give some idea of the state of lawless independence to which the people must have been accustomed, when they could thus plan revenge on the Governor of a British settlement without intending further mischief, and expect that such an act could be considered by the English in the same light that they themselves viewed it. In further illustration how inapplicable the ordinary rules of civilized society must be to such a people, it may be added, that when rewards were subsequently offered for the apprehension, dead or alive, of the assassins, it was considered by them merely as an offer to pay the *bangoon*, or compensation for murder, and considering this payment fully to authorise the act, expressed no surprise, except that the Company should so readily pay the bangoon for the heads of the conspirators, and not exact the same in return for Mr. Parr's head.

The measures that followed were of a doubtful cast. As soon as it was discovered that the designs of the people were confined to the assassination, and not directed against the settlement generally, search was made for the perpetrators of the act. It was thought unsafe to touch the Chiefs. Several of the people were blown from the mouths of guns. As the danger diminished, the spirit of indignation and revenge seems to have increased. An order was given to burn and destroy every village within a certain distance, and the work of devastation was carried on as if it were intended to place the future security of the settlement in surrounding it

with a desert. The fruit-trees, venerable by their age, that surround a Malay village, are the protecting deities of the place, and are regarded with reverence and respect; their destruction is looked upon as little less than sacrilege; yet the axe was laid to their roots, and whatever could afford shelter or protection was levelled with the ground, and the whole population of the suspected villages turned loose upon the country *.

Some of the villages were partially rebuilt; but never rose to their former flourishing condition. The people of Dusun Besar, estimated the damage they then sustained at more than 3000 dollars in houses burnt and fruit-trees cut down, and that they lost about three-fourths of their buffaloes, which were either shot, stolen, or dispersed on the occasion. At that time they had 1000 head, in 1820 they had only 300. No wonder the people were poor—the country a wilderness.

It is necessary to remind the reader, that during Sir Stamford's administration in Java, the English power was paramount in the Eastern Seas. Holland had ceased to be a nation. But with the relinquishment of Java the English relinquished every possession in those seas, except Penang and Bencoolen.

Previous to Sir Stamford's leaving England, very strong apprehensions were entertained by those interested in the trade of the Eastern Archipelago, that the Dutch would succeed in re-establishing the supremacy which they possessed in that quarter of the globe; and as their jealousy of the English was well known, they would naturally take every means of debarring their rivals from participating in a trade from which they had derived such considerable benefit. It was conceived that Sir Stamford might be enabled, from time to time, to afford information on the subject to the authorities at home, and the following particular instructions on the subject were given him from the Court of Directors:—

"It is highly desirable that the Court of Directors should receive early and

* The following details of this sad and singular catastrophe were related by an old inhabitant of Bencoolen. The Chiefs having issued their decree, took every means in their power to prevent the destruction of the Europeans. Warnings were sent to them, and a general impression prevailed that some crisis was approaching. At last the day arrived, and notice was given to keep at home. Mr. Parr unfortunately refused to listen to any suggestions of danger, and could not even be prevailed upon to have his usual sentries doubled; the only means of defence within his reach was a hog-spear, taken to his room by Mrs. Parr. A little before midnight a loud shriek was heard, and "The Malays are come!" was echoed through the house. They had, indeed, assembled and concealed themselves around the house, and it is said watched until Mr. Parr retired to rest. The guard was soon cut down, and three men entered Mr. Parr's room, and dragged him from his bed, for he was at the time much reduced from illness. Mrs. Parr struggled to defend and shield her husband by throwing herself upon him. The men entreated her to keep away lest they should unintentionally injure her; and finding that they had wounded her in the hands, they took her and threw her under the bed. They then executed their dreadful orders, cut off the head of Mr. Parr, and retreated without doing further injury.

Mrs. Parr afterwards perished off the Cape, with her children, on her voyage to England.

constant information of the proceedings of the Dutch and other European nations, as well as of the Americans in the Eastern Archipelago. The Court, therefore, desire that you will direct your attention to the object of regularly obtaining such information, and that you will transmit the same to them by every convenient opportunity, accompanied by such observations as may occur to you, whether of a political or commercial nature. You will furnish the Supreme Government with copies of these communications. In the event of any such communications appearing to you to be of a nature to require secrecy, you will address your letter to the Secret Committee."

On arriving at Bencoolen Sir Stamford found that the Dutch had sent over a Commissioner, with the view of re-establishing their authority in the Lampung country, on the southern part of Sumatra.

The object of the Dutch by the re-occupation of this territory being to exclude English vessels from a right to anchorage and refreshments in any part of the Straits of Sumatra, except at their pleasure, Sir Stamford felt it his duty to resist what he considered an undue pretension on their part, pending a reference to the authorities in Europe, adopting such preparatory measures, in the mean time, by surveying the coasts and harbours as might facilitate any arrangement eventually decided upon.

That the occasion really required interference there could be no doubt. Lord Hastings stated as his opinion, "that the proceedings of the Netherlands authorities, since the arrival of the Commissioners-General to receive charge of the Dutch colonies, had been actuated by a spirit of ambition, by views of boundless aggrandizement and rapacity, and by a desire to obtain the power of monopolizing the commerce of the Eastern Archipelago, and of excluding the English from those advantages which they had long enjoyed, and which they only wished to share in common with other nations of the earth; and that this spirit of aggrandizement, and their manifest endeavours to establish an absolute supremacy to our exclusion, made it necessary for us to adopt precautions with the view to arrest the injury and degradation which could not fail to ensue, from a listless submission to the unbounded pretensions displayed on the part of the Netherlands authorities."

The Dutch, at one period, assumed the absolute sovereignty of the whole of the Archipelago, which they enforced by a rigid system of exclusion of all other European powers, until the commencement of the last century. From that period, and more particularly during the sixty years previous to 1818, as their power declined, and this system became weakened by its injustice, corruptions, and enormities, the influence of the English found its way into the Archipelago, and in 1795 the Dutch authority only extended to the states of Java, Madura, Malacca, Padang, Banjier, on Borneo; Macasar, on Celebes; Bema, on Sumbawa, and the Moluccas. All the rest of their establishments had been abandoned or cut off by the natives, and the rest of the Archipelago had resumed its independence.

From 1795 until the peace of Amiens, Malacca, Padang, and the Moluccas, remained in the hands of the English; of these the Moluccas alone were resumed by the Dutch before the breaking out of the war again.

The system pursued by the Dutch in these establishments was to consider them as so many central points whence their influence might extend on all sides, so as to connect with each other through the Archipelago. Thus Malacca extended its influence north towards Prince of Wales' Island and Acheen, and south to Lingin and Rhio, including the opposite coast of Sumatra from north to south. Long, however, before the reduction of Malacca by the English, this influence had ceased, and nearly all the native Chiefs in its neighbourhood had resumed their independence, and by constant intercourse and alliance with the British establishment at Prince of Wales' Island, had again risen into some importance. The most southern, however, of the Dutch out-stations connected with Malacca, which was at Rhio, was cut off by the natives about this time; and on the English taking possession of Malacca they did not form any establishment at Rhio, but publicly declared, and invariably considered the native Chief, although on terms of friendly alliance, altogether independent of European authority, and so he has ever since been held.

On Borneo, the native states of Borneo Proper, Sambas, Pontiana, Cooti, Passir, &c., had long previously been altogether independent of European authority; and these ports, with Rhio, were the principal marts, some of them for the last fifty years, and some longer, for the opium and piece-goods brought by country ships from the continent of India, and the iron, woollens, printed cottons, &c., sent to Prince of Wales' Island and Bencoolen.

Sir Stamford's views on these points are developed in the following letters:

To ————————.

"*April* 14, 1818.

"Prepared as I was for the jealousy and assumption of the Dutch Commissioners in the East, I have found myself surprised by the unreserved avowal they have made of their principles, their steady determination to lower the British character in the eyes of the natives, and the measures they have already adopted towards the annihilation of our commerce, and of our intercourse with the native-traders throughout the Malayan Archipelago. Not satisfied with shutting the Eastern ports against our shipping, and prohibiting the natives from commercial intercourse with the English, they have dispatched commissioners to every spot in the Archipelago where it is probable we might attempt to form settlements, or where the independence of the native Chiefs afford any thing like a free port to our shipping. Thus not only the Lampong country has been resumed, but also Pontiana and the minor ports of Borneo, and even Bali, where European flag was never before hoisted, are

now considered by them subject to their authority, and measures taken for their subjugation. A commissioner also long since sailed from Batavia for Palembang, to organize, as it is said, all that part of Sumatra; and every native prow and vessel is now required to hoist a Dutch flag, and to take out a Dutch pass from Batavia for one of the ports thus placed under their influence; so that whatever trade may still be carried on by the English with the native ports of the Archipelago, must already be in violation of the Dutch regulations, and at the risk of seizure by their cruizers, who have not hesitated repeatedly to fire into English ships.

" The Commanders of the country ships look to me to protect their interests, and even to support the dignity of the British flag; and it is to be hoped some immediate notice will be taken by our Government of these proceedings.

" The native Chiefs of the independent ports have looked in vain for the protection of the English; they feel themselves deserted by us, know not how to act, and from necessity are gradually falling under the influence of our rivals.

" The Dutch possess the only passes through which ships must sail into this Archipelago, the Straits of Sunda and of Malacca; and the British have not now an inch of ground to stand upon between the Cape of Good Hope and China; nor a single friendly port at which they can water or obtain refreshment.

" The question is not now, whether we are to give back to the Dutch the possessions they actually possessed in 1803, according to the late convention; but whether the British Government and British merchants will be contented to be excluded from the trade altogether, in the same manner as they were before the last century: nothing less will satisfy the Dutch authorities who are now at Batavia; they make no secret of it, and openly avow the exclusion of the English, except from Batavia, as the first principles of their policy.

" It is absolutely necessary, therefore, that the conditions of the convention should be clearly understood, and that the authorities at Batavia should be instructed by their government in Europe how far they are authorized to act. It is clear that it could never have been the intention of the British Government to give back to the Dutch more than they had taken from them, nor more than they had kept, as it were, in trust for them, and consequently that the right now assumed by the Dutch to extend their influence over the ports in which we did not maintain any European establishments, and this before they resume their acknowledged possessions, is supererogatory and unjustifiable, and may be disputed by us; that as the new establishments they are thus forming in the Archipelago can have no other view than the extension of a political influence for the purpose of commercial restriction, we have a right to prevent any which interfere with the free and undisputed trade we enjoyed before the breaking out of the war, and that at all events we are bound to declare publicly to the native Chiefs of these independent ports, that it is not with our concurrence, or the sanction of our authority, that the

Dutch are now so acting towards them; that our desire is to prevent all restrictions on trade, and that while we do not interfere with the internal management of the Dutch possessions, or with the ports where they have establishments, more than they are inclined to allow us, we are ready to maintain the free navigation of the Archipelago, and our right to an unrestricted intercourse, trade, and alliance with the native independent ports.

" It is on this point that every thing hinges: if we have no right to interfere, the sooner we abandon our Eastern possessions the better; if we have such a right, it must be immediately declared and acted upon, or the evil will have advanced too far to be removed.

" The Chiefs of the Island of Bali have always maintained their independence of European authority, and consequently have never, at any period of their history, been subjected to the Dutch. It was through their ports that for several years our opium and piece-goods found their way into Java, in spite of the Dutch restrictive regulations. If the Dutch succeed in reducing them, this important neutral port will be lost to us.

" It is indispensable that some regular and accredited authority on the part of the British Government should exist in the Archipelago, to declare and maintain the British rights, whatever they are, to receive appeals, and to exercise such wholesome control as may be conducive to the preservation of the British honour and character.

" At present the authority of the Government of Prince of Wales' Island extends no further south than Malacca, and the Dutch would willingly confine that of Bencoolen to the almost inaccessible and rocky shores of the west coast of Sumatra.

" To effect the objects contemplated, some convenient station within the Archipelago is necessary; both Bencoolen and Prince of Wales' Island are too far removed, and unless I succeed in obtaining a position in the straits of Sunda, we have no alternative but to fix it in the most advantageous situation we can find within the Archipelago; this would be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bintang. An establishment of this kind once formed would soon maintain a successful rivalry with the Dutch, who would be obliged either to adopt a liberal system of free trade, or compelled to see the trade collected under the British flag: in either case our object would be answered. Our establishment within the Archipelago would be expressly for the objects stated, and have no reference to the undisputed possessions of the Dutch, in which we desire no interference. All that they can in justice, nay in liberality, demand, under the recent convention, let them have; and yet there will be a great and important commerce left to us, independently of the advantages it will afford to the security of our China trade.

" It will be my duty to ascertain how far our proposed position in the Straits of

Sunda will answer the purpose, and if this should be found inadequate, to select some other more advantageous situation.

" At the present period, when the most rigid economy is demanded in every department of the British service, I should perhaps hesitate to propose this measure of extending our positions, were I not satisfied that it was absolutely necessary. Our object is not territory nor territorial influence; it may be confined to a simple commercial station, at which a controlling authority and two or three assistants would perform all the duties, with a military guard just sufficient to protect the flag, and the property of individuals from predatory attack.

" The line of stations which I contemplate, should the view I have taken be adopted, would commence from Acheen, and, with the single break of Padang, extend down the west coast of Sumatra to the Straits of Sunda, influencing the whole coast. Another station at Rhio or its vicinity would thus form the connecting link between the establishments on the west coast and Prince of Wales' Island, and check the Dutch influence from extending uninterruptedly in a chain from Batavia to Banca, and Malacca, as certainly it will soon do without such an establishment on our part.

" Hereafter a station at Sambas to command the rich mines and produce of the interior of Borneo may be advisable, and certainly profitable; and more particularly if the Dutch obtain a footing at Pontiana, as they are indeed said to have done already, it will then be indispensible; otherwise the independence of those ports may perhaps answer all the purposes of a free trade.

" In establishing these stations it will be advisable to proceed with great caution, and gradually; the footing, however, once obtained in the Straits of Sunda, I apprehend all the rest will follow without difficulty.

" In the defence of our positions, as well as for the maintenance of our respectability and influence, I am of opinion we should look more to a naval than a military force. One or two of the Company's cruizers regularly relieved, and the occasional visit of his Majesty's ships would answer every purpose, and be far more consistent with our commercial and political character, as well as afford more real security than battalions of soldiers.

" A decision should be formed by the authorities in Europe on the appeal made by the Sultan of Palembang before the British authorities left Java.

" The late Sultan*, anxious to get rid of the European authority altogether, allowed the Dutch officers to be murdered and their factory to be destroyed. The circumstances attending this catastrophe called for a British force from Batavia. The late Sultan fled and was dethroned, and the present Sultan elevated in his place. On this occasion the present Sultan ceded to me, for the East India Company, the Islands of Banca and Billiton for ever, on which no European flag had ever been

* See page 121.

hoisted, and neither of which had ever in any way previously fallen under the influence or sway of the Dutch. The Dutch connexion with Palembang was simply by a contract, that the Sultan would deliver to them a certain quantity of tin and pepper annually; but they had no political influence or authority whatever, and certainly no control over Banca.

" Our object in obtaining the Island of Banca was to place the tin mines under the influence of Great Britain for the protection of the Cornish mines; and as the English had been at considerable expense in the expedition, which could not otherwise be repaid, there was no difficulty in obtaining it; but a further equivalent was required by the Sultan, who stipulated that he should be maintained in his dignity and independence by the British Government, without the interference of any European authority in the domestic concerns of Palembang.

" The Dutch, not satisfied with the possession of Banca, as ceded to us and by us again ceded to them, insist upon re-establishing their factory also at Palembang; thus the Sultan loses the only equivalents of value to him; namely, our support and the independence of his port, for though the Dutch had by right no political influence at Palembang, they always contrived, as they will still do, if they re-establish themselves there, under the plea of protecting their monopoly of tin and pepper, to subject the port entirely to their restrictive regulations.

" The only right by which the British nation could cede Banca to the Dutch was by virtue of this cession from the Sultan of Palembang; it was one of the conditions of his elevation; but in return for so great a sacrifice, he was assured that he would be maintained in his independence, and have our protection. The Dutch, therefore, in receiving Banca, as a special cession, cannot be allowed to disturb the title by which we felt authorized to cede it. That title was obtained from the present Sultan of Palembang, but on an express condition which surely we are bound to see fulfilled.

" Palembang must consequently be considered as a free port, and we are bound, in honour and in justice, to maintain it as such, as long as the Sultan is unwilling to admit the Dutch, which he never will do but by constraint or our desertion of his cause.

" This point should be cleared up without delay, and definite instructions sent from Europe on the subject.

" As in some measure connected with this subject is the claim they have made to the Island of Billiton, which is still British to all intents and purposes; this Island, which may eventually prove of importance to our interests, was ceded to us by the Sultan of Palembang at the same time as Banca; but it is quite distinct from that Island, never was dependant upon it, and has always been kept foreign and separately from it. It is admirably situated, and its retention by the English is an object of too much importance to be lost sight of.

" I regret to say, that the colonial authorities seem to be actuated by a very different spirit from that which animates the authorities in Holland. In the present policy of Batavia, there appears to be much of the bad principle of the old colonial *regime*, far different, I am confident, from what are the wishes and feelings of the enlightened authorities who preside over the destinies of the mother-country.

" At the same time that I have thus felt it my duty to express my sentiments on the measures and character of the Dutch colonial Government in these seas, I have with difficulty refrained from the expression of that honest indignation which every Briton must feel on such an occasion.

" Before I conclude I must refer to the interests of the extensive and interesting native population which are involved in the questions I have agitated. But a few years ago they looked upon the British nation as all-powerful, magnanimous, and benevolent. It is morally impossible that they can so look upon them just now; every day, every hour, weakens the influence and character of the British name. It has gone abroad that the Dutch Commissioners have some idea of obtaining Bencoolen in exchange for Malacca, and to make the equator the boundary between the Dutch and the English possessions; but wherever the idea originated, or whatever expectations on this subject may be entertained by the Dutch, they are thought by the natives so commanding, that they may have whatever they ask for; their object in obtaining Bencoolen is of course to regain, if possible, the spice monopoly. Padang and Malacca are both stations of importance to us; but they will not compensate for our exclusion from the Archipelago, and never turn to account, unless the produce of the west coast has an outlet in the Straits of Sunda, and some more southerly port is fixed upon than Malacca itself. Under this arrangement, therefore, the establishments suggested by me would be equally valuable.

" Again, it must not be forgotten, that however desirous we may be to maintain the Dutch in the possessions of Java and its dependencies; and however determined we may be to avoid all intercouse with their native subjects which might weaken their influence, it is impossible not to foresee, that unless the Dutch adopt a very different policy to what they are now pursuing, Java must eventually either become independant of European authority, or, on some future occasion of hostilities, again fall under the dominion of the English. The seeds of independence have been too generally sown, and the principles of the British administration too deeply rooted, to be eradicated by a despotic order. In such an event, calculating upon the bare possibility of its occurrence, fifty or a hundred years hence, we shall equally feel the advantage of the measures I have now suggested. We shall not make any extensive outlay; our object is merely to keep a footing sufficient for general commercial purposes during peace, but which may, if necessary, be found equally convenient for political purposes during war."

A Base line was accurately measured with a chain on the beach at the bottom of the Bay, from which all the angles were taken. The rise of the Tide is about 7 feet on the Springs.

DIRECTIONS FOR SAILING INTO THE HARBOUR

In the N.W. Monsoon, enter by the western passage, between Pooloo Clappa *and the North Pt called* Tanjong Napal. *In the S.E. Monsoon, enter between* Pooloo Clappa *and* Pooloo Eeyoo, *if you have a steady breeze. The eastern passage, between* Pooloo Eeyoo *and the Main, is only safe for small vessels. Both the Islands are bold, having 22 fms close to them. When abreast of* Pooloo Clappa *the South Pt of* Pooloo Taboohan *should be kept well open to the southward of* Pooloo Clappa, *and with this mark, steer in till* Oogooron Pt *bears North, then anchor in 9 or 10 fms black mud: but in all parts of the Harbour a ship may safely anchor, there being no danger that is not seen above water.*

To the Hon^ble. Sir. T. S. Raffles.

LIEUT GOV^R OF FORT MARLBRO'. &c. &c. &c

THIS CHART,

OF

CALOOMBYAN HARBOUR,

Is respectfully dedicated,

By his obedient Servants,

LIEUT^S WH. HULL, AND WH. JOHNSTON, R.N.

June 1818.

Engraved by J. & C. Walker

Tanjong Napal

Oogooron Pt

Proposed situation for Store Houses

South Pt

Proposed Battery

Village

½ Pwas

Good water

Pirate's Rocks

Pooloo Clappa

Proposed Battery

POOLOO EEYOO

Proposed Battery

Bird Island

View of Caloombyan Harbour, taken from Pooloo Clappa

Caloombyan Harbour *situated nearly East from the North end of* Pooloo Taboohan, *in the entrance of* Samangea Bay, Sunda Strait, *is small but safe, with sufficient depth of water for large ships, sheltered from all winds, and well adapted for a Fleet in want of refreshments, as every supply may be obtained, and the delay in the S.E. monsoon would not be so great here as by touching at Batavia. The inner Harbour is convenient for the Native trade, as small vessels can load and unload along side of the beach, and the Village is ¾ of a mile from the landing place, situated in a valley, apparently a healthy spot. There is a piece of flat ground, well adapted for store houses, and this Harbour would be rendered secure against the strongest force by a few guns judiciously placed upon* Pooloo Clappa, Pooloo Eeyoo, *and the South point of the Harbour.*

Scale of a Mile

¼ ½ ¾ 1

Published by J. Horsburgh, Hydrographer to the E.^t India Company August 2 1819, according to Act of Parliament

"*May* 5, 1818.

"When I look around, and feel that by the last treaty with Holland, we are left with only one spot upon which we can raise the British flag, as a mart for commerce between the Mauritius and China, and that spot Prince of Wales' Island, to which port but a very small portion of the trade of the Archipelago can be brought; when in the instance of Palembang, I find the Dutch choose to re-instate the man on the throne who has been guilty of treacherously murdering, in cool blood, the Dutch factory at that station, rather than permit the Sultan whom the English raised, in consequence of the atrocity of his predecessor, to continue on the throne; when I likewise discover that they lay claim to all the territory in the Lampong country, and oppose our forming any settlement in Samangka Bay, for the purpose of affording succour or refreshment to our ships passing through the Straits of Sunda; and that they even object to the continuance of the post station between Java and Sumatra, by which alone communication can be kept up with the Eastern Islands and Europe; I feel it to be my duty to submit to the Governor-General a statement of the injury which must necessarily arise to us from tacitly submitting to such a course, not only as affecting our interests in Sumatra and its neighbourhood, but also throughout the whole of the Eastern Archipelago and China. My knowledge of the previous principles which actuated the Dutch in Java, and of the vast benefit to be derived to British enterprise in so extensive a field, leads me to hope that I shall meet with approbation for the line of conduct I pursue."

* * * * *

From this sketch of the state of affairs, it will be inferred that Sir Stamford found sufficient occupation for his active mind. He devoted his whole time, on his first arrival, to the examination of the Records of the settlement, the state of the country and people in its immediate neighbourhood, and endeavoured to collect the European inhabitants and the native Chiefs around him, that he might become personally acquainted with their habits and manners. The same system of excluding the natives from the society of Europeans had been pursued in this settlement as in most other parts of India. Sir Stamford at once broke down this barrier, and opened his house to the higher class of natives on all occasions. During the whole period of his residence in Sumatra he had some of them present during the hours of social intercourse.

The result of this change it is needless to dwell upon. The Chiefs and people considered him as their best friend and adviser, yielded to his opinion upon all occasions, and harmony and good-will prevailed throughout the settlement.

With regard to the Dutch, so active had they been in their endeavours to regain their Empire in the East, and to depress the native power, that the re-appearance of

Sir Stamford in the Archipelago was hailed with joy and hope on the one side as a deliverance, and with fear and jealousy on the other, as an invasion.

The effect of his return to a scene of action in which he had borne so conspicuous a part, might have been foreseen. It was impossible to expect tame submission from those who were oppressed, when there appeared a hope of relief, or to suppose that Sir Stamford could with indifference look on, and take no part in the struggle. A different character might have acted differently; but in sending him into such a field of action, the experience of his government in Java was sufficient evidence of what was to be expected from the Governor of Bencoolen.

CHAPTER XI.

Sir Stamford Raffles determines to penetrate into the interior of the country—First excursion to the Hill of Mists—Account of journey to Passumah—Discovery of gigantic flower—Vegetation of Malayan forests—Reason for visiting Pasumah—Ceremony of a funeral—Traces of ancient Hindu mythology—Description of the people—Small-pox—Fatigue of the journey—Descends in rafts—Return to Masna—Proceeds to Cawoor—Success of first attempt to cross the Island of Sumatra—Extract from Mr. Presgrave's Journal—Description of the sacred mountain—Disappointment in not reaching the crater—Return to Manna—Mountain's temperature—Large lake—Sufferings of the people for want of salt, prohibited by the Dutch Government—People of Pasumah Lebar—Descendants of the Javanese—Villages—Language—Religion.

Sir Stamford considered it to be his duty, as it was his inclination, to obtain some general knowledge of the Island, as well as of that particular portion of it, over which he was appointed to preside. The East India Company, indeed, had confined their rule to a narrow strip of sea-coast, but it was desirable that some intercourse should take place with the people of the country beyond, since a mutual exchange of good offices would, it was natural to suppose, prove beneficial to both parties.

A general impression prevailed, that it was impossible to penetrate the range of hills which run from north to south throughout this great Island. All those who were applied to declined making the attempt; and Sir Stamford was obliged to come to the determination, that he would go himself, and visit the interior and more fertile parts.

His first excursion was a short distance immediately inland from Bencoolen. The second down the coast by the sea-beach, for about eighty miles, to Manna, and from thence, some days' journey into the interior; and after returning to Manna, still further down the coast, to Cawoor; from this last place back to Bencoolen.

He gave an account of these excursions to his friends in letters, written at the time, from which the following are a selection.

To the Duchess of Somerset.

" *On board the Lady Raffles, off Sumatra, July 11th,* 1818.

" That your Grace may not think me unmindful of my promise, I must now send you some account of our proceedings since I troubled you with my letters by the Northumberland.

" I will not, however, trouble your Grace with any details of the immediate changes which have been effected at Bencoolen, nor with what are in contemplation; the place is too insignificant for general interest, and my subjects too uncultivated for pleasing description. A wider field is open in the Archipelago generally, and in my proceedings with the Dutch your Grace might find more amusement; but even on these I shall be silent at present, and proceed to what more immediately relates to me personally.

" At the time I wrote by the Northumberland, we had just taken up our abode in a crazy dwelling, called the Government-house, full of cracks and fissures; of the country I had seen nothing, and of the general character and condition of the people I then knew little. My first incursion into the interior was immediately east of Bencoolen; here I found the country in a wretched state, and very thinly peopled. I ascended the first range of hills, and having taken up a position on the Hill of Mists (Bukit Kabut), which commands a most extensive view of the surrounding country, and on which no European had before set foot, I determined to make it our country residence, and accordingly gave orders for clearing the forest, &c. In this I have already made considerable progress, a comfortable cottage is erected, and, as far as we can yet judge, the thermometer is at least six degrees lower than at Bencoolen. The only inconvenience will arise from the tigers and elephants, which abound in the vicinity; one of the villagers told me that his father and grandfather were carried off by tigers, and there is scarcely a family that has not lost some of its members by them. In many parts the people would seem to have resigned the empire to these animals, taking but few precautions against them, and regarding them as sacred; they believe in transmigration and call them their *nene* or grandfather. On the banks of one of the rivers of this coast upwards of a hundred people were carried off by tigers during the last year. When a tiger enters a village, the foolish people frequently prepare rice and fruits, and placing them at the entrance as an offering to the animal, conceive that, by giving him this hospitable reception, he will be pleased with their attention, and pass on without doing them harm. They do the same on the approach of the small-pox, and thus endeavour to lay the evil spirit by kind and hospitable treatment. I am doing all I can to resume the empire of man, and, having made open war against the whole race of wild and ferocious animals, I hope we shall be able to reside on the Hill of Mists without danger from their attacks.

" Our next excursion was on a tour through the southern Residencies, in which Lady Raffles accompanied me. We were absent about three weeks, and visited the districts of Salumah, Manna, and Cawoor, which your Grace will see noticed in the map. Our road lay principally along the sea-beach, and mostly on the sands. From Manna, however, we penetrated into the interior, and visited the Passumah country; and, as our journey was very interesting, I shall give you a more particular account of it:—

" We left Manna on the morning of the 19th of May, and proceeded on horseback as far as the village of Tanjung Agung, on the Manna river, where we halted during the middle of the day; the distance about twenty miles. In the afternoon we walked through the woods to a place called Merambung, about ten miles further up. The road, a mere pathway, very steep in many parts, and not passable on horseback. We remarked at Merambung that the houses were larger and much better constructed than on the coast, and that, in the middle of the village, there was an erection resembling a pigeon-house. This was termed a *Lang'gar*, or place appropriated to penance, in which the party remained during the time. As this is inconsistent with Mahomedanism, we concluded it to be a remnant of the more ancient faith of the country, a conclusion we found fully confirmed from what we subsequently observed further in the interior. The villagers were very hospitable, and my reception by the Chief was truly patriarchal.

" On the next morning (the 20th), at half-past five, we commenced our journey towards Passumah on foot. The party, consisting of myself, Lady Raffles, Dr. Arnold, and Mr. Presgrave, the Resident of Manna, with six native officers, and about fifty coolies (porters) carrying our food and baggage. Our journey lay near the banks of the river during the whole day, but frequently over high cliffs, and almost entirely through thick forest. On approaching Lebu Tappu, where a village had once stood, we first fell in with the tracts of elephants; they were very numerous, and it was evident they had only preceded us a short time. We here passed over much ground which at one period must have been in cultivation, but which had long been in a state of nature. After breakfasting at Lebu Tappu, under the shade of the largest tree we could find, we proceeded on to a place called Pulo Lebar, where it was arranged we were to sleep. This also had been the site of a village, but no trace of human dwelling or cultivation was to be found: we reached it at half-past four in the afternoon, having walked for upwards of eight hours. We immediately set to work and erected two or three sheds to sleep in, collecting the materials from the vegetation around us. The river here was broad, but very rocky: the scenery highly romantic and beautiful. During the night we were awakened by the approach of a party of elephants, who seemed anxious to inquire our business within their domains: fortunately they kept at some distance, and allowed us to

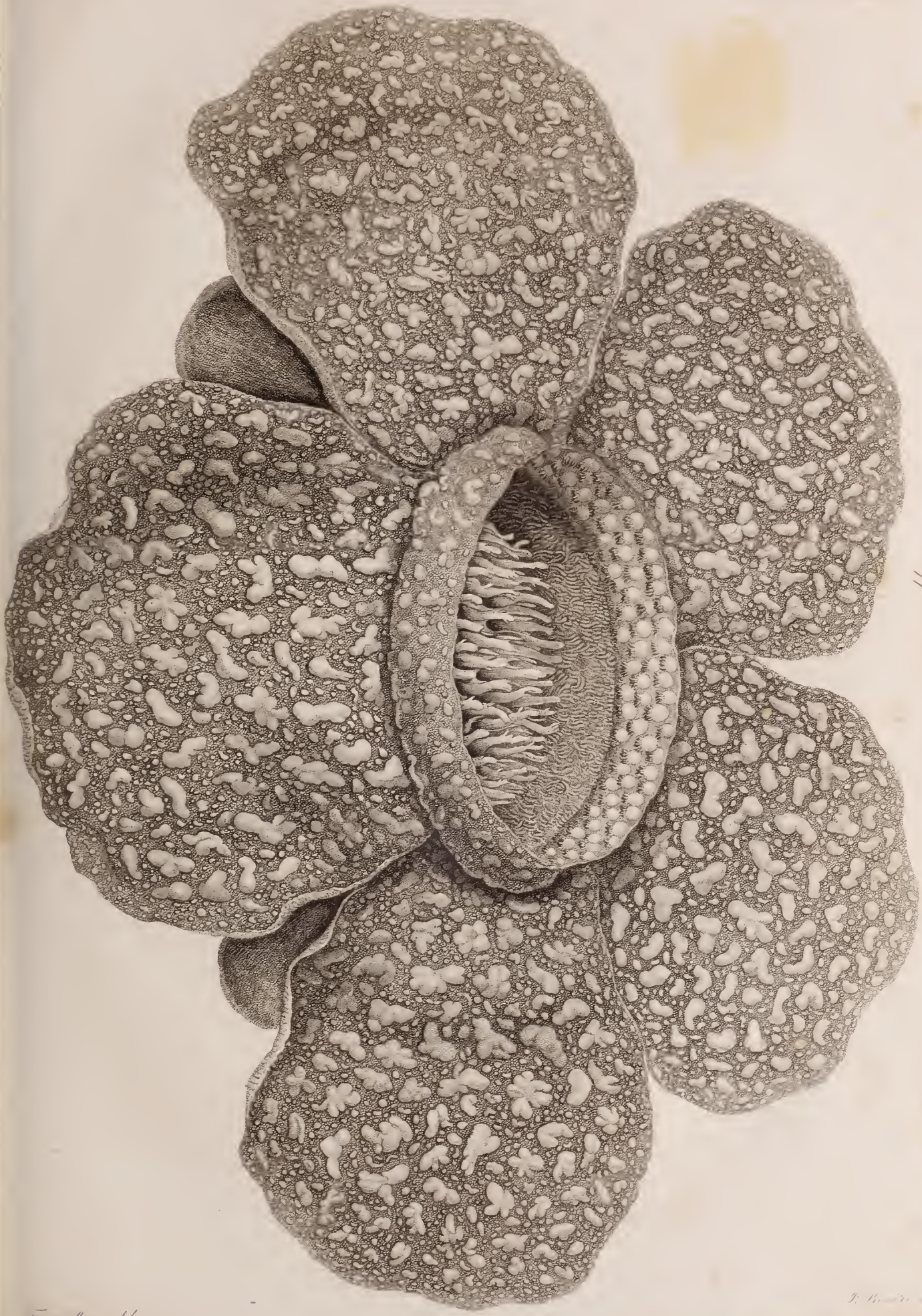
remain unmolested. The natives fancy that there are two kinds of elephants; the gaja *berkampong*, those which always go in herds, and which are seldom mischievous, and the gaja *salunggal*, or single elephants, which are much larger and ferocious, going about either singly or only two or three in company. It is probable the latter kind are only the full-grown males.

" I must not omit to tell you, that in passing through the forest we were, much to our inconvenience, greatly annoyed by leeches; they got into our boots and shoes, which became filled with blood; at night, too, they fell off the leaves that sheltered us from the weather, and on awaking in the morning we found ourselves bleeding profusely—these were a species of intruders we were not prepared for.

" The most important discovery throughout our journey was made at this place; this was a gigantic flower, of which I can hardly attempt to give any thing like a just description. It is perhaps the largest and most magnificent flower in the world, and is so distinct from every other flower, that I know not to what I can compare it —its dimensions will astonish you—it measured across from the extremity of the petals rather more than a yard, the nectarium was nine inches wide, and as deep; estimated to contain a gallon and a half of water, and the weight of the whole flower fifteen pounds.

" ' The Sumatran name of this extraordinary production is Petimun Sikinlili, or Devil's-Siri (betle) box. It is a native of the forests, particularly those of Passumah Ulu Manna.

" ' This gigantic flower is parasite on the lower stems and roots of the Cissus Angustifolia of Box. It appears at first in the form of a small round knob, which gradually increases in size. The flower-bud is invested by numerous membranaceous sheaths, which surround it in successive layers and expand as the bud enlarges, until at length they form a cup round its base. These sheaths or bracts are large, round, concave, of a firm membranaceous consistence, and of a brown colour. The bud before expansion is depressive, round, with five obtuse angles, nearly a foot in diameter, and of a deep dusky red. The flower, when fully expanded, is, in point of size, the wonder of the vegetable kingdom; the breadth across, from the top of the one petal to the top of the other, is three feet. The cup may be estimated capable of containing twelve pints, and the weight of the whole is from twelve to fifteen pounds. The inside of the cup is of an intense purple, and more or less densely yellow, with soft flexible spines of the same colour: towards the mouth, it is marked with numerous depressed spots of the purest white, contrasting strongly with the purple of the surrounding substance, which is considerably elevated on the lower side. The petals are of a brick-red, with numerous pustular spots of a lighter colour. The whole substance of the flower is not less than half an inch thick, and of a firm fleshy consistence. It soon after expansion begins to give out a smell of



Rafflesia Arnoldi.

Franc. Bauer del.

decaying animal matter. The fruit never bursts, but the whole plant gradually rots away, and the seeds mix with the putrid mass *.'

" If I am successful in obtaining a draftsman, your Grace shall have a perfect representation of it. I have made a very rough sketch of it myself, but it is not in that state that I could venture to present it. It seems to be a flower unknown to most of the natives, as well as to naturalists; its colours red, yellow, and purple, and most brilliant. The chemical composition being fungous, it would not keep; and not having sufficient spirits, we could not preserve it entire. A part of it, with two buds almost as big as a child's head, will be sent home.

" There is nothing more striking in the Malayan forests than the grandeur of the vegetation: the magnitude of the flowers, creepers, and trees, contrasts strikingly with the stunted and, I had almost said, pigmy vegetation of England. Compared with our forest-trees, your largest oak is a mere dwarf. Here we have creepers and vines entwining larger trees, and hanging suspended for more than a hundred feet, in girth not less than a man's body, and many much thicker; the trees seldom under a hundred, and generally approaching a hundred and sixty to two hundred feet in height. One tree that we measured was, in circumference, nine yards! and this is nothing to one I measured in Java. I must, however, proceed to relate our journey.

" From Pulo Lebar we started at half-past five, and halted at eight to breakfast. At eleven we reached the Sindangaré river, where we took some refreshment, and in the evening, about half-past five, reached Barong Rasam. The day's journey being most fatiguing, and not less than thirty miles, entirely through a thick forest, and over stupendous mountains, one of which, called the Sindangan Mountain, could not have been less than between four and five thousand feet high. Neither on this nor on the preceding day was there a vestige of population or cultivation; nature was throughout allowed to reign undisturbed; and from the traces of elephants in every direction, they alone of the animal kingdom seemed to have explored the recesses of the forest.

" We got on, however, very well; and though we were all occasionally much fatigued, we did not complain. Lady Raffles was a perfect heroine. The only misfortune at this stage was a heavy fall of rain during the night, which penetrated our leafy dwelling in every direction, and soaked every one of the party to the skin. We were now two days' march beyond the reach of supplies; many of our Coolies had dropped off; some were fairly exhausted, and we began to wish our journey at an end. We, however, contrived to make a good dinner on the remaining fowl, and having plenty of rice and claret, did not complain of our fare.

* Through the kindness of Mr. Lambert, the Vice-President, the Editor has obtained permission from the Linnæan Society to have impressions of this singular production, which was engraved for their Transactions.

" On the next morning we started in better spirits, having been met by one of the Chiefs of Passumah, who came to welcome our approach, and to assure us, if we walked fast, we should reach a village in the afternoon. For the first part of the day our road was still over stupendous mountains, sometimes in the beds of rivers for miles, and at all times difficult; but, about noon, we came into a country that had once been cleared, and again fell in with the Manna River, which we crossed on a raft previously prepared for the purpose, many of the Chiefs and people of Passumah having assembled to meet us. We had still, however, a very steep ascent to encounter; but no sooner had we attained the summit, and bent our steps downward, than our view opened upon one of the finest countries I ever beheld, amply compensating us for all the dreariness of the forest, and for all the fatigues we had undergone; perhaps the prospect was heightened by the contrast; but the country I now beheld reminded me so much of scenes in Java, and was in every respect so different to that on the coast, that I could not help expressing myself in raptures. As we descended, the scene improved; we found ourselves in an immense amphitheatre, surrounded by mountains ten and twelve thousand feet high; the soil on which we stood rich beyond description, and vegetation luxuriant and brilliant in every direction. The people, too, seemed a new race, far superior to those on the coast—tall, stout, and ingenuous. They received us most hospitably, and conducted us to the village of Nigri-Cayu, where we slept.

" I should not omit to inform you, that the immediate occasion of my visiting Passumah was to reconcile contending interests which had long distracted the country. For the last ten years these people had been at war with us, or rather we had been at war with them, for we appeared to have been the aggressors throughout. I was assured that my person would be endangered, that the Passumahs were a savage ungovernable race, and that no terms could ever be made with them, and I was not a little gratified to find every thing the reverse of what had been represented to me. I found them reasonable and industrious, an agricultural race more sinned against than sinning.

" In the vicinity of Nigri-Cayu were several hot springs, and we soon succeeded in making very comfortable warm baths.

" On the next day we proceeded to Tanjung Alem (the point of the world,) another village in the Passumah country, which we reached in about six hours' walk, through one of the finest countries in the world, having before us nearly the whole way the volcanic mountain called Gunung Dempu, from which the smoke issued in large volumes.

" At Tanjung Alem we remained two nights. We found the villages in this part of the country most respectable, many of them having more than five hundred inhabitants; the houses large, and on a different plan to those on the coast, each village, which may rather be considered as a small town, has a fosse or ditch round it with

high palisades. We passed the site of two or three towns which were represented to have been destoyed by the petty hostilities between the Chiefs.

" During our stay at Tanjung Alem, the Chiefs entered into a treaty, by which they placed themselves under the protection of the British Government, and thus all cause of dispute and misunderstanding was at once set at rest. I must also note another occurrence of moment: an old woman of rank died, and we witnessed all the ceremonies; they commenced by all the females of the village repairing to the house of the deceased, and setting up a squall something like the Irish howl for an hour or two. After this the body was removed to the Bali, or hall of audience, where we were to dine; we, however, preferred dining in another place, but in the evening it was expected that we should be present at the ceremony, which consisted of dancing and singing, in the presence of the whole village assembled in the hall where the body lay. On the next morning the head of the village killed a goat and sprinkled the blood about the house of the deceased, and all the maidens within hail attended at the Bali, contending with each other who should exclaim loudest: 'oh mother! come back, mother, come back!' This continued till they concluded the body would keep no longer, when it was hurried off, and quietly carried out of the village to a grave, in which it was interred without further ceremony.

" The people, though professedly Mahomedans, seem more attached to their ancient worship and superstitions than I expected. I clearly traced an ancient mythology, and obtained the names of at least twenty gods, several of whom are Hindus. In each of the villages we found a Lang'gar, similar to that noticed at Merambung, but generally better constructed.

" The utmost good-humour and affection seemed to exist among the people of the village; they were as one family, the men walking about holding each other by the hand, and playing tricks with each other like children; they were as fine a race as I ever beheld; in general about six feet high, and proportionably stout, clear and clean skins, and an open ingenuous countenance. They seemed to have abundance of every thing; rice, the staple food of the country, being five times as cheap as at Bencoolen, and every other article of produce in proportion. The women and children were decorated with a profusion of silver ornaments, and particularly with strings of dollars and other coins hanging two or three deep round the neck. It was not uncommon to see a child with a hundred dollars round her neck. Every one seemed anxious for medicine, and they cheerfully agreed to be vaccinated. The small-pox had latterly committed great ravages, and the population of whole villages had fled into the woods to avoid the contagion.

" We now thought of returning to the coast, and on the 24th set off for Manna by a different route to that by which we had arrived. Our first day's journey was to Camumuan, which we reached a little before six in the evening, after

the hardest day's walk I ever experienced. We calculated that we had walked more than thirty miles, and over the worst of roads. Hitherto we had been fortunate in our weather; but before we reached this place, a heavy rain came on, and soaked us completely. The baggage only came up in part, and we were content to sleep in our wet clothes, under the best shade we could find. No wood would burn; there was no moon; it was already dark, and we had no shelter erected. By perseverance, however, I made a tolerable place for Lady Raffles, and, after selecting the smoothest stone I could find in the bed of a river for a pillow, we managed to pass a tolerably comfortable night. This is what is here called the Ulu Pino Road; and we were encouraged to undertake long marches in the hope of only sleeping in the woods one night, and in this we fortunately succeeded."

This was, perhaps, the worst day's journey that the party experienced. The route was very imperfectly known, and a heavy rain rendered the forest dreary, and the walking more than usually irksome. Sir Stamford and Dr. Arnold took the only guide, and hastened forward in the hope of reaching the river, and preparing a fire. It was soon discovered that the remainder of the party had lost their way; the people dispersed to endeavour to trace the steps of those who were gone before, all anxiously listening to catch the sound of water, that most delightful of all sounds to the weary traveller, in a strange country and a hot climate. At last Mr. Presgrave and the Editor were left entirely to themselves, and whilst debating what to do, and pursuing their walk in no little anxiety, the duskiness of the night, the pouring rain, and their wet clothes not adding to their comfort, Mr. Presgrave met with an accident which had nearly proved serious, and caused some alarm. He sunk into a large pit, (which was covered over and concealed with leaves,) and disappeared entirely, and with him sunk the hope of concluding the day's journey, and his companion's spirit. He fortunately succeeded in extricating himself, and after continuing their walk some time longer, the rippling of water was plainly distinguished, and the busy voices of those assembled on the banks of the river soon obliterated the slight troubles they had been under. A happy night succeeded, and after a few hours' rest, the journey was pursued.

"The next day we reached Merambung, where we got upon a raft, and were wafted down to the vicinity of Manna in about seven hours. The passage down the river was extremely romantic and grand; it is one of the most rapid rivers on the coast: we descended a rapid almost every hundred yards.

"After proceeding from Manna to Cawoor, we returned by the coast to Bencoolen, where we arrived on the 3d of June, to the no small astonishment of the colonists, who were not inclined to believe it possible we could have thought of such a journey.

"My attention was now directed to crossing the country to Palembang. The Sultan having applied for the protection of the British Government, I dispatched a

party to ascertain the practicability of the communication. Before I left Bencoolen I had accounts of their safe arrival. They reached the navigable part of the Palembang river in twelve days' march from Bencoolen; the party were about four hundred strong. This is the first time the Island of Sumatra has ever been crossed by an European, much less by troops.

"I am now on my way to Padang to see whether I cannot reach Menangkabu before the Dutch arrive, who claim the place under the convention.

"Your Grace shall have the particulars of the tour to Menangkabu, the ancient capital of the Malay Empire, in a separate letter; and I will conclude this hasty journal with assurances of the respect, esteem, and affection with which I have the honour to remain, &c.

"T. S. Raffles."

The pleasure of this journey was great to Sir Stamford, as it opened to him a field of future usefulness. He saw that it was not only the barren coast which he had to improve, but a country rich in all the bounties of nature, and a people ready and willing to profit by his influence and advice. One old Chief, on taking leave, actually fell on his neck and wept; and soon after walked the whole way from Tanjungalum, the most distant place visited, to see him again at Bencoolen. Such simple uncivilised people are soon won by kindness; they are like children, easy to lead, hard to drive. It was Sir Stamford's extreme simplicity of mind and manners that rendered him so peculiarly attractive to them, as they are always ready to be kind and attentive, provided they meet with encouragement and sympathy, thus affording a proof that the heart is the best teacher of true politeness. The Editor on reaching Merambung, laid down under the shade of a tree, being much fatigued with walking: the rest of the party dispersed in various directions to make the necessary arrangements, and seek for shelter; when a Malay girl approached with great grace of manners, and on being asked if she wanted any thing, replied, "No, but seeing you were quite alone, I thought you might like to have a little bichara (talk) and so I am come to offer you some siri, (betel) and sit beside you." And no courtier could have discussed trifling general subjects in a better manner, or have better refrained from asking questions which were interesting to herself only; her object was to entertain a stranger, which she did with the greatest degree of refinement and politeness.

The rafts alluded to in descending the Manna river, were formed by a few bamboos fastened together with cords. The Editor had wandered with some of the people out of the direct course through the forest, and hearing a noise of voices approached the spot, where it happened the rafts were making. On enquiry, the task which ought to have been finished was only just commencing. As these rafts were to have been at a spot much lower down the river, in readiness to carry the party back to Manna, the Editor, knowing Sir Stamford's anxiety to proceed, waited

till one was completed; but the raft was too slight, the rapids too dangerous at this part of the river, for more than three people to venture: accordingly, a pole was fastened to the centre by which she was to hold, and stand firm. A guide at each extremity then took their station, each provided with a long pole; and the raft glided down the river, which was overhung with high rocks projecting in various places. One man, on nearing the sharp turns that continually occurred, and against which the rushing of the river propelled the raft, prepared his pole, and just on coming in contact struck it on the rock with such force as to turn off the raft, which darted down the fall until it would have come in contact with the rock on the opposite side, when it was again struck off, and proceeded on to the next rapid. The dashing of the raft through the water, the roaring noise, the complete immersion in the spray, the momentary danger, the degree of exertion which is necessary to preserve hold, the perfect silence of each person,—combined to create a degree of excitement not easy to be described. The raft reached Merambung in safety; when, the descent being comparatively easy, two chairs were fastened in the centre, and the passage was a continued scene of pleasure, in admiring the beauty of the surrounding country; until the men suddenly stopped, and said they would not venture further in the dark, but that there was a village on the banks of the river, where shelter might be found. It was still early, but no inducement could prevail upon the inhabitants to venture out of their houses, for fear of tigers; and it was only by desiring the Chief of the place to order a party, that messengers were dispatched with lighted flambeaus, to procure horses from Manna to conclude the journey.

Sir Stamford rested at Manna one day, and proceeded down the coast to Cawoor: this part of the journey was very trying; it was performed on horseback, principally on the sea-beach, and in the middle of the day, on account of tigers; the glare from the sea, the heat of the sand on the beach, the vertical rays of a tropical sun, without any shade, either natural or artificial, after the fatigue and exposure already experienced, were distressing to all, and proved fatal to one of the party. Dr. Arnold, on arriving at Cawoor, was seized with a fever, where no medicine could be procured. After remaining there one day with him, Sir Stamford hastened back to Bencoolen to obtain medical aid; this journey was again necessarily performed on horseback, as the route was impassable for any carriage, and nearly proved fatal to the whole party: in endeavouring to pass a projection of rock called by the natives *the place of death*, the tide rose so rapidly, and the surf was so high, that the horses began to stagger, the people from the top of the rock screamed in despair, and it was with the utmost difficulty the horses were turned, urged back, and a longer route pursued through the forest. A circumstance occurred here, which marks the superstitious fears of the natives. The Coolies, in passing through the forest, came upon a tiger, crouched on the path; they immediately stopped and addressed him in terms of supplication, assuring

him they were poor people carrying the Tuan Basar, great man's luggage, who would be very angry with them if they did not arrive in time, and therefore they implored permission to pass quietly and without molestation. The tiger, being startled at their appearance, got up and walked quietly into the depths of the forest; and they came on perfectly satisfied that it was in consequence of their petition that they passed in safety.

In October, 1818, Mr. Presgrave, Resident of Manna, performed nearly the same journey, with the intention of visiting the volcano on the summit of Gunung Dempo, one of the highest mountains in that part of the Island, and gave the following additional particulars of this part of the Island.

"The first part of the journey was performed on horseback over beautiful plains: our party consisted of Mr. Osborn (whose object was the dissemination of the benefits of vaccination), myself, and four Bugguese soldiers for the escort of our baggage, carried by twenty-five coolies or porters. Whilst resting at Gunung Ayu, our attention was suddenly roused by a great noise in the village, the people running in all directions; we soon learned the meaning of this tumult. A man from a distant village, whose father was shot when the Sepoys under Colonel Clayton were sent, after the murder of Mr. Parr, to destroy the villages in Pasumah Ulu Manna, having arrived at the village, and heard that we were there, drew his sword, and in a transport of rage and fury was proceeding to the door crying out for the white men, when he was stopped by the people, disarmed, and conveyed by them away. So bent was he on revenge, that he vowed he would yet accomplish his purpose, for nothing but the blood of an orang puti (white man) would satisfy the manes of his deceased father. The people are particularly affected with goitres, some of which grow to an immense size, and render the person a disgusting object. Among themselves they do not look upon these monstrous excrescences as deformities, nor do they seem to experience any pain or inconvenience from them; the inhabitants on the plains are entirely free from the disorder, while as you approach the hills almost every individual is affected with it. The natives attribute it to drinking the water of some particular stream. The latter part of the journey was principally over plains of a fine black loam of very considerable depth, the horses' feet sinking in as they passed over it. We approached the great mountain on the fifth day, winding round the east side of it. On our arrival here, we found one of our horses had died suddenly, by its having eaten some noxious herb which grows amongst the grass. The natives ate part of the carcass, pillaged the bones, and even before death robbed it of all its mane and tail. As this was the first time a horse had been in this part of the country, it excited much curiosity. The people did not seem to entertain any favourable idea of our persons and colour. On entering a village to-day, a tall spare figure, more resembling a spirit broken loose from the infernal regions than a human being, with one of the largest wens in his throat I have ever seen, came up to us;

and after surveying us with an attentive eye for some time, at length exclaimed aloud, 'These are the white men we have so often heard of; here they are like devils.' For this remark he received a rebuke from his countrymen, and slunk away ashamed.

"We now began to suffer from want; we had only two bottles of wine left; we found considerable inconvenience in procuring fowls and other supplies, not from any scarcity of these articles, for they appeared to be in abundance, but on account of our rupees, which to our daily loss we found were not current here. Spanish dollars were in great request; the reason for this was that the people of Pasumah Lebar were dependent on Palembang for salt and their piece articles of clothing. We announced our intention of visiting the summit of Gunung Dempo, or the Sacred Mountain, for in that light it is viewed by the natives themselves, who conceive that the guardian genius of the country has his abode in it, and that the Devas and inferior deities have also their residence there. Our object was if possible to reach the Crater. With this view we called for Panglimo, who had been our guide from the coast, and whom we found on all occasions a most useful and faithful man. Panglimo was a man of desperate fortunes; he had been banished by his relations, and his attachment to us he acknowledged arose from the pecuniary aid which he received. Since the Governor's journey to Pasumah, he said he had realized upwards of a hundred and twenty dollars, which had enabled him to discharge a large portion of his debts. He confessed himself to have been one of the greatest *resaus* (plunderer) in the whole country; and, indeed, from the countenance of the man, you would judge him to be capable of executing the most desperate deed: a few dollars would induce him to take away the life of his nearest relation. Panglimo was the only man in all Pasumah who would undertake the arduous task of conducting us to the top of the mountain. Twenty dollars were to be the amount of his reward for performing this service. Not knowing the road, he succeeded, by the promise of five dollars, in procuring a man who professed to be acquainted with it to accompany him. This man was an Imam (priest,) whom, from the sanctity of his character, Panglimo considered necessary to ensure success, as he would deprecate the wrath of the deities, and render them propitious to our undertaking. This was to be accomplished by previous sacrifice and fasting, and the day before we set out the Imam performed this part of the ceremony by killing a fowl.

"*Oct.* 27.—The Imam having announced this as a lucky day (for we were obliged to give way to his prejudices,) we set out with our fearless guide, our party, including Coolies and attendants, amounting to eighteen persons. We did not think it necessary to acquaint the Chiefs with our design, anticipating that they would, in consequence of their superstitious prejudices make objections, raise difficulties, and perhaps finally hinder us from accomplishing our object. We therefore told them that we were going to the foot of the mountain, but did not acquaint them that we intended

to attempt to ascend to any height. We set forward on our expedition on the morning, passing through several of their villages before we came to the foot of the mountain. At a small elevation from its foot we saw several of the magnificent flowers found by the Governor on his tour to Pasumah Ulu Manna, *(Rafflesia Arnoldi.)* Some were full blown, others in the bud, and the buds of others were just emerging from darkness. We continued our ascent, marking the spots where the flowers grew, in order that we might take some of them with us as specimens on our return. Night was now drawing on, and finding ourselves fatigued, we began to look out for a convenient spot on which to raise our huts. Hearing the rushing of water below us, we were induced to descend, in hopes of obtaining a good supply of water, which appeared to be scarce in this place. On descending a deep ravine we found ourselves on the banks of the river Salangis. This river runs through the whole of the Pasumah Lebar country, in an easterly direction, and at last empties itself into that of Palembang. In this place the river is very narrow; its banks are formed of a black sand, resembling, except in colour, that of the sea-beach. The silence of the stream is here interrupted by an abrupt cataract, over which the water is precipitated with great impetuosity; this was the cause of the noise we heard for the greater part of the afternoon. We at first pitched our tent opposite to the cataract, but the rushing of the water caused a draft of air which pierced so keenly, that we were obliged to remove it to a greater distance. At times there was such a strong smell of sulphur, that it became almost intolerable. The water was also so impregnated with this mineral as to render it undrinkable, and we were obliged to make use of what we could catch from the side of the rock.

" On examining our provisions, we found the steward had laid in so scanty a stock as would serve the whole of our party only another day; we therefore sent back several of our followers, taking with us only such as were absolutely necessary. The number of our party thus curtailed, consisted of eleven, viz. Mr. Church, Mr. Cudlipp, myself, three servants, three Coolies, and the two guides.

" *Oct.* 28.—Early in the morning, after partaking of a slight breakfast, not daring to indulge lest our stock should fail us before we had completed our undertaking, we ascended from this singular spot, and made another effort to gain the summit of our ambition. We reached the top of the ravine, and bending our course W.N.W., proceeded through deep forests, in which no human traces were to be discovered. Our only path was one that had been opened to us by the passage of elephants: the traces of these masters of the desert were visible in every direction. We passed through what is called by the natives the region of tigers; the superstitious inhabitants of the surrounding country imagine that there is a stream in these parts, which when passed over by a human being, possesses the virtue of transforming him to that ferocious animal, and on his return, of restoring him to his original shape. From this fabulous story we expected to find the woods infested with tigers; but to our

astonishment we discovered nothing that could lead us to suppose, that these animals had deserted the plains to take up their abode in the mountain. During the day we remarked the footsteps of the rhinoceros and the wild goat. Our two guides were employed as we proceeded in cutting the small and low branches, and notching the trunks of trees which grew in our path, in order to serve as marks on our return, to prevent the possibility of our wandering from the right course. Our ascent during the day was pretty gradual and regular; at intervals however this regularity was interrupted by abrupt acclivities of one hundred feet; and having gained the top of these the ascent became less steep, and in some places almost subsided into a plain. We passed over four of these Tanga Gunung* to-day. Towards evening we found ourselves beyond the deep wood. The tall and majestic trees of the forest seemed suddenly to have vanished from our view, and those of a smaller and more sickly growth to have taken their place. The road became almost impassable on account of thorns and briars, which were so thickly interwoven as to present an almost insurmountable obstacle to our progress. The poor and exhausted Coolies with the greatest difficulty dragged their burdens through these formidable opponents: indeed we, who were not encumbered with any thing extraneous, could scarcely pass; the naked bodies of our servants gushed with blood in every part, and our own clothes were torn off our backs. We ate nothing during the day excepting some of the fruit of the forests, called by the natives *buwah salak*. Night now came on apace, and we looked for a stream of water to enable us to prepare our evening fare, but none could we discover; so we were obliged to content ourselves with a small quantity of muddy water, found in a hollow place made by some animal, which, from the traces in the neighbourhood, we supposed to be the rhinoceros.

" Having rested a little from the fatigues of the day, in vain we looked for the plains we had left yesterday morning; the face of the earth below was concealed from our sight; clouds and darkness rolled under our feet. We found ourselves above the summit of the surrounding mountains; and, for the first time in our lives, heard the thunder roll beneath us. The heavens above frowned, as in anger at the presumption of man daring to enter these ærial abodes; and the roaring of the volcano at intervals, impressed us with a kind of sacred awe, as if we had in reality approached the habitation of celestial beings. These were the only forerunners of the deluge which was to follow. The gloomy spot in which we were doomed to pass the night far surpassed the power of description. On the one side, the steep acclivity of the mountain; on the other, a deep precipice; not a tree to afford us a covering or protection from the threatening storm, and scarcely a bit of dry wood to light a fire. In this situation we were enveloped in total darkness. The thunder grew louder, the lightning more vivid, while the volcano above us continued

* So called by the natives; the term signifies *ladders of the mountain.*

its frightful roarings. At length the storm burst upon us in all its fury; our light and fire were suddenly extinguished, and we were necessitated to eat in the dark a half-prepared meal. We then sat down to wait the holding up of the rain, but we soon lost all hope of a calm interval. The storm continued with unabated violence until near day-light. Fatigued by the arduous task of the day, and with little to eat, we would fain have relieved our troubles by sleep; but to sleep in our condition was certain death. Besides the rain which poured in at every part of our hut, the torrent which rushed down the mountain threatened to sweep us below. We wrapped ourselves up in blankets, but these were very soon soaked through; indeed we appeared to be sitting in the bed of a river, rather than on firm ground. The air was bitterly cold; our shivering people murmured loudly: we had never felt it so cold since we left England. If we attempted to talk or laugh, our guide, the Imam, in a tremulous voice, begged we would be silent, and not provoke the already angry gods. We asked whence proceeded the roarings we heard above us. Panglimo told us they came from the telago, or crater of the volcano, and desired we would ask no questions about this frightful place. Towards morning the rain in some degree abated, when Messrs. Church and Cudlipp very imprudently went to sleep in the wet condition in which they were. Day-light at length made its appearance, and again the men attempted to light fires, which were most desirable; for, from the uncomfortable manner in which we passed the night, our followers were half dead with hunger, cold, and wet; and, indeed, although two of us had been accustomed to the severities of an European winter, we were all most happy to enjoy the comfort of a fire-side, even in the heart of Sumatra.

"*Oct.* 29.—Having partaken of a little unsavoury rice, without even salt or chilies to render it palatable, we prepared for another day's labour. From the difficulty we experienced yesterday in bringing the baggage as far as this, we conceived that greater obstacles lay before us. We therefore resolved to leave the Coolies and baggage in the hut, and proceeding unencumbered to the summit of the mountain, return if possible to the place where we slept the last night, before the close of the day, which our guide told us could be accomplished. We did not proceed far before we found that we were correct in regard to the difficulties we had anticipated; for now the ascent was steep, and the briars became thicker and more closely entwined together, so that it was an absolute impossibility to penetrate through them. Here we began to look on our object as unattainable: we unsuccessfully sought for some sort of path along which we might pass. The same insurmountable obstacles beset us on all sides, and no choice appeared to be left but to retrace our steps to the hut: yet when we turned our heads and beheld the lofty summit above us, and volumes of dark smoke rolling on its dusky and naked top, we felt an irresistible desire to surmount every difficulty, and face every danger. Our progress being thus impeded, we could not help noticing the strange aspect of the scene around us; the grand

majestic trees of the forest, whose venerable trunks had withstood the shocks and storms of ages, no longer struck our eyes, but in their stead thorns and briars, and trees of a diminutive growth. What was most singular, all around us were seen the dead trunks of trees, some of which had attained to a large size and considerable height, standing erect without a single branch. All these trunks being black, as if burnt by lightning, we conceived it probable that some violent shock of nature, not far back, had reduced the former flourishing wood to its present blasted condition. Perhaps some recent eruption from the volcano might have produced this effect; or might not noxious exhalations arising from the crater have checked, and nearly destroyed vegetation in this part? We were sensible of a very strong smell of sulphur.

" It was now for the first time that we saw the stout-hearted Panglimo shrink from difficulty. The man who seemed calculated to perform the labours of Hercules, and who ever made it his boast that he had encountered danger in every shape, was the first to sound a retreat. ' You see,' said he, ' the gods are not propitious to our undertaking:—they have shut up the road against us:—they will bewilder us in this desert place:—we cannot proceed.' We all appeared to incline to this advice, but each felt ashamed of a defeat. Again we endeavoured to penetrate the thick briars; again Panglimo turned pale: ' It is vain to contend against the gods,' he said, and sat down. I rallied him, and taking the sword, which now served as a pruning-hook, from his hand, endeavoured to cut through the brambles; but their stems were so tough and closely interwoven that it made no impression. This was sufficient for Panglimo, who started up, and mounting with his naked feet upon the thorns, instead of forcing a passage through them, walked on the top; we all followed him, and in this way proceeded, by slow degrees, for an hour or two. Having surmounted this formidable obstacle, we met with another not less discouraging. Instead of thorns and briars, we now had to walk over the trunks of trees, that were thrown down and piled on each other. They appeared to have lain in this state for a long time, for some were decayed, others decaying, and the whole covered over with a sort of vegetation which sprang from their mould.

" We were two or three hours walking over these wrecks of the forests, at the imminent hazard of slipping through the interstices of the trunks, and thus of being buried alive, or else of breaking our bones. During the whole time we did not once set our foot on firm ground, or see the soil over which we were walking, nor by putting our sticks through could we reach the bottom. The vegetation of ages appeared to be piled up here in a widely-extended and confused mass; and we seemed to have approached the brink of general destruction and desolation. We found that we were on a ridge of the mountain; on each side of us was a precipice of immense depth. The ridge grew narrower at every step. The day was bright, and looking down, the country immediately subjected to our view was beyond ima-

gination beautiful; extensive plains, scattered over with smoking villages: pools of water reflecting the rays of the sun; to the north the Musi river, called by these people the sea of Musi. Having stayed a short time to contemplate this scene, we again set forward, and made another effort to gain the top of the mountain. Our path was now comparatively smooth, but steep of ascent; we no longer found any of our former obstacles. The only vegetation on this part is a sort of shrub, very much resembling the box-tree; the natives call it *Kayu umur panjang*, or the tree of long life, and say it is only to be met with on the top of this mountain. The shrub is about six feet high, and appears to be checked in its growth. Its branches and leaves were covered with a kind of dust, which being shaken off as we passed along, proved very troublesome and disagreeable, almost choaking us. We thought this rather singular, as the rain which fell the preceding night, if it had reached this part, ought to have entirely washed away the dust, but the earth appeared as dry as the trees. Although we had not, as I have just noticed, our former difficulties to encounter, we were not less affected by feelings of a different nature. Our path had now become less than two fathoms wide, bounded by deep precipices, the bottom of which the eye could not penetrate, and whose naked sides filled us with terror, and narrowing at every step, we were threatened with being ingulphed in these unfathomable depths. We had now gained the summit of this narrow ridge; and disappointment was the only recompense we found for our troubles and difficulties, for our guide told us we had ascended the wrong ridge, and could not get to the crater, which was the grand object we had in view when we undertook the task; nor were we even on the highest part of the mountain, for the place where we stood was overtopped by Gunung Berapi; this was entirely bare, and might be three or four hundred feet above where we stood. Gunung Berapi is another peak of this great mountain. There are in all three, to which the natives give separate names, viz. Gunung Dempo, Gunung Lumut, and Gunung Berapi. Gunung Lumut we did not see, it being on the other side of Gunung Berapi; this last, as its name points out, is the one connected with the volcano. We were still doomed to disappointment; for the brightness of the day became overclouded, and nothing could be seen from this elevated situation but the tops of surrounding mountains, and a white mist at our feet, which, like a sheet, veiled from us the face of the earth. We now consulted whether we should make any farther attempt to attain our object, but all agreed in the impossibility of succeeding; besides, we had not a grain of rice or other food with us, and only another scanty meal left at the hut, which we must reach before night.

"*Oct.* 30.—If any thing, we passed a worse night than the one we have already described. We awoke at day-light, or rather did not sleep all night, on account of the wet and cold. Boat-cloaks and blankets were of no use; they were wet through in a few minutes, and only made our bodies more chilly. Having partaken of a

half breakfast, we set forward on our return, retracing our footsteps, which were easily found by the marks and cuttings of the trees, which were made on our ascent. The spot where we spent the last two nights is situated rather more than two-thirds up the mountain. Being tired of the woods, we resolved to make a forced march and reach the village of Sawah Batuhan before night. We stopped to take three specimens of the Krabut flower *(Rafflesia Arnoldi)*, two full-blown, and one bud. As I have noticed before, the spot on which these extraordinary flowers grow is rather elevated. No part of the plant is seen above ground except the flower, which, decked in all the splendour of nature, bursts forth to light from a root which runs horizontally on the ground. The natives appeared not to be well acquainted with it, and gave us a confused account of it, from which we collected that there are two species of the krabut, one of which springs up into a shrub and bears flowers rather different from those which we now saw; in the other, no part except the flower makes its appearance above ground, without leaves and without stem.—About two o'clock in the afternoon we reached the villages, thankful that we had once more extricated ourselves from such frightful wilds.

" As the above extracts from my journal will afford a pretty good idea of the sort of people we were among, and the difficulties we had to encounter, I shall not detain you with the details of our journey back to Manna, but attempt a general sketch of the country and inhabitants which we visited; noting only by the way that on our arrival at Tanjung Alam (the end of the world), many inquiries were made after Tuan Adam. Having no acquaintance with Adam, we were surprised at the entreaty and earnestness with which the inquiry was made; and it was some time before we found that Tuan Adam was no other personage than Madam Besar, or Lady Raffles, the name by which she is known to this people. Madam it appears was metamorphosed by them into Adam, a very pardonable mistake, considering that they look upon Adam as some very extraordinary person, and Lady Raffles as no less so, in having overcome such difficulties, and being the first European lady who had visited their country.

" The chief mountains in this neighbourhood, in the western range, are Gunung Dempo, Gunung Lumut, and Gunung Berapi, which form one great mountain, by far the highest in this part, being conspicuous over all the rest, and visible from Fort Marlborough, bearing from Manna, N.N.E. and from Padang Guchei, N. With regard to the height of this mountain, it would be but mere conjecture if I were to estimate it at twelve or thirteen thousand feet above the level of the sea; but the eye is easily deceived, and not having been accustomed to judge of heights, I may be far from correct. We may perhaps judge something from the time we were ascending. We commenced about ten o'clock on the 27th of October; about half-past four we stopped for the night; at seven the next day we set forward again, and travelled till five o'clock; the following morning we recommenced at seven, and

reached as far as we were able to go about half-past one o'clock, making altogether twenty-four hours. Allowances must be made for the badness of the roads, and the many impediments we met with in the last third part of our journey. Although we were so long in ascending, we were not more than ten hours in descending, having started at six from our hut, which we guessed to be two-thirds of the height of the mountain, we reached the foot at about four o'clock or past. The highest peak (Jambul Baniul) of the ranges which we passed over between the coast and Passumah Ulu Manna, did not occupy more than three or four hours, or scarcely so long. The temperature of the atmosphere on the top of this mountain was very low; although we discovered neither snow nor ice, yet from what some of the natives told us, we were led to think that both have been seen there. They related a story of three persons who were frozen to death, '*mati ka krasan*,' stiffened or hardened to death. I cannot state the precise degree of temperature for want of a thermometer, though I should think Fahrenheit's would have been as low as thirty-five degrees before sun-rise. We were informed by some of the natives, that within their memory the volcano, which now appears to be extinct, had been known to emit flames, covering the trees and lands of the adjacent country with white ashes. This emission was accompanied with a loud noise, that filled the whole country with alarm. The singular appearance of the trees near to the top of the mountain, mentioned in another place, gives some colour to this report; hence we may probably account for large trees being deprived of every branch, and the outer part of their trunks, the whole being too solid a substance to be entirely consumed, being burnt black as a cinder. But from the best information we could collect on the subject, it appears highly probable that the thick smoke seen to issue from the side of the mountain, is an aqueous vapour arising from a hot spring, situated in the crater of the volcano. The water of this spring has a constant motion, sometimes greater and sometimes less, alternately rising and sinking, and when this agitation is greatest, it is attended with the emission of a dark volume of smoke; this is immediately preceded by a loud noise resembling thunder, only of shorter duration. I have myself observed the smoke issuing forth at intervals of a few minutes, as if repeated explosions had taken place within the crater.—Dempo is the only mountain in this part that is honoured with the epithet of Gunung, all the rest being called Bukit or hill.

" We made inquiry respecting the large lake said to be situated somewhere in these parts, but could not learn that one existed. Perhaps the jealousy of the people might take care to conceal the knowledge of it from us.

" To the N. W. of Sawah Batuhan lies the country of Passumah Lambah, about a day and a half, or two days' journey. Lintang or the Ampat Lawang country, divided into Lintang Kanan and Lintang Kidow by the river which flows through it, lies N. W. by W.; to the north is Kikim; N. E, Lamatang and Palembang. The former is only one day's journey thence. The latter we were informed could be

reached in eight or ten days, though it requires a much longer period in return. In going to Palembang from this country, you pass through Lamatang, and at Muaro Milang take water, and are conveyed in boats or rakits to Palembang. The face of the country is beautifully diversified by hill and dale, and has much the same undulating appearance as on the coast. The ravines in general are very deep, and prove a great impediment in moving from place to place. The soil has a fine black loamy appearance, and could with very little labour, produce almost every thing that grows within the tropics, while from the variety of climates which are to be found here, many foreign productions, I make no doubt, might be brought to perfection. At present rice, tobacco, and the plant called kalawi, are almost the only articles of cultivation. The sawah grounds are very extensive. The price of rice just after harvest is fifty bamboos coast measure, or one hundred Kulah-ulu, for the Spanish dollar, and not unfrequently cheaper than this. I believe none is grown for exportation. The tobacco is considered inferior to that of Lintang, but the pulas superior. The pulas, or twine, is made the medium of exchange in many of their bartering transactions, and sells in their country at the rate of ten or twelve ticals to the dollar. It is usually exchanged with Palembang or Lamatang people for their salt, for which article of general consumption they are entirely dependent on Palembang. The pulas is also disposed of to the people of the coast, with whom it is in great requisition, and is principally used by them in the manufacture of their fishing nets, for which purpose it seems to be well adapted, as it receives little or no injury from the water. Might not this be made an useful and valuable article of commerce? Might it not in time rival the hemp? Indigo is cultivated in small quantities for the purpose of dyeing their cotton. Cassia was also brought to us;—they demanded an exorbitant price for it. If properly sought after and taken care of, I make no doubt large supplies of it might be obtained. The people took care to impress on our minds that there were two articles which their country would not produce, the kapu (cotton) and pepper. For the former article they are indebted to Pasisir; the latter is of no use to them, and I can easily account for their saying the pepper plant will not grow. They knew this was the only article cultivated at the Pasisir, and they were fearful should their soil and climate be thought adapted to the growth of it, that the Company might be led to enforce its cultivation: but why the former article should not thrive here, unless the sea air be necessary for it, I cannot conceive. One would imagine that self-interest would induce them to turn their thoughts to the cultivation of the kapu, as they greatly stand in need of it for the manufacture of their coarser wearing apparel: but as they told me, they had this on the faith of their ancestors (nenek poyang,) I doubt whether they have made the trial in latter days, and as they informed me both the kapu and the pepper plants were invariably destroyed by tigers before they came to perfection, I was led to consider some superstitious prejudice might prevail, especially with regard to the growth of the kapu.

" The chief of this latter article is supplied to them by the Padang Guchie and Kadurang people, though frequently the natives themselves remove to the latter place and cultivate it, and as soon as they have gathered the cotton, return with it to their country. As it requires but a few months from the first planting of the kapu to the time of gathering the fruit, this can be done without much inconvenience. The cocoa-nut tree does not thrive well here, though it is more productive than at Pasumah Ulu Manna, where the climate is much colder. Cocoa-nut-oil is not to be procured, instead of which they burn damar, which they procure from the woods west of Pasumah Ulu Manna. The betel trees are numerous and seem to flourish. Fruit of every description, except plantains, is scarce: we saw scarcely any. The orange-tree is not to be found in the country.

" I have noticed before that these people are dependent on Palembang for their salt and finer clothing; and since they procure their cotton from Pasisir, they are dependent on their western neighbours for their coarser cloths also. The men, when at home, and employed in their Ladangs, usually wear a coarse white cloth, reaching from the waist to the knee, sometimes with a jacket, and a cloth for the head of the same sort, all of their own manufacture. The women are all habited with clothes of their own weaving; but the young unmarried women, who find it necessary to be a little finer when they appear at Bimbangs, in order to attract the attention of the young men, sometimes wear a silk scarf of Palembang manufacture, though more frequently it is the work of their own hands. They breed the worms in order to supply themselves with silk for this purpose.

" At this time the people were suffering greatly from the want of salt, a prohibition on the importation of this article having been laid by the Dutch Government since its return to Palembang, and heavy duties imposed on all boats and merchandize coming into the interior of that place. This has created much inconvenience to the inhabitants, who express a desire to be supplied with salt from Manna. Although they have not the advantage of water-carriage in their communication with the western shore, they would gladly resort thither to supply their wants, if any thing certain could be secured to them. They prefer an intercourse with the English to one with the Dutch, towards whom they express a great aversion. From a rough estimate, made by the assistance of the Chiefs, I calculated that fifty or sixty koyans of salt would be annually consumed by them. They object to going to Bencoolen, on account of the great distance. If regular and well-supplied markets, free from the spirit of monopoly, were established at stated periods throughout the interior of Manna, I make no doubt the whole population of this part of the interior would resort thither for the purpose of supplying themselves with many of the necessaries and even the luxuries of life. Salt, kapu, the finer sort of Malay clothing, piece-goods, &c. would be always in demand. These would be changed for tobacco, pulas, rice, and other articles.

" The people of Pasumah Lebar have traditionary reports of their descent from the Javanese. They relate that in the time of the prosperity of the kingdom of Majapahit, two persons, a brother and sister, with several followers, whose names and title they told me, but which I have now forgotten, left that kingdom, and landing on the eastern shores of this island, the female settled at Palembang, where, in a short time, she became a powerful princess; but the brother, travelling more inland from that place, settled himself in the fertile valley of Pasumah. In this way the country was first possessed and peopled; and hence the origin of the present race, which in many respects, I conceive, bears considerable analogy to the people of Java.

" In their persons the inhabitants of Pasumah Lebar, generally speaking, are not so tall and robust as those of Pasumah Ulu Manna. This may be attributed to the difference of the climate, and mountainous situation of the latter, as more adapted to form a strong and robust frame of body, than the level plains of the former. Their deportment is sedate and grave. The higher class are respectful and courteous in their manners. Their virtues are, perhaps, of a higher order than we meet with on the coast. Their hospitality to strangers is unbounded, and a violation of its law, in their estimation, would be little less than a crime of the greatest magnitude.

" The lines are almost as applicable to them as to the Scottish Highlander:—

> And stranger is a holy name,
> Guidance and rest, and food and fire,
> In vain he never must require.

" They are open and generous, and appear to be not destitute of that delicacy of feeling usually termed honour. Insult would be instantly repelled, and injury revenged, not by the secret dagger concealed under the screen of darkness, but publicly and in the face of day. They are chaste and temperate, of a bold and daring disposition, but passionate and hasty, with a strong attachment to their ancient customs; they look upon all innovation as a departure from truth and justice; they are extremely independent, and jealous of any infringement of their ancient liberties. They are industrious, and less infected with the vice of gambling than the Company's subjects. Opium smoking is unknown among them; they look upon that drug as poison. On the other hand, they have little regard for truth, and think but lightly of the violation of an oath. They have no regard to honesty or fairness of dealing in their transactions, but make a merit of cheating. They are more warlike than the inhabitants of the coast, and are extremely dexterous in the use of their weapons. They cannot bear to hear the term Coolie applied to them, and absolutely refused to assist us in carrying our baggage under that name.

" They are very temperate in their diet, and seldom eat flesh of any kind. The

Buffalo, not being a native of their plains, is slain only on occasions of importance. Goat's flesh, although more plentiful, and fowls, which are abundant, are seldom eaten, except in their offerings to the gods. Swine's flesh is not eaten; but, besides this, they have few prejudices with regard to food. They are by no means delicate this way; and the entrails of the fowls killed for our dinner were eagerly picked up, and, after undergoing some preparations, greedily devoured.

" For this purpose they attended the cook daily in his culinary operations, to carry off every thing he threw away. They do not even scruple to eat the carcass of an animal found dead, although they know not how it came by its death: thus the carcass of the unfortunate horse that died in one of the villages, was almost wholly devoured by them, and some declared they had made a hearty meal from it.

" The only inebriating drink made use of by them, is a fermented liquor, prepared from rice, and termed *brum:* this is drunk only at festivals. They have the same aversion to milk, and every preparation from it, as the Javanese and other Eastern people. A Chief being asked whether he would take milk with his tea, replied that he was not an infant.

" The villages are in general neat and clean, the houses well built, and not ill adapted for convenience. They are tolerably commodious and airy; many of them are constructed of plank, particularly those of the Chiefs, and are ornamented with carved work.

" Their language is not so much peculiar to themselves as the manner of pronouncing it: except in this, it differs little from that spoken in the interior of Manna. It has no words not to be found in languages of the neighbouring countries; in other respects it is the same as that spoken by the people on the coast from Sellibar to Kawa, where another dialect, and different usages, are found to commence, bearing a near resemblance to those of Lampung. The dialect of Serawi is also called Sambilan Lura, and includes the rivers of Sillabar, Angalum, Salumah, Tallo, Alas, Pino, Manna, Beneannon, and Padang Guchie, throughout which the same language and customs prevail. This last may be considered almost distinct from the Malayan. About one-fifth of it may consist of Malayan words, but the remaining four bear no affinity to that language. A native Malay previously unacquainted with it, would not understand a conversation carried on between two persons in the Bhasa Serawi; but from the frequent intercourse between the people of the districts already mentioned, and the Malays, the language of the latter is mutually understood. But to return to the Pasumahs, it is difficult even for a Serawi man to understand clearly what they say; this arises chiefly from the peculiar utterance given by them to their words, their sounds being more guttural. All the words, which, by the natives of the coast, are made to terminate in a simple *o,* by these people have a sound almost like *eu* or *euh,* as in the last syllable of *dieu,* but pronounced much longer and more forcibly; *e. g.* the Malay word kuda, or, as pronounced by the natives of this Island,

kudo, is by the Pasumahs called kudeuh, and kata or kato, kateuh; maro, or marah, mareuh. These people are not ignorant of writing. They use the characters which Mr. Marsden calls Rejang, but which are not peculiar to those people. The mode of writing is on pieces of split bamboo, on which they cut or scratch the letters with the point of a knife or sewar. They seldom use it but to send a message to a distant person, or to acquaint him with any piece of news; thus for instance, a despairing swain inscribes his love verses (pantuns), and conveys them to his mistress. They have no written memorials of past transactions or events, nothing in the form of history, popular tales, or writings of any other kind, with the exception of a few forms of prayer used in their religious ceremonies.

" In travelling through their villages, the first thing that strikes the eye of a stranger is the temple, a small square building, erected always in the centre of it. This proves, not only that they have a religion, but that they possess a considerable degree of attachment to it. This religion is undoubtedly Hindu, with a slight admixture of Mahomedanism, which seems, at some time or other, to have made some progress among them. Circumcision is universally practised, and they manifest the same prejudice to swine's flesh that the professors of the Mahomedan religion do; but it is chiefly, nay almost entirely, in these particulars, that the ceremonies and institutions of the one bear any resemblance to those of the other. It is rather remarkable that one tribe, called *Anak Semundo,* more strictly adheres to the tenets of the religion of Mahomet. They read the Koran, pray at the stated periods of the day, practise charity, which, according to the Mahomedans, consists entirely in giving alms, keep the puaso, or feast of Ramazan, with other observances of that religion. The head of this tribe is called Nabi Panghulu. Both the jujur and ambil anak marriages are very rare among them, the Semundo mode being almost exclusively adopted. But to return, although the greater part of the inhabitants of this country, as I have already said, are Pagans, they nevertheless worship neither idols nor external objects, neither have they any order of priesthood. They have no idea of one eternal Supreme Being, who made all things; although they frequently make use of the expression Allah Tuah, the term by which the Arabians express that idea, and, borrowing from the latter, which the Malays use to express the same idea; but the more ignorant Pasumah affixes no such meaning to it. Ask him what he means by it, and he replies, it is one of the Dewas. In the mythology of these people, Dewas are the highest order of beings, whom they regard with superstitious reverence. They are looked upon as benignant spirits, whose influence is beneficial to the human race. These divinities listen to the prayers, and are pleased with the sacrifices offered to them by mortals. They know all that passes on earth; they have a general superintendence over mankind and all mundane affairs; the destinies of men are in their hands, and all events are at their disposal. To these benignant beings man is indebted for the principle of life, and this

debt is continually increasing through every instant of his existence, for the preservation and maintenance of that principle within him. There appear to be orders and gradations of these beings; they are not all of the same importance to man. They have their abodes on the earth, and choose different parts of its surface for their habitations; some resort to the deepest and most gloomy woods and forests; some to hills and mountains; some preside over the rushing torrent, while others, delighted with the gentle murmurs of the limpid stream, retire to its shady banks. Particular trees are devoted to these deities: thus the sacred bringin tree or the venerable banyan, spreads forth its shade in a peculiar manner, in order to shelter the sacred habitation of a Dewa; even the kalapo gading, (a variety of the cocoa-nut tree), in the opinion of these superstitious people, is under the benignant influence of a holy Dewa, who resides in its branches, and produces a more excellent sort of fruit.

"But besides these there is another order of beings, whose influence is far less benignant. They are called Jins, or evil spirits, and are considered to be the authors of evil. All the misfortunes and calamities attendant on human life proceed from them. They likewise have their residence on different parts of the earth; and should a man by accident approach the unhallowed spot, he usually feels the anger of these resentful spirits.

"There is still another class of beings, who, in regard to the qualities and attributes ascribed to them, appear to possess a middle rank between the Dewas and the Jins, approaching much nearer to the nature of the former. They are termed Orang Alus, that is, fine, impalpable, or invisible men. I do not know the precise office or nature of this fairy tribe. They seem to be a mixture of material and immaterial beings, partaking of the nature of men and spirits. I have seen a man who, it was said, was wedded to one of these Orang Alus. I concluded his children partook of the nature of their mother, for although he had a large family, nobody had ever seen one. The name of the man was Dupati Rajo Wani; in appearance he much resembled a wizard. Such are the ridiculous ideas of this people! But are they more gross than those entertained by the Greeks and Romans with regard to their deities?

"The manes of their ancestors are held in the highest veneration, and are esteemed not inferior to the gods themselves. They suppose them to take concern in the welfare of their posterity, over whom they are always watchful. They have a strong regard and attachment to the spot where their forefathers were interred; and if Alexander the Great had penetrated into this quarter of the globe, and attempted to molest the natives in their woods and forests, they would have sent him the same reply that the ancient Scythians did. They have a strong persuasion in the doctrine of the metempsychosis, though, I believe, it is only particular animals which are allotted to the reception of the souls of the dead: nor need these, in temper and disposition, bear any resemblance to those of the persons

while living, whose souls are transfused into them. The tiger is the animal they look upon as most generally animated by a human soul. This is the reason why they regard that ferocious beast almost as sacred, and treat it with so much undeserved mildness and respect. Even when its jaws are polluted with human gore, a man cannot be prevailed on to kill it in order to prevent it from repeating its bloody feast. If a near relation have fallen its victim, he will perhaps be roused to revenge his death; yet sometimes, even in this, his superstitious prejudices and fears get the better of his ardent thirst for revenge.

"When a man finds himself plunged in distress, and the dark clouds of adversity gathering over his head, he repairs to the temple or kramat, there to propitiate the Dewas, and to invoke the manes of his ancestors to assist him under his sufferings. This is done by sacrificing a buffalo, a goat, or even a fowl, according to the urgency of the occasion, and by prayer and fasting. I have been told that some have remained in a state of fasting for fourteen days, during the whole of which time they have tasted not a morsel of food; a little quantity of water was allowed. Others have supported it for seven days, but two or three is the general period for this sort of holy penance. At this time they cannot be said to pray; part of the time being spent in silently lamenting their distress, and uttering a few words, the purport of which they do not understand. But the chief merit of this ceremony consists in calling upon their Dewas by their proper titles, and in due order; for each has its particular title and rank. They then repeat the names of their *nenek puyang,* or forefathers, and entreat them to deliver them from their existing difficulties. In the language of the country this mode of invoking the deities is termed *bertarak,* but it is chiefly in cases of the most pressing calamity that they have recourse to it: for instance, in the time of war, they frequently go through this austere ceremony in order to ensure success. As I have somewhere remarked, Gunung Dempu is looked upon as the sacred abode of the Dewas, and the souls of their ancestors occupy the regions of the mountains."

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CHAPTER XII.

Sir Stamford Raffles at Bencoolen—Proceeds to Padang—Appeal of the native Chiefs against the Dutch—Is anxious to go to Menangkabu—Considered impracticable—Dangers represented—Determines to make the attempt—Difficulty of the road—Beauty of the country—Course up the river—Thermometer—Height of the mountain—Description of the Tiga Blus country and people—Cattle—Horses—Clothing of the people—Houses—View of the Lake of Sincara—Description of it—Town of Simawang—Country compared to that of Java—Arrival at Suruasa—Discovery of an inscription in the Kawi character—Description of Menangkabu—Hindu image similar to those of Java—Height of the city—Return to the Lake—Description of crossing it—Minerals—Vegetables—Agriculture—Return to Bencoolen—Death of Dr. Arnold.

A MONTH was passed at Bencoolen in attending to the duties of the settlement. The only event which occurred was a successful attempt to cross the Island from Bencoolen to Palembang. The following details are contained in the extract of a letter to Mr. Marsden:

"*July*, 1818.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I thought it would not be long before we found our way across the Island. Finding it necessary to send a mission with a detachment of Sepoys to Palembang, I marched them across the hills, and have the pleasure to inform you, that the party reached Muara Billiti on the Palembang river, where boats were in readiness to take them to Palembang in nine days from their leaving Bencoolen, without difficulty or casualty; not a sick man or a single want the whole way. They expected to reach Palembang in two days more, making eleven from their departure. As a satisfactory document, I enclose you Mr. Bogle's report, just received by a messenger, who is only five days from Muara Billiti: you shall hereafter have a copy of the journal, &c.

"Captain Salmond, after detailing his route to Palembang, adds: 'We thus reached Palembang in twelve days from leaving Bencoolen, being the first Europeans who had crossed the Island in any direction. We found the difficulties much fewer than we expected; and though we occasionally experienced fatigue, we were abun-

dantly compensated by the variety and novelty of the scenery we passed through. The barrier range of hills appear to be more easily passed in this part than in most other places; and the rich and fertile districts of Musi are, in consequence, much more accessible from Bencoolen, than has generally been supposed. The inhabitants are partly Rejangs, and consider themselves more dependant upon Bencoolen than Palembang. From Muara Billiti, where we embarked, the Palembang river is deep and navigable for native craft of considerable burthen, and nothing seems wanting but good government and freedom of intercourse, to raise the importance and prosperity of this part of Sumatra.'

" I should not omit to inform you, that all the old pepper-contracts, &c. are cancelled, and that in their new treaties with the Chiefs, it is clearly stated that the Company shall govern the country; the fines and fees of the court go to government; the sugar lowered to one-fourth of its amount; and every article of provision full thirty per cent. cheaper than when we landed: rice twelve bamboos the dollar.

" I have, with Lady Raffles and Dr. Arnold, visited the Pasumah country, which is equal to any thing in Java. We had the pleasure of spending three nights in the forests, and of sometimes walking thirty miles in the day; but we are now so accustomed to exploring, that we are not sensible of the fatigue.

" I am building a bungalow on the first range of hills at the back of Bencoolen, on *Gunung Kabut,* the Hill of Mists, where we have a cool climate.

" The trade in pepper has been thrown open, and my next excursion is northward.

" I shall write you more fully by ' The Lady Raffles.' In the meantime, accept our united wishes for your health and happiness, and with kindest regards to Mrs. Marsden, believe me,

" T. S. Raffles."

In the beginning of the month of July (1818), Sir Stamford embarked from Bencoolen to visit Padang, and if possible to obtain some information regarding the situation and circumstances of the ancient Malay city of Menankabu, which, from his love of Eastern literature, was an object of great interest to him.

On his arrival at Padang, the Chiefs approached with consternation, apprehensive that he was the herald to proclaim the coming of the Dutch; and when he told them that it was his duty to transfer the settlement to the Dutch, they made the strongest remonstrance. They stated that twenty-five seasons (years) had elapsed since the Dutch had quitted the place; that when the English first came many of the inhabitants were children, some indeed were yet unborn; they had during the whole period looked upon the English alone as their protectors; that their engagements had long been exclusively with them; and that, were they now transferred to

the Dutch, they would be punished and degraded for every act of duty and good faith towards the English.

The Chiefs, in the course of their representations, respectfully stated that Padang did not belong to the Dutch; that the Dutch were not sovereigns, but trustees only upon a friendly agreement, paying tribute to the Sultan of Menangkabu. To ascertain the nature of their footing a reference was made to the public records, and the oldest inhabitants; from these it appeared that the treaties of the Dutch were entirely of a commercial nature; that the sovereignty was legally vested in the Chiefs of the Tigablas country, of which Padang formed a part; and that the Tigablas country itself was under the superior control and general authority of the Sultan of Menangkabu, forming one of the independent states still belonging to that empire.

The capital of Menangkabu, the jurisdiction of which in ancient times extended over the whole of Sumatra, was understood to be situated about eighty miles inland of Padang, beyond the western range of high mountains, and nearly in the centre of the Island. No European had ever visited the country, and but little was known of its constitution.

From his observations, and the information he collected at Padang, Sir Stamford was led to anticipate that in this inland government, whence all the Malayan states acknowledge to have derived their power, much civilization was to be discovered. The origin of the Malayan nation was of itself a question of interesting inquiry. The present state and condition of the seat of empire promised to throw light on the subject; and as it was uncertain how long Padang, the key to Menangkabu, might remain in the possession of the English, he was determined to attempt the enterprize.

Menangkabu had been famed since the earliest periods of history for the riches of its gold mines, its iron ores, and its mineral productions in general. It was from Menangkabu, and principally down the Siak, Sudragiri, and Sunda rivers that the gold which traders found at Malacca in remote periods was carried. It was to the gold of Menangkabu that Malacca owed its designation of the golden Chersonesus, and navigators even distinguish in their charts to this day two mountains in its vicinity, called Mount Ophir, one in Sumatra to the west, the other on the peninsula of Malacca, but nearly in the same degree of latitude with the capital of Menangkabu, that is to say, under the equinoctial line. Sir Stamford wrote an account of this journey to his friends in England.

To Wm. Marsden, Esq.

"*Pageruyung, at the foot of Berapi, July 24th,* 1818, *long. E., lat.* 10° *S.*

"My Dear Sir,

"I have the satisfaction to send you a few lines from this noted spot, to prove to you that I have not been idle since my arrival. Dr. Horsfield, who is with

me, will carry home an account of our discoveries; and in the mean time it may be sufficient to inform you that at Suruasa I yesterday discovered two inscriptions in the *Kawi* character, and at Pageruyung, ten minutes ago, I met with a regular Hindu idol well sculptured in stone. Lady Raffles is by my side, and desires her kindest remembrances."

Extract from a Letter written at sea to the Duchess of Somerset.

"*Sept.* 10, 1818.

"On my arrival at Padang, I found, that notwithstanding the previous instructions I had given, no arrangements whatever had been made for facilitating the proposed journey into the interior. Here, as in a former instance at Manna, when I proposed proceeding to Pasumah, the chief authority had taken upon himself, on the advice of the good folks of the place, to consider such an excursion as altogether impracticable, and to conclude that on my arrival I should myself be of the same opinion. I had, therefore, to summon the most intelligent European and native inhabitants, and to inform them of my determination. At first all was difficulty and impossibility. Besides physical obstructions, the whole of the interior was represented to be under the sway of Tuanku Pasaman, a religious reformer, who would undoubtedly cut me off without mercy or consideration: but when they found me positive, these difficulties and impossibilities gradually vanished; distances were estimated, and a route projected; letters were immediately sent off to the principal Chiefs of the interior, informing them of my approach, and in three days every thing was ready for the journey.

"Our first object was to send the baggage and provisions a-head. This party, which consisted of about two hundred Coolies, or porters, each man carrying his separate load; fifty military as an escort, and all our personal servants, left Padang on the afternoon of the 14th of July, by beat of drum, forming a most ridiculous cavalcade, the interest of which was much heightened by the quixotic appearance of my friend Dr. Horsfield, who was borne along on the shoulders of four of the party, in order that in preceding us he might gain time for botanizing.

"Thursday, the 16th, at daylight, was fixed for our departure, but the rain during the whole of the night had been violent and incessant, and continued to fall so heavily that no one could move out of the house till after ten o'clock; the clouds then broke, and the native Chiefs who were to accompany us appeared; one and all declared the impossibility of our proceeding on that day: such had been the quantity and the violence of the rain, that the river of Padang had overflowed its banks; the bazar or native town was three feet under water; all communication with the country was cut off; the long-boat of the Sunburry and another native boat had been lost in attempting to get out of the river; but as the weather cleared up by noon, and every thing was arranged for departing, we were not inclined to be disappointed. At half-

past twelve, therefore, we left the Residency, under a salute from the fort, accompanied by the Tuanku, or native Chief of the place, two Princes of Menangkabu, the principal native merchants, and about 300 followers.

"For the first part of the road we proceeded on horseback, but were soon obliged to dismount. We had scarcely passed the bazar of Padang, when we had to swim our horses across a rapid stream, and in the course of three hours we had successively to cross at least twenty streams of the kind: over some we were carried in small canoes, over others we were borne on men's backs, and through some we boldly waded, for it was impossible to think of remaining free from wet. At length, we struck across the country to the northward, over a fine plain of rice fields, which, fortunately for us, were not in a state of cultivation. We had hardly got over our difficulties in crossing the numerous rivulets, when a heavy shower drenched us completely, and as there was every prospect of a wet night, we thought it best to look out for shelter, and accordingly, at half-past four, put up in the village of Campong Baru, where we remained housed for the night. We at first expected to have reached Lemau Manis, a small village at the foot of the mountains; but the rain coming on, we were content to satisfy ourselves with having got thus far, and accomplished the great object of *breaking ground.* Although we had been four hours on the road, we did not estimate our distance from Padang, in a direct line, at more than six miles. The country through which we had passed was populous, and generally well cultivated; many herds of cattle and buffaloes straying near the road; an appearance of plenty and content throughout; the villages appearing to occupy a very considerable extent, and to include orchards and plantations of various kinds. I notice these appearances, because they are not found to exist within the same distance of Bencoolen.

"Just before reaching this village, I received an express from Dr. Horsfield, which, on account of its *encouraging* tenor, I shall transcribe.

"My Dear Sir,

"Your servants, Covrington and Siamee, have just arrived at Gedong Beo, with a report that one of the Coolies was carried away by the stream, in attempting to cross the river; we have had continued rain for twenty-four hours, by which the rivers are all greatly swelled. Covrington thinks it impossible that Lady Raffles can pursue the route. As for myself, I came in just before the rain. I must inform you that there are many difficult passages; I should not, however, despair of your progress, as far as relates to yourself, but as for Lady Raffles, I almost doubt whether, in favourable weather, she could come on, as in many places a lady *cannot be carried;* if it rains, doubtless, communication is stopped. The road passes through the bed of a stream, which rapidly swells after rains; and if the rains continue, the natives are positively of opinion, that the progress forwards or backwards is impeded. I do not wish to discourage you in the attempt, but it is my duty to

inform you of what your servants have communicated to me, with a request to make it known to you as early as possible.

" Your's, &c.

(Signed) " J. Horsfield."

" P.S.—The further route towards *Tiga blas* is reckoned worse than that hither by far, and large packages, as a table, &c., cannot be transported.

" *Wednesday night.*"

" This letter was poor comfort, considering that it continued to rain during the whole of the night.

" *Friday* 17*th.*—As the sun rose the clouds dispersed, and, fully determined to overcome every obstacle, we started from Campong Baru at seven; at half-past eight we reached *Lemau Manis;* about two miles from thence entered the forests, and at half-past eleven overtook Dr. Horsfield and the advanced party, at the Gedong Beo, or toll-post of Ayer Malentang, where we halted for the night. The first miracle wrought was to bring the dead to life, in the re-appearance of the Coolie, who was reported to have been lost; this poor fellow had truly enough been carried away by the flood, but having had the good sense to lay hold of the branch of a tree which overhung the river, he afterwards regained the rocks.

" Our route from Campong Baru to Lemau Manis, and for about a mile beyond it, lay over a rich plain of sawas, or rice-fields, alternately rising above each other, till we brought the top of Padang hill on a line with the horizon; the soil extremely rich, and the country intersected by numerous streams; every indication of an extensive and industrious population; sheds, or *warongs*, as they are termed in Java, erected for the accommodation of travellers, at convenient distances; and here and there the vestige of a road, once passable for wheel-carriages. The vicinity of Lemau Manis affords several beautiful and commanding situations for the residence of Europeans; and should Padang remain permanently under the English flag, they would doubtless be immediately resorted to. The village itself is elevated above the sea about four hundred feet; this is called the Pau country, in which an interesting ceremony is understood to attend the annual inundation of the rice-fields, by opening the embankments of the principal river. Lemau Manis is a long straggling village, or rather plantation, on the romantic banks of a rapid river, which discharges itself into the sea at Ujung Karang, and up the stream of which our further course lay. Here, as well as in several villages we had passed, we observed a considerable quantity of coffee growing under the shade of the large fruit-trees, and contiguous to the houses. Our arrival was welcomed by the beating of the great drum, or *tabu*, which has a place in every large village. This drum is peculiar; it is formed of the trunk of a large tree, and is at least twenty feet long,

ROUTE FROM PADANG TO MENANGKABU.

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hollowed out, and suspended on a wooden frame, lying horizontally under an attap shed; one end only is covered with parchment.

" As the nature of our road, after entering the forest, has already been described in Dr. Horsfield's letter, it will be only necessary to observe, that the violence of the current having abated, we found the route passable. The ascent was very moderate, but many passages along the sides of slippery rocks very unsafe. We had frequently to wade across the stream, and continually to leap, like a flock of goats, from rock to rock. The native traders secure their loads in a peculiar manner, by lashing them fast to a small frame, or stand, which is placed on the shoulder, and kept steady by being held with one hand while the leap is made.

" The bed of the river afforded a fine opportunity for collecting specimens of minerals; those we observed were principally of volcanic origin. Dr. Horsfield noticed several plants entirely new to him.

" Our course from Lemau Manis was about E.N.E., estimated distance from Campong Baru sixteen miles.

" The barometer, at the toll-post where we slept, was 28° 55′; the thermometer, in the morning, 72°; at two o'clock, P.M., 75°; in the evening, at eight, 69°, our estimated height, above the level of the sea, fifteen hundred feet.

" I shall not speak of the nature of the accommodation which we found at this and other toll-posts, further than by observing that they generally consist of one or more large sheds, for the accommodation of the native traders and travellers, who pay a small sum for being accommodated during the night. Sometimes we had a small division of the shed to ourselves; at other times we had not even this accommodation. When it rained, our whole party, consisting of not less than three hundred, was sometimes collected under one shed alone.

" *Saturday*, 18th.—Having accomplished our journey thus far with less difficulty than we were at first prepared for, we set out this morning at about half-past seven, in high spirits, but before we came to our resting-place for the night they were pretty well exhausted; for, in consequence of some misapprehension in the party which had gone before us, we had to walk nearly twice the distance we had calculated upon, and this over the most fatiguing road, with little or nothing to eat or drink. From the place where we had slept, our course continued up the bed of the river, but the ascent was much steeper, and the road far more difficult than on the preceding day. Rocks piled on rocks, in sublime confusion, roaring cataracts, and slippery precipices were now to be surmounted. Nothing could be more romantic and wild than the course which we had to pass; but in the proportion that the scene was irregular and grand, the road was difficult and laborious, and ere we had reached the small station of Pulo Chepada about noon, we were completely wearied out. At this place we had directed that a small hut should be erected where we might pass the night; but to our mortification we found that the party

who had received these orders had previously proceeded further on, and left us to follow them to a more convenient resting-place, said to be distant about five hours further walk. It was too late to remedy the evil, for even had we been able to keep out the rain, which now began to fall, we could not have remained. Not only our bedding and clothes, but the cook with all our eatables and drinkables had also gone a-head—we were therefore compelled to follow, and after resting about an hour, again set out. From this place we quitted the bed of the river, and ascended an extremely steep mountain (Gunung Dingin), the summit of which we reached with great difficulty at twenty minutes past four. Here the thermometer was sixty-three, the weather close and rainy; estimated height by the barometer five thousand two hundred feet; vegetation stunted, and the trees covered with moss. From the summit, our descent to the eastward was more gradual, but for the first hour principally through a very narrow channel of about two feet wide, and sometimes four and five feet deep, apparently cut as a pathway, but more calculated for a water-course, which in fact it had become, the water being in most places more than ankle deep. We continued descending till dark, when it was with difficulty and danger we could grope our way for a few yards. The night was extremely dark; we were in the centre of a deep forest, through which the twinkling of a star could not be seen, on either side of us were steep precipices of several hundred feet; we had no one with us who knew the road; it was impossible to distinguish it either by the sight or touch, and in this miserable predicament, without any thing to eat or drink (for we could not help arguing with Sancho, that this after all was the worst of the affair), and not knowing how far we had to go, about seven it began to rain pretty heavily: we then fired two or three guns, in the hope that the party a-head would hear us, and sent off the boldest of our followers in search of a light; during the next hour we were continually tantalized by the appearances of lights, which no sooner approached than they receded, proving but the evanescent glare of the fire-fly—at last a steady light was seen at some distance through the depth of the forest; a distant halloo answered our call, and we were relieved from our anxiety; with this assistance we reached our destination at half-past eight; but many of our party did not get in till midnight, and several, giving way to despair, remained in the forest till the next morning.

" Between the toll-post we had left and Pulo Chepada, we suddenly came down upon a small valley of about a mile in length, clear of forest, and covered with grass alone, along which a beautiful stream meandered on a fine bed of pebbles; this was represented to us to have but a few years since been the bed of a lake, one of the banks of which gave way during an earthquake: every appearance corroborated this fact.

" Our abode for the night was on a detached hill, Bukit Batu, at the verge of the forest, the Gedung Beŏ, or toll-post, a wretched shed where people of all ranks

were indiscriminately accommodated, but in which we found as substantial comfort and repose as we could have desired in a palace.

" Our distance during this day of fatigue we estimated at not less than twenty miles; but we all agreed that we could have walked double that distance on level ground and good road with less labour.

" From an opening in the forest, about five in the afternoon, we had our first view of Gunung Berapi, the Western Peak emitting a volume of smoke, and bearing N. by W.

" The estimated height of Bukit Batu by barometer is 3500 feet. The thermometer at day-light sixty-five. The toll-post here is under *Ganton Chiri*, one of the *Tiga-blas Cotas*, and seems regulated on the same principle as that of Ayer Melangtang under Lemau Manis; each traveller pays a certain sum according to the goods he carries—if cloth, iron, or gold, a wang—if siri, and other inferior articles, a satali or half wang. They are well adapted for the general object intended, and afford evidence of the extent of the traffic carried on. We met several parties of traders crossing the country towards Padang.

" *Sunday*, 19th.—As we had now entered the limits of the Tiga-blas country, our further progress depended upon the good-will of the Chiefs, who are here entirely independent of the European authority. It was intimated to us, that we should arrive at Solo Solaya, the intended termination of our present day's journey, by eleven or twelve o'clock; and as we had scarcely recovered from the last day's fatigue, we determined to breakfast before we moved. While partaking of this meal, several of the Chiefs of the Tiga-blas country were announced; and a party who stated themselves to be the representatives of two-thirds of that country were introduced. After the usual compliments, they proceeded to the business of their visit, and being informed of my wish to proceed without delay, very quietly stated that they had already taken the subject into consideration, that they had been discussing it since daylight, and had at last come to the resolution, that as they were only two-thirds of the Chiefs, and the other third had not arrived, they would come to no decision at all, but proposed as an accommodation that I should remain where I was for three days, after which, a final decision should be immediately passed. This proposition I, of course, treated very lightly, and in few words intimated my determination to proceed as soon as breakfast should be over. While the Chiefs were deliberating upon what answer they should make, the arrival of the remaining third was announced, and the conference broke up, in order that a general consultation might be held. As soon as breakfast was over, I went out to see what was going on. The Chiefs, after sitting down in a circle, and debating for about an hour, rose, and the parties dispersed, in order that the newly arrived Chiefs might think on the subject by themselves and advise with their followers. They accordingly

adjourned to an opposite hill, on which several hundred people had collected. Here they continued in conference till ten o'clock, when finding there was no chance of a speedy termination, I ordered my party to be in readiness to move. We were no sooner in motion than the Chiefs again assembled in council, and it was requested that I would wait ten minutes longer; wanting the patience to do this, and determined at once to break through this tedious delay, to which it was to be feared we should be subjected in passing the boundary of every petty state, I walked into the middle of the circle, and demanded that they should say in one word what was required, on which the most respectable looking man among them answered, *Sa talí sa paù*—that is to say, twenty dollars; the money was immediately tendered, we shook hands, the utmost cordiality and good understanding instantly prevailed, and we were permitted to proceed on our journey without further hesitation.

" It was now between ten and eleven o'clock: our course on the descent lay partly through a wood, and partly over several cleared hills, cultivated with coffee, indigo, &c. In about an hour after starting, the country opened; and we had the gratifying view of the Tiga-blas country, an extensive and highly cultivated plain, bounded to the south by the noble mountain of *Talang*.

" After descending the hills, and reaching the plain, our course lay entirely along the narrow ridges or embankments raised between the rice-fields until we reached the market-place, distinguished by several large waringin or banyan trees. Here we halted and partook of different kinds of fruits presented to us. In our course from *Bukit Batu* to the place, our party had been strengthened until it amounted to several thousands—the people of the country being collected at the different eminences near where we passed; they welcomed us as they joined the throng, by the most discordant howls and cheers which can be well conceived. Arrived at the market, they formed an extensive circle several rows deep, the front row squatting; nearly the whole were armed with spears, and among them were some women. One old woman made herself very conspicuous by her attentions, and when a little alarm was evinced by Lady Raffles, on account of the violence of the howling and cheering, she was the first to assure us no harm was meant; it was only the way of the hill-people, who took this mode to show their delight, and how happy they were to see us. On the whole, I cannot well conceive any thing more savage than the manners of this noisy party, from the time the Chiefs joined us until we left the market-place. It was evident they wished to give us an hospitable reception * * * * I will only add, that before they suffered us to proceed beyond the market-place, a new consultation was held, which lasted more than half-an-hour, when another *douceur* became necessary. We then prosecuted our journey to the towns of Solo Solaya, which were considered as the first in rank of the Tiga-blas Cotas, and about four

o'clock reached our destination. Here, after having been kept for half-an-hour in the Bali, or town-hall, we were accommodated in a very commodious planked house, and which appeared to be the residence of one of the principal Chiefs.

" Finding ourselves among a set of people who exhibited in their manners so much of the savage, we determined to keep our party close together, and whenever any general movement was made, to call in the aid of the drum and fife, which fortunately we had brought with us; this imperfect music, most wretchedly performed, seemed to have a great effect upon the people.

" I have now once more led your Grace across the *Barisan*, or chain of mountains, which had hitherto so effectually opposed the approach of Europeans to the rich and populous countries in the interior. In a former letter, I attempted to express the delight with which I first viewed the fertile valley of Pasumah, after spending three days in the forests. Here I was certainly prepared to find a country still more fertile and populous, and I was not disappointed. The whole of the plain, or valley, (I hardly know which to call it,) occupied by the *Tigas-blas Cotas*, or *Thirteen Confederate Towns*, is one sheet of cultivation; in breadth it may be about ten, and in length twenty miles, thickly studded with towns and villages, some of them running in a connected line for several miles; this was the case with the town of Solo Solaya, where we put up. The town of Solaya joins that of Solo, whence the Chiefs are usually denominated to be of Solo Solaya; a third town, called *Cola-baru*, is again only separated from these by a river: the whole are shaded by extensive groves of cocoa-nut trees.

" On the slopes of the hills, the principal cultivation is coffee, indigo, maize, sugar-cane, and the oil-giving plants; on the plain below, almost exclusively rice. The sawas, or rice-fields, are here managed exactly on the principle of the mountain sawas in Java, and the soil and produce seem equally good. A fine breed of small cattle, which seems peculiar, abounds here and throughout the Menangkabu country; oxen seem to be generally used in agriculture, in preference to buffaloes; they are in general about three feet four inches high, beautifully made, and mostly of a light fawn colour, with black eyes and lashes, and are sold at from three to four dollars a-head. They are, without exception, the most beautiful little animals of the kind I ever beheld; we did not see one in bad condition. Horses, of which there seems to be plenty, are not much used; for a mare and foal the price was four dollars, twenty shillings.

" On entering the country, we were struck by the costume of the people, which is now any thing but Malay, the whole being clad according to the custom of the *Orang Putis*, or Padris, that is to say, in white or blue, with turbans, and allowing their beards to grow, in conformity with the ordinances of Tuanku Pasaman, the religious reformer. Unaccustomed to wear turbans, and by nature deficient in beard, these poor people make but a sorry appearance in their new costume. The

women, who are also clad in white or blue cloth, do not appear to the best advantage in this new costume; many of them conceal their heads under a kind of hood, through which an opening is made sufficient to expose their eyes and nose alone; but we observed some general customs in their dress, which are not perhaps attributable to the recent reformation. The women invariably wear their hair parted over the forehead, and combed smooth down the sides; and the children and young girls were frequently seen with their hair plaited down the back, after the manner of the Chinese. All the women have the lobe of the ear distended to an enormous extent, in order to receive an immense ear-ring, or rather wheel, which it more resembles; this is usually about two inches in diameter, and differently ornamented; some are of wood, ornamented with silver, others of copper, &c.

" The people in general are by no means good-looking; neither in stature or countenance do they equal the Pasumahs; they are decidedly a less ingenuous people; their manners, if any thing, more rude and uncultivated; but their agriculture, their comforts, and their condition, certainly superior.

" *Monday*, 20th.—This day was spent at Solo Solaya. About noon I was informed that all the Chiefs of the adjoining districts had assembled, and were desirous of a conference. In number they amounted to some hundreds, and I therefore requested they would select ten or twenty, with whom I could personally confer. After about an hour's disputing, and when I found by their clamour that they were likely to separate in disorder, I was compelled to say I would confer with the whole of them, if they wished it. They accordingly assembled in the vicinity of the Bali, or town-hall; and having formed a circle, in which a place was reserved for me, I took my seat with all the state which circumstances admitted. The object of my visit was then inquired into, and the propriety of allowing the Dutch to return to Padang discussed with much vehemence, until one and all declared the Dutch never should return. To enforce this declaration the foremost struck their spears in the ground and set up a shout. A letter was then written to the King of England, and signed by the principal Chiefs; and other agreements, of a political nature, entered into. A translation of the letter to the King of England I enclose to your Grace, as a political document of *high import*.

" This business terminated, a general shout announced the conclusion of the conference. Each of the principal Chiefs was presented with a piece of British broad-cloth, and three volleys of musketry fired, the drum and fife playing ' God save the King,' and escorting me home, in the most ridiculous state that can be conceived.

" The remainder of the day was passed in examining the town and making inquiries.

" These towns, I found, had little to do with commerce; the inhabitants are almost exclusively devoted to agriculture; and to this cause the native merchants

who were with me attributed the want of civilization among them. 'The people of those towns,' said they, 'which lie on the road to the gold mines, and where they understand how to trade, are of very different manners; these people, though considering themselves as of most importance, have always been noted for their rude and obstinate behaviour.' This account I had subsequently reason to believe was pretty correct. The Tiga-blas country has always been famed for its produce in gold; indeed to Europeans it has been known as a gold country alone. To find it also in a high degree agricultural was more than I expected. Hitherto the country through which we passed was exclusively volcanic; the rocks for the most part basaltic; a hot-spring, 108° of Fahrenheit, close to the town, and two burning mountains in sight; no evidences of primitive formations; no indications whatever of metals. We had therefore to look for the gold mines beyond the immediate confines of the Tiga-blas country; and we soon ascertained the principal mines to be situated, some at two and three, and others as far as ten and twelve, days' journey distant, in a south-eastern direction. The principal mines are those of Sungy Pagu and Sungy Abu, which are marked on the map as lying at the back of Gunung Talang. Of the extent and value of these mines I shall have occasion hereafter to make some observations; for the present, I will confine myself more particularly to that part of the Tiga-blas country through which we passed.

"On entering the town of Solaya, we passed through the burial-ground, distinguished by a very large waringin-tree and several tombs built of wood, here termed *jiri;* these are peculiar, sometimes little more than a shed, but frequently with a raised flooring, and seats raised one above the other at each end, like the stern of a vessel. Several of these were observed outside of the town, and in the middle of the rice-fields; these, we were informed, had been raised in memory of persons who had died at a distance; they now served as a shelter for the children, when watching the birds, as the rice ripened, and as places of amusement for the younger branches of the family. The waringin, or banyan trees, reminded me very much of Java; they are here even larger than any I ever observed in that country. Nothing in the vegetable creation can well exceed the peaceful grandeur of these trees.

"The houses are for the most part extensive and well built; in length seldom less than sixty feet; the interior, one long hall, with several small chambers in the rear opening into it. In the front of each house are generally two *lombongs,* or granaries, on the same principle as those in Java, but much longer and more substantial: they were not less than thirty feet high, and capable of holding an immense quantity; many of them very highly ornamented, various flowers and figures being carved on the uprights and cross-beams; some of them coloured. The taste for ornament is not confined to the lombongs; the wood-work of most of the houses is carved, and coloured with red, white, and black. The ridge-poles of the houses, lombongs, &c.

have a peculiar appearance, in being extremely concave, the ends or points of the crescent being very sharp. In the larger houses they give the appearance of two roofs, one crescent being, as it were, within another. The whole of the buildings are constructed in the most substantial manner, but entirely of wood and matting.

" In the evening, I was much amused by the return of the cattle from pasture. To every house there appeared attached several head of cattle; these came in, as the sun declined, of their own accord, and were severally secured by the children and women, the cattle being quite as docile as those in Europe, in which respect they form a striking contrast to those on the coast, which are, for the most part, too wild to be approached.

" Being anxious to refresh myself in the river which passed at the back of the town, I enquired for a convenient place to bathe; my intention was no sooner intimated, than the women of the village flocked round me, and insisted on accompanying me to the place; but, however great their curiosity, my modesty did not allow me to gratify it, and I was content to disappoint myself as well as them.

" It is now, however, time to proceed on the journey, lest I tire you on the way.

" *Tuesday*, 21st.—At day-light the drum was beaten, and every thing in readiness for our departure, when a serious difficulty was started. In the distribution of the presents the day before, it was stated that one piece of cloth had been stolen, and that the Chiefs of Solo had in consequence received one piece less than those of Solaya. This was represented as likely to be the occasion of a feud between the two people after my departure. I would willingly have given another piece of cloth, but I found the whole statement to be an imposition; for when I offered to do so, a new demur arose; the Chiefs of Solo came in a body, saying that I had slept two nights in Solaya, and not one in Solo; that I had therefore done more honour to the former; that the two towns had always maintained an equality, which was now lost, unless I would consent also to stay two nights at Solo. This I represented to be impossible; the Chiefs of both towns had received me at the boundary, and it was left with them to conduct me whither they pleased; they took me to Solaya; the drum was now beating, and I must be off. I promised, however, to visit Solo on my return; but nothing would pacify them, and we had very nigh come to an open rupture. At last, I gave the piece of cloth to the Chiefs of Solo, and a written certificate that the important point should be regularly discussed after my return to Padang, where the Chiefs were invited to proceed, should any bad blood remain. At length, with the greatest difficulty, we got clear out of the town, and bent our course across the plain towards the Lake of Sincara, which we expected to reach in the course of the day.

" During this day's journey, which lay through one of the most highly cultivated countries I ever passed, we were subjected to several gross impositions. On first leaving Solo Solaya, we had to find our way without guides; but we had not

proceeded many miles, when, on being at a loss which way to proceed, some men immediately came forward and offered their services as guides, provided we would pay them in the first instance; this we at first declined, but at length were forced to give into; but they no sooner got the money than they took an early opportunity to decamp. To our surprise, however, we soon fell in with the Chiefs of the towns which we had left; they had proceeded by a shorter route, and now presented themselves as guides. They did not, however, allow us to pursue our journey for more than a mile at a time without stopping to consult; and the whole country being raised as we proceeded, it was impossible for us to oppose their will. In this manner they detained us at least six or seven times in the course of two hours, nor would they allow us to proceed until we paid them a certain sum, by way of customs, for the liberty of passing through the country; all hands seemed determined to get something by us; at last, about half-past nine, we reached the termination of that part of the plain under the Tiga-blas Chiefs, who after making their last demand, insisted on our remaining half-an-hour to see them exhibit in a tournament, to which we were obliged to submit, notwithstanding the excessive heat of the sun, from which we had no shelter. At ten o'clock we obtained a view of the lake, and about eleven we reached Kasi; at twelve we arrived at Sindangbaher, a populous town on the banks of the lake, where we remained for the night. Both here and at Kasi, we were received, comparatively, with politeness and attention; the people seemed to have some respect for authority, and it was evident they had the advantage of more general intercourse with strangers; we were, in the first instance, conducted to the large waringin tree, under the shade of which the Chiefs and people assembled to receive us, and where cocoa-nuts and fruits were presented. At Kasi the most particular attention was paid to us, owing, most probably, to its being the native town of one of the principal merchants who accompanied us, and who seemed to possess much influence here.

" The town of Sindangbaher is situated about a mile from the banks of the lake, on a fine stream. The buildings, &c. are much in the same style as at Solo Solaya, but not so substantial or numerous, many of them having been burnt during the late civil war; but the most interesting object before us was the lake, across which our course lay to Menangkabu; of this an account will be given in the next day's journey.

" Of the country through which we had passed, I shall only observe that our course this day lay through the richest corn-fields, and frequently on the slope of a low range of hills on the western side of the plain. The fertility of the plain fully equalled any part of Java, and particularly about Kasi and in the vicinity of the lake, where the rice-fields evinced an uncommon luxuriance; they were here in full cultivation, the rice in all its stages, but chiefly in ear. The plain gradually narrowed as we approached the lake, and between the rice-fields under the Tiga-blas country,

and those of Kasi, we passed an uncultivated tract, but even this was cleared, and covered with a short sod, affording excellent pasture for cattle, of which there were great abundance; many parts reminded us of the beautiful district of Serayu, the pride of Java.

" We estimated our journey this day at twelve miles, and Lady Raffles had the advantage of being carried a considerable part of the way in a chair, but in passing through the rice-fields in cultivation, the embankments which formed the foot-paths were too narrow to admit of this aid.

" We estimated the height of Sindangbaher, above the level of the sea, eleven hundred feet; that of Solo Solaya we also ascertained, by the barometer, to be twelve hundred feet; so that the plain gradually descends from Great Talang, its southern boundary to the lake, of the bed of which, in early days, it may probably have formed part, being bounded to the west by the high range of mountains, and to the east by the ranges of low hills, which in their continuation confine the waters of the lake as at present defined.

" Of the population of the *Tiga-blas* country, I shall hereafter have occasion to speak; and here it may only be necessary to notice, that from the best information I could obtain on the spot, we formed a loose estimate that it could not fall far short of eighty thousand souls.

" The dawn of Wednesday found us on the banks of the lake, shipping our baggage, and embarking for Simawang. We should have started the preceding night, but the boats had not arrived; even now we had but one at our command, and in this we proceeded, leaving the heaviest part of the baggage, the escort, and coolies, to follow by land, should no other boat be procurable in the course of the day.

" This beautiful sheet of water, called the Danau, or lake of Sincara, is about fourteen miles long, and on the broadest part seven, surrounded by mountains and hills, except towards the Tiga-blas country, where a plain of its own width gradually sinks into its bosom. Proceeding northward, we had on our left the high mountains which form the Barisan or boundary of the sea-coast districts, in height from five to seven thousand feet, at the foot of which, on the margin of the lake for two or three miles deep, were rice fields, plantations, and villages, rising successively above each other. On the sides of the mountains themselves, nearly to the summit of the first ridge, the forest had been cleared and cultivation carried. The opposite side, as well as the northern part of the lake, is confined by a succession of low hills, which in their constitution we found to be essentially different from the high volcanic ridges we had passed over, being primitive, and abounding in metals; among these the most conspicuous, and lying nearly north, was the Gunung Besi, or Hill of Iron, which from time immemorial has been the principal source whence these districts have been supplied with that metal. Behind these, a little to the westward,

rises the Berapi, a grand volcanic mountain, emitting smoke from its western peak, and towering in the clouds to the height of at least ten thousand feet above the lake itself. Further west, connecting its base with that of the Berapi, is the Gunung Sincalang, another insulated mountain, in height about eight thousand feet. To the eastward of Berapi, and nearly over Simawang, as we approached it we obtained a glimpse of the stupendous mountain of Kasumba, the estimated height of which is not less than fifteen thousand feet. To the southward, the view was bounded by Gunung Talang, lying at the extremity of the Tiga-blas country, at the back of which were observed a ridge still higher than itself.

" On the banks of the lake are situated seven principal towns with their numerous villages and hamlets, these being shaded by trees form so many groves, the dark foliage of which pleasingly contrasts with the bright tints of the rice plantations in the middle of which they are situated. The beach is a bright sand, and cultivation immediately commences. At each of these towns a weekly market is held, to which the traders, &c. from the other towns and adjacent countries repair by water. The canoes are numerous, and each town has one or two large boats, capable of carrying six tons, and one hundred men: it was in one of these that we embarked. These large boats are well built, and at a distance when filled with people, have very much the appearance of the large war boats of the South Sea Islands. At a short distance from Sindangbaher, and where the lake was said to be by no means deep, we obtained bottom with a deep-sea lead at sixty-eight fathoms, but subsequently in attempting to ascertain the depth more in the centre, we found no bottom with one hundred and eighty fathoms. The shores are easy of access, and no rocks or shoals exist to obstruct its navigation. It abounds in fish, and the inhabitants procure lime by burning a small shell of the muscle kind found on its banks.

" As we approached Simawang, a very peculiar hill, with three ragged peaks, was pointed out to us as lying immediately at the back of Pageruyong, the capital of the Menangkabu country. This hill, Gunung Bongso, will be hereafter noticed.

" We had embarked at a quarter-past eight, it was now half-past one, when we landed at the foot of the hill on which Samawang is situated, and at the source of the Kuantau or Indragiri river, which issues from the lake of Sincara at this place. We had a very hot and fatiguing walk for above an hour in ascending the hill, but were amply repaid for our labour by the friendly and cordial reception we met with at the summit, where the head of the village, a venerable old man, quietly conducted us into his dwelling, and made every preparation for our comfort without subjecting us to exposure under the waringin tree, or any of the ridiculous and annoying ceremonies and delays to which we had in former instances been liable.

" The house in which we were now accommodated was in length about one hundred feet, and from thirty to forty in depth, built in a most substantial manner,

and supported along the centre by three large wooden pillars, fit for the masts of a ship: indeed from the peculiar construction of the house, the gable end of which was raised in tiers like the stern of a vessel, they had very much this appearance. The floor was raised from the ground about ten feet, the lower part being inclosed and appropriated to cattle, &c. The principal entrance is about the centre, but there is a second door at one end. The interior consists of one large room or hall, the height proportioned to the other dimensions; three fire-places equally distant from each other were placed on the front side, and at the back were several small chambers, in which we perceived the spinning-wheels and other articles belonging to the women. This may serve as a general description for the houses in this part of the country, which I have described thus particularly, because they differ essentially from those on the coast, and from what Mr. Marsden has described as the usual dwellings of the Sumatrans.

" Notwithstanding the room in which we were now accommodated was so commodious, we suffered more from the heat at this place than elsewhere, on account of the greater number of people admitted, and the number of fires. That end of the hall which rose in tiers, like the stern of a ship, was set apart for Lady Raffles and me, and separated from the rest by mats. The number at one time accommodated in this caravansera did not fall short of a hundred and fifty persons.

" As I must have pretty well tired your Grace with the detail of this day's journey, I will close the account, and proceed to the next.

" *Thursday,* 23d *July.*—The town of Simawang occupies the summit of a hill elevated above the banks of the lake about 500 feet, and commands a most beautiful prospect. Notwithstanding this elevation, there are hills in the vicinity of greater height, which give it the advantage of several streams. These are directed into numerous channels, and fertilize the country in the immediate vicinity, which is for the most part cut into terraces and cultivated with rice. The river Ulu Kuantau, as it is here called, but which is the source of the Indragiri river, (which, after pursuing a south-easterly course across the country, discharges itself into the sea on the eastern side of the island,) is seen to issue from the lake at the foot of the hill, dashing with great rapidity over the rocks as it winds along the valley. The lake itself, serene and placid, insensible of the loss it sustains, is always the same. No sooner, however, are its waters withdrawn from its bosom, than they are made subservient to the purposes of man. Not fifty yards from the source of the river we observed a well constructed water-wheel, by means of which the adjacent fields were irrigated. These wheels, which are composed principally of bamboo, are well adapted for their object. They are in general use in the Menangkabu country, and may be considered as an improvement in agriculture to which even the Javans have not advanced, notwithstanding their long connexion with the Chinese. As neither Europeans nor Chinese had hitherto penetrated the Menangkabu country,

and the natives themselves, for many centuries at least, have had little or no intercourse with foreigners, these wheels may be considered of native invention. I had formerly occasion to notice one on the Manna river, and in the Musi country I am told they are common. I do not recollect to have seen any thing of the kind in Java.

" On those slopes of the hills which cannot conveniently be cut into terraces, or where streams of water cannot be carried, sugar-cane is the principal article. Of this the cultivation is considerable, and very neatly constructed mills for expressing the juice, which is afterwards manufactured into a coarse sugar, are common. They consist of two perpendicular cylinders, the upper ends of which are formed into screws or grooves, which fit into each other so that the cylinders, which at the bottom are fixed into a stand, and are turned by an ox, revolve different ways. The expressed juice is received in a reservoir below.

" It was near Simawang that we first found feltspar, granite, quartz, and other minerals of a primitive formation. They were here mixed with a variety of volcanic productions in the greatest confusion, strongly indicating that this part of the country had at some distant period been subjected to violent convulsions. Dr. Horsfield got specimens of these, which he gave in charge to some coolies who attended him; after the day's journey he wished to examine this collection; the men produced their baskets full of stones, but on the Doctor's exclaiming they were not what he had given them, and expressing some anger on the occasion, they simply observed, they thought he only wanted stones, and they preferred carrying their baskets empty, so they threw away what he gave them, and filled them up at the end of the day's journey, and they were sure they gave him more than he collected.

" But to proceed on our journey. We were now in a country abounding with metals; iron ore of various kinds lay in our path, and it was not long before we were to be in the vicinity of the gold mines.

" We left Simawang at half-an-hour before seven, and reached Suruasa, the second city of the Menangkabu country, and in the immediate vicinity of Pageruyong, about one o'clock, the road nearly the whole way lying over a range of low primitive hills, and the distance about twelve miles. After descending the hill of Simawang, we crossed the river by a most romantic hanging bridge, which swung in a very nervous manner as we passed one by one. We soon came into a country entirely primitive, or rather composed of the *debris* of primitive matter; we passed over several hills, said to contain gold, and saw extensive excavations, where the miners had been at work; these, however, cannot be considered as regular mines, and they are not reckoned very valuable. The excavations, however, afforded us a fine opportunity of noticing the direction of the strata, and other appearances interesting to the geologist. About eleven o'clock we obtained our first view of Pageruyong.

" Shortly after this view, our path, which had hitherto been narrow, and some-

times steep and broken, widened, and it was evident we were approaching the vicinity of some place of importance: but, alas! little was left for our curiosity but the wreck of what had once been great and populous. The waringin trees, which shaded and added solemnity to the palace, were yet standing in all their majesty. The fruit-trees, and particularly the cocoa-nut, marked the distant boundaries of this once extensive city; but the rank grass had usurped the halls of the palace, and scarce was the thatch of the peasant to be found; three times has the city been committed to the flames. Well might I say, in the language of the Brata Yudha, 'Sad and melancholy was her waringin tree, like unto the sorrow of a wife whose husband is afar.'

"On our arrival at Suruasa we were conducted to the best dwelling which the place now afforded—to the palace, a small planked house of about thirty feet long, beautifully situated on the banks of the Golden River (*Soongy Amas.*) Here we were introduced to the *Tuan Gadis*, or Virgin Queen, who administered the country. We were received with all the satisfaction and kindness that could be expected. It was a scene which made me melancholy, and I will not attempt to describe it.

"The extensive population and high state of cultivation by which we were surrounded, seemed to confirm the opinion I had always formed, and even publicly maintained, as you may see in my History of Java, that the Malayan empire was not of recent origin, and that in its zenith it was of comparative rank, if not the rival and contemporary of the Javan. The Malays have always excited considerable speculation from the circumstance of their being evidently in a retrograde state; but where were we to look for their history? In their literary compositions they seldom go farther back than the introduction of Mahomedanism, except to give an account of Noah's ark, or some romantic tale from which little or nothing can be gathered. It was my good fortune in Java to discover the vestiges of a former high state of literature and the arts, in poems, in the ruins of temples, in sculptured images, in ancient inscriptions. Nothing of this kind was supposed to exist among the Malays; Java was therefore considered as the cradle of the arts and sciences, as far as they had been introduced into the Archipelago. The Malays were even stated to have derived their origin from Java, from the Javan word *Malayu*, meaning a runaway; they were said to be the runaways and outcasts of Java. You may see all this, and much more to the disadvantage of the Malays, stated in the forty-first number of the Edinburgh Review. Your Grace may therefore judge with what interest I now surveyed a country which, at least as far as the eye could reach, equalled Java in scenery and cultivation; and with what real satisfaction I stumbled, by the merest accident, upon nothing less than an inscription in the real Kawi character, engraved on a stone, exactly after the manner of those which have excited so much interest in Java. Immediately opposite the house, or palace, which I have described, was the mosque, a small square building. In front of the mosque, turned up on its edge, and serving as a stepping-stone to this modern place of Mahomedan wor-

ship, was this relic of Hindu dominion. I soon traced the characters to be the same as those we had discovered in Java. All hands were immediately collected. In about an hour we succeeded in laying the stone flat on the ground, and the operation of transcribing was immediately commenced. The evening did not pass without further inquiries. A second inscription, in similar characters, was discovered near the site of the former *kudam*, or palace. This was on a stone of irregular figure, and partly buried in the ground. We had only time to transcribe two lines of this. On Friday, the 24th of July, we left Suruasa at seven, and arrived at Pageruyong a quarter before nine, the estimated distance between the two cities being not more than two miles; the road over low hills, in which we observed numerous petrifactions: whole forests would appear, in some remote age, to have been buried by some violent convulsion. Passing along the sides of the hills, our attention was repeatedly attracted by the numerous stumps and trunks of trees in a state of petrifaction. These were mostly protruded from considerable depths under ground.

" In quitting Saruasa we noticed several small tanks, and passed over the site of many an extensive building now no more. The only vestige, however, of any thing like sculpture, beyond the inscriptions already alluded to, was in four cut stones, which evidently had formerly served for the entrance of the city.

" In approaching Pageruyong we had an excellent view of the situation of this once famous city. It is built, as I before noticed, at the foot, and partly on the slope of a steep and rugged hill called Gunung Bongso, so remarkable for its appearance and the three peaks which it exhibits. Below the town, under a precipice of from fifty to a hundred feet, in some parts nearly perpendicular, winds the beautiful stream of Selo, which, pursuing its course, passes Suruasa, where it takes the name of the Golden River, and finally falls into the river of Indragiri. In front of the city rises the mountain Berapi, the summit of which may be about twenty miles distant. It is on the slopes of this mountain that the principal population is settled. The whole side of the mountain, for about fifteen miles from Pageruyong in every direction, being covered with villages and rice-fields. The entrance to the city, which is now only marked by a few venerable trees, and the traces of what was once a high-way, is nearly three-quarters of a mile before we came to the Bali and site of the former palace. Here little is left save the noble waringin trees, and these appear in several instances to have suffered from the action of fire: scarcely the appearance of a hut is to be seen; the large flat stone, however, on which the Sultan used to sit on days of public ceremony, was pointed out to us; and when the weeds had been partially cleared, the royal burial-ground was discovered. In this we did not discover any inscription in the ancient character; but the ground was but very partially and hastily examined. We were struck, however, with the sculpture of later

days, the memorials of the dead raised in Mahomedan times; these were on a small scale, but very beautifully executed.

"Arrangements had been made for our accommodation in a small house recently erected on the banks of the river, to which we descended. Here we remained for some time; but intending to return to Suruasa in the afternoon, I left the party and wandered for an hour or two.

"This city had shared the same fate with that of Suruasa. Three times had it been committed to the flames by a remorseless fanatic; twice had it again risen to something like splendor: from the last shock it had not yet recovered. The Prince, no longer able to make a stand against the oppressor, had fled to a distant retreat; and a few peasants now cultivated those spots which had formerly been the pleasure-grounds of the rich. Where the palace of the Sultan had stood, I observed a man planting cucumbers, and the sugar-cane occupied the place of the seraglio. From the heights of the town the view stretched to the north and west, as far as the summit of the mountain of Berapi and the neighbouring hills. The whole country, from Pageruyong as far as the eye could distinctly trace, was one continued scene of cultivation, interspersed with innumerable towns and villages, shaded by the cocoa-nut and other fruit-trees. I may safely say, that this view equalled any thing I ever saw in Java; the scenery is more majestic and grand, population equally dense, cultivation equally rich. In a comparison with the plain of Matarun, the richest part of Java, I think it would rise. Here, then, for the first time, was I able to trace the source of that power, the origin of that nation, so extensively scattered over the Eastern Archipelago.

"I returned to the party where the Tuan Gadis and Princes of the house of Menangkabu had assembled. A royal salute of *one* gun was fired, and after three cheers, we set out on our return to Suruasa.

"But I must not quit this (to a Malay) classic ground, without informing you of a most interesting discovery. At Suruasa I had discovered two inscriptions: here I looked for them in vain, but unexpectedly stumbled upon something no less interesting: a Hindu image, chastely and beautifully carved, corresponding with those discovered in Java, and evidently the work of similar artists, and the object of a similar worship. This image was mutilated, but in sufficient preservation to decide thus much.

"The estimated height of Pageruyong above the level of the sea is 1,800 feet. In Mr. Marsden's map, Pageruyong is placed at about eighty-two miles N.E. of Padang, and sixty-six from the coast. By our observations we found it to be not more than fifty miles from Padang, and forty-five from the coast, in a straight line; the latitude being 14′ south, and longitude twenty-eight miles east of Padang, or 100° 20′ east of Greenwich.

" We returned to Suruasa about three o'clock, and in the evening I visited an extensive excavation where gold had been procured in considerable quantities.

" On the next day, Saturday the 25th, we left Suruasa at half-past six, and reached Simawang on our return towards Padang, at half-past eleven. Here we remained till Sunday evening, when to be prepared for an early departure on the next morning, we descended to the lake and bivouacked on the banks for the night, literally lying down on the ground. While collecting specimens of minerals on this spot, I discovered another inscription in the Kawi character, the characters of which were nearly obliterated by the constant action of the water. This stone was lying among the rocks over which the waters of the lake fell into the Indragiri river.

" *Monday.*—The baggage having been embarked on the preceding evening, we rose at four, and by day-light were nearly half-way across the lake; four large boats in company which conveyed the whole of the party.

" Besides the pass into the Tiga-blas country, by which we had passed from Padang, there are three other principal passes leading to the Menangkabu country, at Kati, Sindangbaher, and Paningahan ; that at Sindangbaher called the Sri-menenti (the same term that is used in Java for the entrance to the palace) appeared to be the most frequented, but the road was said to lie along the beds of several rivers: that of Kasi had nothing particular to recommend it; but the pass of Paningahan, though the longest, was said to be the most practicable for cattle, and to run principally on dry ground. I therefore determined to proceed by the last, in the hope of tracing something like a road which would admit of improvement.

" We accordingly quitted Paningahan on our return across the Barisen about eight o'clock, and reached the Gedong Papan or planked-house (a toll-post) about twelve. Contrary to our expectation, our course so far lay almost entirely along the bed of a rapid stream. Lady Raffles being fatigued, we rested at this place for the night; but several of the party went on to the next resting-place. The ascent hitherto had been gradual, and the scenery very romantic, the distance from the lake estimated at six miles in a south-west direction. In a mineralogical point of view, this ascent from the lake was by far the most interesting we had met with. We here found abundance of granite, marble, great varieties of lime-stone, beautiful masses of calcareous spar, and a variety of subjects with which we enriched our collection.

" *Tuesday*, 28th *July.*—Left the Gedong Papan at six, and ascended the mountains, our course being near the banks of a rapid stream which we frequently crossed for the whole of the morning. At half-past nine reached another toll-post, where we overtook the advanced party and obtained some refreshment: set out again at eleven, and continued ascending till three o'clock, when we reached the summit of the highest ridge. The thermometer was here sixty-six—on the water sixty-three: height above the level of the sea four thousand five hundred feet. We now descended

till six, when just as the day was closing in we reached the toll-post of Sambung, after a most fatiguing day's journey. The road was execrable, in some parts wet and muddy, and exceedingly difficult to pass—estimated distance from the Gedong Papan not less than twenty miles.

" *Wednesday*, 29th.—Started from Sambung at seven in the morning, and ascended the Sambung mountain until near ten, when we had the satisfaction to find that the remainder of our journey was a descent down to the sea-side. The road, however, was even worse than what we had passed the day before, the descent being very rapid, and the only firm hold which our feet could have being upon the roots of trees, which intersected the path in every direction, and from which the earth had been washed away. In many places this path was knee-deep in mud for a considerable distance, and we could only pass by stepping from root to root. This was even more fatiguing than leaping from rock to rock, and our shoes being soaked through, our feet soon became so tender that it was with real pain we moved on: every step, on account of the steep descent, was a strain to the muscles of the leg, and a wound or blow to the foot. The people on this road carry their load in a very different manner to that described on the road to the Tiga-blas country. Here the load is lashed to a kind of frame or cradle, and elevated to a considerable distance above the head, the lower part of the frame being fastened round the head and shoulders. It was proposed that Lady Raffles should be carried in this manner, but we could not reconcile her to the attempt. Salt, rice, &c. in loads of about fifty and sixty pounds, are carried in this manner. At length, at about two o'clock, we once more got a view of the sea from a place called Liring, where a small shed was erected, and where the forest in some degree was cleared. From this spot the country gradually opened; and we descended by a tolerably good road, passable for horses, through a country which had once been cleared, and was still partially under cultivation. At five obtained a view of Padang Hill, bearing south by west, distance about ten miles; in half-an-hour more arrived at Pinang, a comfortable hut, where we remained for the night. Here we received fresh supplies from Padang, and found our horses, which had been sent on to meet us. Our distance this day we estimated at about sixteen miles: we were now out of the forest, and nearly at the bottom of the hills on the sea-side.

" *Thursday*, 30th.—Started at day-light, and proceeded partly on horseback and partly on foot; our course towards the sea for about six miles, the latter part of which was through a fine plain of rice-fields, and along the banks of a rapid stream. Pursuing our journey to Padang through Cota Tinga and along the sea-shore, we had to pass the mouths of two rivers, which, in consequence of the rain that had fallen during the night, were not fordable; we were in consequence soon wet through. Near Ujung Carang, however, the gentlemen from Padang had assembled to receive us on our return, and a buggy being provided, we reached Padang without further difficulty at about noon; having thus completed our journey in fourteen days,

during which we had traversed in a straight line about one hundred and forty, and by the course we were compelled to pursue, not less than two hundred and fifty miles over one of the worst roads that perhaps ever was passed by man.

" What may be the eventual results of this journey, it is impossible to say. In natural history, it has afforded us a very interesting insight into the mineral kingdom. We have traced the junction of the volcanic with the primitive series; and by the evidences afforded in our collections, are enabled to estimate the mineral resources of the country. In the vegetable kingdom we discovered no less than forty-one plants, which appeared to Dr. Horsfield entirely new, and certainly not contained in the Flora of Java. The different elevations above the sea were ascertained, some by barometrical, others by trigometrical observations. The latitudes and longitudes fixed, partly by observation and partly by dead reckoning. By crossing the range of mountains at different passes we clearly ascertained that there are three ridges, the central being the highest.

" The discovery of an extensively populous and highly agricultural country cannot fail to be interesting. On a moderate calculation, the population within a range of fifty miles round Pageruyong cannot be estimated at less than a million; by the returns I received on the spot, the number appears more considerable. Throughout the whole of our journey I did not observe a single Ladang, that migratory kind of cultivation so accurately described by Mr. Marsden, and so universal near the southern coast; it had long been superseded by the conversion of the land into regular sawas, and the establishment of fixed property in the soil; manufactories also are here more advanced. Menangkabu has always been famed for its cris blades. Iron has been worked from time immemorial. An extensive manufactory of coarse pottery near the banks of the lake supplies not only Padang but Bencoolen with that useful article.

" Politically the greatest results may accrue. At no very distant date the sovereignty of Menangkabu was acknowledged over the whole of Sumatra, and its influence extended to many of the neighbouring Islands; the respect still paid to its princes by all ranks amounts almost to veneration. By upholding their authority, a central government may easily be established; and the numerous petty states, now disunited and barbarous, may be again connected under one general system of government. The rivers which fall into the Eastern Archipelago may again become the high roads to and from the central capital; and Sumatra, under British influence, again rise into great political importance."

One or two anecdotes of the natives may be added to the above. When the people of the Tiga-blas country first beheld the Editor, they seemed to be struck with amazement, and the question was not, *who* is that? but, *what* is that? The disguise of dress, and, to them, the extraordinary appearance of fairness were unac-

countable. With all the wonder of ignorance they immediately conceived that there must be something supernatural; and mothers pressed in crowds, imploring to have their children touched as a preservative from all future evil. It was in vain to urge fatigue, to entreat to be excused; no one liked to lose so easy an opportunity of insuring future good, and the noise, the pressure, and confusion were not a little amusing; when one crowd was satisfied a fresh collected, and it would be difficult to guess the number on whom was bestowed this slight but coveted act of kindness. At Solaya the Editor was left alone in a native house, with a sepoy stationed as a sentry at the door to keep the people away; but they collected in such numbers that they overpowered him, and hundreds rushed into the house to gaze and express their astonishment; after this had been endured for a length of time they were entreated to retire and allow some repose to be taken; with one accord they seated themselves in a moment, saying, of all things they should like to see the mode of sleeping, and that they would watch all the time, and only sit and look; and no entreaty could prevail upon them to go away, so there they remained until the rest of the party returned from the assembly of the Chiefs. On reaching Simawang the same thing was repeated, the same curiosity and wonder; crowds assembled to see how the Editor took food, and during the night strange dark faces were continually seen peeping through the curtain which parted off her place of rest from the numerous inmates of the same room.

To Mr. Marsden.

"*Bencoolen, August* 15, 1818.

"My Dear Sir,

"My last letter was from Pageruyong; and you will be happy to hear that we are again safe at Bencoolen, without having suffered any serious injury from the fatigues of the journey. We were absent from Padang fifteen days; and our course in the map was, in a straight line, about one hundred and forty miles. For the details of our journey I refer you to Dr. Horsfield, who will be the bearer of this, and to whom, independently of his claims as a man of science and research, I have to request your kind attention as my particular friend.

"To Dr. Horsfield I have entrusted a sketch of our route; in his I have corrected the situation of Pageruyong, which is a few miles different to what I stated in my letter from thence. I do not think we can be much out; perhaps you will be induced to consider it sufficient authority for correcting the map. On this subject I am anxious to hear from you. I have now an establishment in two parts of the interior of Menangkabu and inland of Bencoolen, and I have some idea of traversing the central districts from one end of the Island to the other. Do you contemplate the publication of any improved additions to your map? or shall I keep the observa-

tions here until I can frame a new one. I mention this because we are badly off for draftsmen; and under the existing regulations of the post-office you may have trouble in securing the detailed surveys sent as they are made.

"You will be gratified to hear that the neighbourhood of Pageruyong contains a population of certainly not less than a million; that agriculture is nearly as advanced as in Java; and that in soil and climate we have reason to believe Sumatra is fully equal to that Island. The first fruits of our establishment in the hills have been the regular supply of Bencoolen with potatoes, which hitherto have been imported.

"Our discoveries in Menangkabu enhance the value of Padang town; it is the key of that place, and of all which is valuable in Sumatra. Without this we can do nothing—with it every thing. The measures which I have taken will, no doubt, be considered strong; but our interests have been so shamefully sacrificed, that I could do nothing less. Nothing but definite arrangements in Europe will place things on their proper footing.

"I have to report to you two melancholy losses which we have sustained. Poor Dr. Arnold, our naturalist, died of a fever, occasioned, I fear, from the fatigues of our journey to Pasumah; and accounts were yesterday received of the death of Mr. Holloway at sea.

"I send by Dr. Horsfield a fac-simile of one of the inscriptions which I found at Suruasa. The stone to which you allude as remarkable near Pnaman, turns out to be modern, and a vestige of Dutch authority."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*Fort Marlborough, August* 16, 1818.

"My last letter to your Grace was from on board "The Lady Raffles," on our return from Padang and Menangkabu; and I did hope, before the ship left us finally for England, that I should have been able to give you a detail of our subsequent proceedings; but this is impossible, and I must be content to send her off with a few lines, saying we are all well.

"We are now tolerably quiet, but the earth continued to quake for the first month after our arrival, and we were seldom without one or two shocks in the day. The sensation, particularly during the night, is very unpleasant.

"We are going on, I am happy to say, very well; our dear little Charlotte daily improving, and promising to be every thing we could wish. Lady Raffles is quite well, notwithstanding the excessive fatigue of the journeys we have taken; the last occupied fifteen days, and we did not walk less than two hundred and fifty miles over the very worst route, for road there was none,—at first, up the bed of a river, where we had to force our way by leaping from rock to rock; then for some

days over hills covered with forest; and the roots of the trees which projected far above the ground, our only foot-path; the ascent sometimes so steep, that Lady Raffles was obliged to be dragged up by two men, being often so fatigued she could not raise her foot the length of the step, having to walk some days from day-light, with one hour's rest at mid-day, when the only refreshment to be obtained was a little rice and wine, until eight o'clock at night, before we reached the shed prepared for our night's lodging."

CHAPTER XIII.

Sir Stamford's arrival at Bencoolen—Improvement in the feelings of the inhabitants—State of affairs in the Eastern Archipelago requires him to proceed to Bengal—Wrecked on the passage—Attention of the Government already directed to the subject of the Dutch encroachments—Lord Hastings determines on another line of policy, and to secure the command of the Straits of Malacca—Sir Stamford appointed Agent to the Governor General for this purpose—Account of the discovery of the Tapir—Departure from Calcutta—Anticipation of Singapore as the spot for the new settlement—Arrival at Panang—Proceeds down the Straits of Malacca—hoists the British flag at Singapore—Acheen—Decides on the right to the crown—Description of Acheen—Reformation introduced at Bencoolen—Journeys—General politics—Conquest of Java—The first convention for the unconditional restoration of it to the Dutch—only communication from Europe—Representations made in England—Apprehensions realised on return to India—Bornean States—Dutch at Palembang—Acheen affairs—Title to the occupation of Singapore—Bible Society—Opinions of Captain Horsburgh and Mr. Carnegie on the settlement of Singapore—Accident to the vessel off Rhio.

On his return to Bencoolen Sir Stamford had the satisfaction to find that a general impression prevailed with those committed to his charge, that the object of his government was to promote a spirit of enterprise among them as individuals, to give the utmost freedom to cultivation, to extend the commerce of the country, and to advance the happiness of the people in general. It would have been delightful to him to have remained with them, desirous as they appeared to be to promote his views for their welfare; but the larger national interests in the Eastern Archipelago required his immediate attention. On his arrival in Sumatra he had foreseen that it would be necessary for him to have personal communication with the Bengal government on this subject; and he therefore thought it advisable to proceed at once to Calcutta.

It is only necessary to state, that Sir Stamford embarked in a very small vessel, which had no better accommodation than one small cabin, with only a port-hole to admit air, where centipedes and scorpions roved about without interruption: but personal convenience was never considered by him if it interfered with duty, and no better opportunity was likely to occur. The vessel lost a mast in the Bay of Bengal, and, owing to a drunken pilot, was literally upset in the middle of the night upon a

dangerous bank at the mouth of the river Hoogley, where Sir Stamford was obliged to remain until boats were sent from Calcutta to take him out of the vessel.

The following letter is from Lord Hastings, permitting Sir Stamford to proceed to Calcutta.

" *July 6th*, 1818.

" Sir,

" I have the honour to acknowledge your letter, and to offer my congratulations on your safe arrival.

" It was painful to me, that I had, in the course of my public duty, to express an opinion unfavourable to certain of your measures in Java. The disapprobation, as you would perceive, affected their prudence alone; on the other hand, no person can have felt more strongly than I did your anxious and unwearied exertions for ameliorating the condition of the native inhabitants under your sway. The procedure was no less recommended by wisdom than by benevolence; and the results have been highly creditable to the British Government.

" I request you to consider yourself at liberty to carry into execution your wish of visiting Bengal, whensoever your convenience and the state of affairs in the Island may afford an eligible opportunity. The means of rendering the settlement at Bencoolen more advantageous to the Honourable Company than it now appears to be, are certainly more likely to be struck out in oral discussion.

" I am, &c.

" Hastings."

Sir Stamford found that the measures which he adopted in Sumatra, in particular the general protest which he had made against the Netherlands' authority on the occasion of its interference at Palembang, had attracted the attention of the Governor General in Council: and as the Netherlands' government had submitted to the same authority its appeal against the part which he had taken, the question was fairly before the Bengal Government. Fortunately the Government of Prince of Wales' Island had at length, on the transfer of Malacca to the Dutch, been awakened to the dangerous consequences which must have ensued to the interests of that Island, and the eastern trade generally; and their representations had the effect of corroborating and confirming all Sir Stamford's previous apprehensions and statements.

Having thus succeeded in bringing the subject fully before a higher and competent authority, and having convinced that authority of the necessity of adopting some defined line of policy for the protection of those interests, he had the satisfaction to find that at length their nature and importance were justly appreciated; and the measures which he had previously adopted, however they might be regretted as occasioning collision with the Netherlands' Government, were pronounced " to have been

dictated by the purest spirit of patriotism, and to have been such that, in the circumstances in which he was placed, he could not well have acted otherwise."

It is not necessary, and perhaps it might be improper, to advert to the grounds on which the Governor General resolved upon the line of policy which was subsequently adopted. It is sufficient to state, that it was determined, under existing circumstances, to concede to the Dutch their pretensions in Sumatra; and to limit the interference to measures of precaution, by securing a free trade with the Archipelago and China through the Straits of Malacca, leaving to the Dutch the exclusive command of the Straits of Sunda. In order to effect this, and at the same time to protect the political and commercial interests in the Eastern Seas generally, it was essential that some central station should be occupied within the Archipelago, and to the southward of Malacca; and Sir Stamford was appointed Agent to the Governor General to effect this important object, if practicable, and generally to assume charge of the British interests to the eastward of the Straits of Malacca.

Sir Stamford wrote to Mr. Marsden on these subjects.

To William Marsden, Esq.

" *Calcutta, October* 16, 1818.

" My Dear Sir,

" You will be happy to hear that I have made my peace with the Marquess of Hastings, and that his Lordship has at last acknowledged my exertions in Java in flattering terms. This was one object of my visit to Calcutta, and on it depended, in a great measure, the success of the others. I am now struggling hard to interest the Supreme Government in the Eastern Islands; and the measures taken by me at Palambang, &c. will, I doubt not, lead to the advantage of some defined line of policy being laid down for the future. With regard to the Dutch proceedings at Palembang, of which I hope you are, ere this, fully apprised, Lord Hastings has unequivocally declared, that his mind is made up as to the moral turpitude of the transaction, and that he considers this but as one of a course of measures directed in hostility to the British interests and name in the Eastern Seas. My despatches are now under consideration, and it is uncertain what may be the immediate result. There is but one opinion in regard to the manner in which our interests have been sacrificed by the transfer of Java, &c. and it is clear that the government at home will be called upon from hence to interfere for the security of our trade; but in the mean time, and pending the reference to Europe, I fear that nothing decisive will be done. Lord Hastings is, I know, inclined to recommend our exchanging Bencoolen for Malacca, and to make the equator the limit.

" As soon as I see my way more clearly, and obtain leisure, I shall write you fully: in the mean time I am anxious you should be apprised that, although I hope to carry this government with me, I do not expect they will do any thing decisive of

themselves; they will refer every thing home, and then despatches may not be *dispatched* for months. They possess no information which can assist the decision in Europe; what they forward will be obtained from me; and I am not aware of any advantage which will arise from delaying a decision till their references arrive. Every day, every hour that the Dutch are left to themselves, their influence increases, and our difficulties will be proportionally increased.

* * * * * *

"The conversion of my Lord Hastings and the favourable opinion expressed by the Supreme Government in the wind-up of affairs in Java, give me a plea for appealing to the Court of Directors for a final decision on the merits of my administration, which you will recollect was withheld when I left England; and I have expressed to Mr. Canning my expectations.

* * * * *

"Lady Raffles has accompanied me—she is quite well, but finds the climate very different from that of our Eastern Isles—the heat has been extremely oppressive, and the whole of India very sickly—it is computed that not less than two millions have fallen a sacrifice to what is here called the *cholera morbus*. Our kindest regards.

"Marco Polo has not yet appeared in this part of the world.

"I have just received your kind letter, written on Christmas day last, for which accept my best thanks—on my return to Bencoolen I shall no doubt find a large collection of English letters. I hope to be there in January."

Although Sir Stamford did not succeed in his endeavours to induce the Bengal Government to adopt all his views regarding Sumatra, his presence in Calcutta created a general interest, and turned the attention of the merchants, as well as that of the government, towards the progress of the Dutch power, and the probable total destruction of the English trade, if some strong efforts were not made. If the moment was then allowed to pass away, the time would be over when any thing could be done: the two only passages to the Eastern Archipelago secured by the Dutch, nothing but actual force would obtain for the British trader ingress to its thousand Isles. In his own words, he neither wanted people nor territory; all he asked was, permission to anchor a line-of-battle ship, and hoist the English flag, at the mouth either of the Straits of Malacca or of Sunda; and the trade of England would be secured, the monopoly of the Dutch broken.

Lord Hastings was convinced; and the occupation of Singapore was the consequence. Even before he left England, Sir Stamford contemplated this, to him, classical spot as a place favourably situated to become a British station. Mr. Crawfurd has inadvertently given, in his account of the mission to Siam, an erroneous statement of the establishment of this settlement; the Carimons, which he describes

as the original object of Sir Stamford's selection, being the plan in fact of Colonel Farquhar, while Resident at Malacca, and not of Sir Stamford, who surveyed them out of courtesy only to that officer.

Whilst still engaged at Calcutta, in endeavouring to secure the concurrence of the Supreme Government in his designs, he addressed letters to Mr. Marsden and other friends, of which the following are extracts.

To Mr. Marsden.

" *Calcutta, November 14th,* 1818.

* * * * *

" I am sorry to say that I cannot induce this Government to enter warmly into my views with regard to Sumatra, and that Padang must be transferred to the Dutch without delay. This measure is conceived necessary in order to preserve their consistency; for they had stronger grounds for retaining Banca, and yet gave it up pending the reference to Europe. I think they were wrong in doing so; and I am convinced that had Banca been held till the independence of Palembang was guaranteed, it would never have gone out of our hands. The misfortune, however, is, that at that period the authorities here did not see their interest clearly—a change has now taken place, and the personal communication which I have had with the members of Government, since my arrival here, has induced a very different feeling—all parties are now united in opposing the grasping and excluding policy of the Dutch—they now regret they did not listen to my advice at first, &c. &c.; and to bring the results of my visit to a conclusion, I have now to inform you, that it is determined to keep the command of the Straits of Malacca, by forming establishments at Acheen and Rhio, and that I leave Calcutta in a fortnight, as the agent to effect this important object. Acheen I conceive to be completely within our power, but the Dutch may be before-hand with us at Rhio—they took possession of Pontiano and Malacca in July and August last; and have been bad politicians if they have so long left Rhio open to us.

" Lady Raffles is quite well, and unites, &c."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

" *Calcutta, November 26th,* 1818.

" I have now accomplished the principal object of my visit to Bengal, and purpose embarking once more in the course of four or five days, for the Eastern Islands, which, I doubt not, I shall find as fresh and as blooming as ever. I yet hope to be in time to do something for the public good; but the policy of the Dutch, and the unreserved terms of the convention, preclude me from being very sanguine.

" My own health remains much the same as when I left England, and Lady

Raffles is, if any thing, better. Do you not pity poor Lady Raffles, and think me very hard-hearted to drag her about in her present state, but she will not remain from me, and what can I do? We are now above three months without any news of our dear baby, so that you see we have our minor as well as major separations.

"I have begged of Lady Raffles to give your Grace an account of the *regal state* of the Governor General, which really exceeds all I had heard of it.

"I take down from hence a medical man of the name of *Jack*, who will be entrusted with the botanical part of my researches; and I have two Frenchmen, M. Diard and M. Duvausel, the former the pupil, and the latter the step-son of Cuvier; so that in comparative anatomy I shall be strong. These three *savans*, with a missionary clergyman, who takes charge of a printing-press, form my equipment from Calcutta, so that I hope we may do something.

"I have, at last, succeeded in making the authorities in Bengal sensible of their supineness in allowing the Dutch to exclude us from the Eastern Seas; but I fear it is now too late to retrieve what we have lost. I have full powers to do all we can; and if any thing is to be done, I think I need not assure your Grace that it shall be done—and quickly done."

The following letter from Sir Stamford will shew the terms on which he engaged the services of the two French gentlemen alluded to in the foregoing letter.

To Messrs. Diard and Duvausel.

"*March* 7, 1819.

"Gentlemen,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3d instant, explanatory of the object of your researches, and of the circumstances in which you are placed.

"It is my intention, at an early period, to submit to the most noble the Governor in Council, and also to the Honourable the Court of Directors, my opinion on the advantages which may result to science and general knowledge, by the prosecution of the pursuits in which you are engaged, and in the mean time I request to make you the following offer.

"1st. Your researches to be confined to Sumatra and the smaller Islands in its immediate vicinity.

"2dly. The draftsmen, &c. engaged by you to be entertained at the charge of Government, who will also defray all incidental and necessary expenses to which you may be subjected in the prosecution of your researches, '*on condition that such researches are made for and on account of the Honourable the East India Company, and that your collections, &c. are considered as their property.*'

" 3dly. An estimate to be framed of your monthly expenses for such establishment, &c., in which a fixed sum will be paid to you to cover all charges of every description, *' and the arrangement and transmission to Europe, or to Bengal, of such information and materials as you may collect, to be subject to the orders of Government.'*

" With reference to your present establishment, and the expenses you must necessarily be subjected to, a fixed monthly allowance of five hundred dollars is considered adequate to cover all your disbursements, and at the same time to provide draftsmen, &c. for the botanical department; this sum will therefore be authorized until I may be honoured with the further orders of the supreme authorities; and I shall hereafter have the honour to communicate with you personally my sentiments regarding the arrangement of your materials, and the plan which it will be advisable to pursue, in order to combine economy and efficiency.

" I am, &c. &c.

" T. S. Raffles."

A full detail of the circumstances connected with this arrangement will be found in the Appendix, with the original documents.

To Mr. Marsden.

" *Calcutta, December* 10*th*, 1818.

" My Dear Sir,

" I am not certain whether, while in England, I mentioned to you a discovery which I thought I had made of the *Tapir* in the Malay countries.

" On my arrival at Penang in 1805, it was represented to me that a short time before, in the government of Sir George Leith, an animal in every respect the model of an elephant, but of diminutive size, had been brought from Queda; the animal had unfortunately died while Sir George was on the hill, and the servants threw the body into the sea.

" I subsequently visited Malacca, and made particular inquiries for an animal of this description; and from the information I received there, I had little doubt in my mind but the animal in question was rather the *tapir* than the elephant, and on shewing the drawing of the former to the natives, they seemed at once to recognize it.

" The result of further inquiries has been conclusive on this head, and I now have the satisfaction to assure you that the animal exists, not only on the Peninsula, but in Sumatra. The head of one obtained in Malacca is now deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta; and a living tapir, from Sumatra, is now in the Governor General's park at Barrackpore.

" By the hands of Mr. Holton I send you a correct drawing of the Sumatran

animal. It is the most docile creature I ever met with, and is more like the hog than any other animal to which I can compare it.

To Mr. Marsden.

"*Nearchus, off the Sandheads, Dec.* 12, 1818.

"My Dear Sir,

* * * * * *

"We are now on our way to the eastward, in the hope of doing something, but I much fear the Dutch have hardly left us an inch of ground to stand upon. My attention is principally turned to Johore, and you must not be surprised if my next letter to you is dated from the site of the ancient city of Singapura.

"Yours, &c.

"T. S. Raffles."

With his usual foresight, knowing that his present objects required a military force, and fearing that he should not obtain any assistance from the government of Penang, Sir Stamford wrote from the Sandheads, at the mouth of the Ganges, to the officer commanding the troops at Bencoolen, which were about to be relieved, and requested him to come round by the Straits of Sunda, where a vessel should meet him with instructions.

"*Penang, Jan.* 16, 1819.

"*Me voici à Pulo Penang.* God only knows where next you may hear from me, but as you will be happy to learn of the progress of my mission, I will not lose the present opportunity of informing you how I go on. In the first place, I have to complain most bitterly of * * * * * *

"Whether any thing is to be done to the eastward or not, is yet very uncertain. By neglecting to occupy the place we lost Rhio, and shall have difficulty in establishing ourselves elsewhere, but I shall certainly attempt it.

"At Acheen the difficulties I shall have to surmount in the performance of my duty will be great, and the annoyance severe, but I shall persevere steadily in what I conceive to be my duty. I think I may rely on the Marquess; his last words were,—'Sir Stamford, you may depend upon me.'

"Sophia will remain at Penang, while I visit Acheen.

"Yours, &c.

"T. S. Raffles."

Of the delicacy and difficulties of the trust confided to Sir Stamford, some idea may be formed, when it is considered, that before he had reached Penang

on his way to the eastward, the government of that settlement had failed in an attempt to acquire such a station, had declared its conviction that the period had passed in which any such station could be obtained within the Archipelago, and on his arrival protested in the strongest manner, and exercised its power and influence in every possible way, against his proceeding towards the attainment of the important object intrusted to him; while the Dutch authorities, having, as they thought, already succeeded in occupying every station, had not hesitated to declare their supremacy over the whole Archipelago, and to publish their prohibitory regulations for the exclusion of British commerce, and the exercise of their own sovereignty throughout the Eastern Seas.

Sir Stamford, determined to accomplish the duty entrusted to him, proceeded in person down the straits of Malacca, and in ten days after quitting Penang hoisted the British flag, on the 29th of February, 1819, at Singapore, as he had anticipated upon leaving Bengal. The commanding situation of this settlement embraced all the objects which he expected and desired.

Sir Stamford conceived it of primary importance, to obtain a post which should have a commanding geographical position at the southern entrance of the Straits of Malacca, which should be in the track of the China and country traders, which should be capable of affording them protection, and of supplying their wants, which should possess capabilities of defence by a moderate force, which might give the means of supporting and defending the commercial intercourse with the Malay States, and which, by its contiguity to the seat of the Dutch power, might afford an opportunity to watch the march of its policy and, when necessary, to counteract its influence.

The occupation of this station proved to the varied and enterprising population of the Archipelago, that the power and commerce of the British nation had not entirely sunk under the encroachments of the Dutch; and it also proved a determination to make a stand against them, and to maintain the right of free commerce with the Malay states.

Independently of the tribes of the Archipelago, the situation of Singapore is peculiarly favourable for its becoming the entrepot to which the native mariners of Siam, Camboja, Chiampa, Cochin China, and China itself, may annually resort. It is to the Straits of Singapore that their merchants are always bound, in the first instance; and if on their arrival in them they find a market for their goods, and the means of supplying their wants, they have no inducement to proceed to the more distant, unhealthy, and expensive port of Batavia.

The passage from China can be made in less than six days, and the same time is all that is required, in the favourable monsoon, for the passage from Batavia, the coast of Borneo, and Penang.

To Mr. Marsden.

"*Singapore, Jan.* 31, 1819.

"My Dear Sir,

"Here I am at Singapore, true to my word, and in the enjoyment of all the pleasure which a footing on such classic ground must inspire. The lines of the old city, and of its defences, are still to be traced, and within its ramparts the British Union waves unmolested.

"You are already apprised how much I have been disappointed in the necessity of foregoing all the advantages which might have resulted from my visit to Pageruyong; it did not suit the politics of Bengal that they should be followed up; and it is only now left for me to solicit your support in behalf of my more recent attempt to extend the British influence.

"Most certainly the Dutch never had a factory in the island of Singapore; and it does not appear to me that their recent arrangements with a subordinate authority at Rhio can or ought to interfere with our permanent establishment here. I have, however, a violent opposition to surmount on the part of the Government of Penang.

* * * * * * *

"This place possesses an excellent harbour, and every thing that can be desired for a British port in the island of St. John's, which forms the south-western point of the harbour. We have commanded an intercourse with all the ships passing through the Straits of Singapore. We are within a week's sail of China, close to Siam, and in the very seat of the Malayan empire. This, therefore, will probably be my last attempt. If I am deserted now, I must fain return to Bencoolen, and become philosopher.

"We are making very considerable collections in natural history; and if the political arrangements, which I now contemplate, are adopted and confirmed, we shall have it in our power to do a good deal in every department. We find more work than can be accomplished by six draftsmen employed from eight o'clock till four.

"I expect to conclude all my arrangements at this place in the course of a few days, and then to return to Penang, where I have left Lady Raffles, and my anxiety to get there, on her account, is very great. From Penang my course will probably bend towards Acheen, where I have to establish the British influence on a permanent footing; from thence I shall proceed to Bencoolen.

"My next letters will speak decidedly as to our future footing on these seas. If I keep Singapore I shall be quite satisfied; and in a few years our influence over the Archipelago, as far as concerns our commerce, will be fully established."

Sir Stamford was only able to remain a few days at Singapore; he had requested permission of the Bengal Government to employ Colonel Farquhar at that station: but on reaching Penang he found that this officer had already engaged his passage to England, in a vessel which was to sail in a few days. Colonel Farquhar was, how-

SKETCH OF THE ISLAND OF SINGAPORE.

PART OF THE MALAYAN PENINSULA
OLD STR. OF SINGAPORE
SINGAPORE
SINGAPORE
STRAITS OF SINGAPORE
PART OF BATANG
Tanjong Buru
Tanjong Bata
Tanjong Penggan
Tanjong Pandan
Pandan River
Bare River
Pt Mandai
Baker Point
Tanjong Gool
Pt Buttan
Pt Ayer Brani
Pt Tanjong
Pt Badoura
Pt Tumbelan
Pt Kutam
Pt Franklin
Red Cliffs
Flagstaff
Barn Island
Little Carimon
Great Carimon
Tree or Sand I.
Red I.
Sand I.
Batilda Rock
Shoal
Tanjong Butu
Tanjong Pagar
Tanjong Rangas
Tanjong Chanpa
Tekong
Pt Tekong
Pt Sirat Sun
Jehore Hill
Pt Ayer
Pt Buttan
Pt Sakra
Pt Sakra
Pt Sakra

ever, prevailed upon to alter his arrangements; and Sir Stamford placed him in charge at Singapore, as being, from his long intercourse with the natives, well calculated to inspire them with confidence in the new settlement.

To ——— ———.

"*Penang, February* 19, 1819.

"I have already written to you from Bengal, informing you of the complete success of my mission to the eastward, and of the establishment of a British station at Singapore. * * *

"At Singapore I found advantages far superior to what Rhio afforded; and as you know what I contemplated from the latter place, you will easily form a judgment of the value of what we have obtained. You have only to glance at the map for the Straits of Singapore, at the south extreme of the Straits of Malacca, and to consider that we have another port at St. John's, close under which all the China trade must pass: this will convince you that our station completely outflanks the Straits of Malacca, and secures a passage for our China ships at all times, and under all circumstances. It has further been my good fortune to discover one of the most safe and extensive harbours in these seas, with every facility for protecting shipping in time of war, &c. In short, Singapore is every thing we could desire, and I may consider myself most fortunate in the selection; it will soon rise into importance; and with this single station alone I would undertake to counteract all the plans of Mynheer; it breaks the spell; and they are no longer the exclusive sovereigns of the Eastern Seas.

"Sophia is, I am happy to say, quite well: she is now devoting her time a great deal to botany, and so far from finding it hang heavy on her hands, she is constantly complaining that the days are too short.

"Your's, &c."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*Penang, Feb.* 22, 1819.

"I am afraid your Grace will already have been tired out by the accounts I have, from time to time, given you of my rambling life; it seems that I am never to be settled for any time, never to enjoy that rest and repose, which the heart so much longs for.

"From Calcutta I came to this Island, and from hence proceeded to the further east, down the Straits of Malacca. I have scarcely returned a week, and am now bound to Acheen, whence I shall again return to this place, and proceed round the eastern and southern coast of Sumatra to Bencoolen. Nearly six months have now elapsed since we left our dear baby there, and we have scarcely heard of her since; two or three months more must pass before our arrival, and in the interim

what important events take place. Among these I must mention Lady Raffles' expected confinement, an event which we daily look for; this you will admit is a domestic event of no small importance. I have also to communicate to you a political event of great import, namely, the accomplishment of the great object which I have always had in view, by forming a permanent British establishment in the Malayan Archipelago, by which the progress of the Dutch supremacy may be checked, and our interests, political and commercial, secured.

" It has been my good fortune to establish this station in a position combining every possible advantage, geographical and local; and if I only meet with ordinary support from the higher powers, I shall effectually check the plans of the Dutch.

* * * * *

" I must, however, tell you where you are to look for it in the map. Follow me from Calcutta, within the Nicobar and Andaman Islands, to Prince of Wales' Island, then accompany me down the Straits of Malacca, past the town of Malacca, and round the south-western point of the Peninsula. You will then enter what are called the Straits of Singapore, and in Marsden's map of Sumatra you will observe an Island to the north of these straits called Singapura; this is the spot, the site of the ancient maritime capital of the Malays, and within the walls of these fortifications, raised not less than six centuries ago, on which I have planted the British flag, where, I trust, it will long triumphantly wave.

* * * * *

" Almost all that I attempted in Sumatra has been destroyed, from a delicacy to the Dutch; if this last effort for securing our interests also fails, I must be content to quit politics and turn philosopher.

* * * * *

" Your Grace would, I think, be amused were you to overlook our present occupations. Were it not for the Dutch, I should have little in politics to interest me, and as it is, I should have much leisure if I did not devote my time to natural history, in which we are daily making very important discoveries—the lower part of our house, at this moment, is more like the menagerie at Exeter Change, than the residence of a gentleman. Fish, flesh, and fowl, alike contribute to the collection; and above stairs the rooms are variously ornamented with branches and flowers, rendering them so many arbours. There are no less than five draftsmen constantly employed, and with all our diligence we can hardly keep pace with the new acquisitions which are daily made. I can assure your Grace that while directing these various departments, we often think of the days that are to come, when quietly in Park Lane, or in the country, I may attempt to display to your domestic circle, some of the riches and beauties with which nature has adorned these Islands; but when will that day come? A year has nearly elapsed since we landed on Indian

ground: that year has not been spent in idleness; but yet I must look through three or four more still longer years before I think of home; would that they were past too!

* * * * *

"T. S. Raffles."

The duty which Sir Stamford had to perform at Acheen involved him in much trouble and discussion. The point to be decided was the right to the crown. A native merchant settled at Penang had endeavoured to establish a claim to it, which was not a little strengthened by his command of wealth *. So much intrigue, trouble, and difficulty attended the arrangement of this disputed point, that Sir Stamford was absent three months. When the business was settled he returned to Penang, but he only remained a few days, and proceeded again to Singapore, where he was most agreeably occupied for some time, in marking out the future town, and giving instructions to Colonel Farquhar for the arrangement and management of his new colony.

The following are extracts from letters written at this time from Singapore.

To Colonel Addenbrooke, late Equerry to Her Royal Highness Princess Charlotte.

"*Singapore, June 10th*, 1819.

"My Dear Colonel,

"You will probably have to consult the map in order to ascertain from what part of the world this letter is dated.

* * * * * *

"I shall say nothing of the importance which I attach to the permanence of the position I have taken up at Singapore; it is a child of my own. But for my Malay studies I should hardly have known that such a place existed; not only the European, but the Indian world was also ignorant of it. * * * *

"I am sure you will wish me success; and I will therefore only add, that if my plans are confirmed at home, it is my intention to make this my principal residence, and to devote the remaining years of my stay in the East to the advancement of a colony which, in every way in which it can be viewed, bids fair to be one of the most important, and at the same time one of the least expensive and troublesome, which we possess. Our object is not territory, but trade; a great commercial emporium, and a *fulcrum*, whence we may extend our influence politically as circumstances may hereafter require. By taking immediate possession, we put a *negative*

* This was the only instance in which a bribe was offered to the Editor: a casket of diamonds was presented, and it seemed to create much surprise that it was not even looked at.

to the Dutch claim of exclusion, and at the same time revive the drooping confidence of our allies and friends. One free port in these seas must eventually destroy the spell of Dutch monopoly; and what *Malta* is in the West, that may *Singapore* become in the East.

" I shall leave this for Bencoolen in a few days, where I hope to remain quietly until we hear decidedly from Europe; at all events I am not likely to quit Sumatra again for some months, and then only for a short period to revisit my new settlement.

" You may judge of our anxiety to return to Bencoolen, when I tell you that we left our little girl there in August last, and have not since seen her. Lady Raffles, who accompanied me to Bengal, and is now with me, has since presented me with a son. The circumstances preceding his birth were not very propitious. I was obliged to quit her only four days before the event; we were almost amongst strangers, no nurse in whom to confide, no experienced medical aid; for we had expected to reach Bencoolen in time. And yet all went on well; and a finer babe, or one with more promise of intelligence, never was beheld. You will recollect that our little girl was born on the wave, under circumstances not more promising, and yet no mother and no children could have suffered less! What strange and mysterious dispensations of Providence! When I think of Claremont, and all the prospects which were there anticipated—but I must check my pen.

" I thank you most sincerely for your letters of the 8th December, 1817, and 29th April, 1819: the former I could never acknowledge till now, the latter is before me, and I cannot express how much I feel indebted to you for your kind and affectionate attention. The engravings I have duly received, one of them in particular is dear to me from many associations; it is from the painting which I so often admired in the drawing-room.

" Your account of our amiable and invaluable Prince has given me the greatest satisfaction. He has indeed had his trials: my heart overflows when I think of him and of his sufferings; and though far removed and separated from the passing scene, be assured I listen with no common interest to all that is said of and about him.

" I have told you that Lady Raffles has presented me with a son and a daughter: from the circumstance of the latter having been born on the voyage, the Javans, who are a poetic people, wished her to be named *Tunjung Segara,* meaning lotos of the sea; and a more appropriate name for purity or innocence could not have been conceived. I gratified their wish, but at the same time my own, by prefixing a more Christian and a more consecrated name, " Charlotte." My son has been christened Leopold; and thus will *Leopold and Charlotte* be commemorated in my domestic circle as names ever dear and ever respected; and that of my daughter, while associated with the emblem of purity, handed down in remembrance of one whose virtues will never be forgotten.

" I must not close this letter without giving you some account of my occupations and views, as far as they are of a personal nature: I am vain enough to hope that these will interest you more than all I could write of a public or political nature.

" Notwithstanding the serious demands on my time, arising out of my public station, and the discussions I have naturally had with the Dutch authorities, I have been able to advance very considerably in my collections in natural history. Sumatra does not afford any of those interesting remains of former civilization, and of the arts, which abound in Java: here man is far behind-hand, perhaps a thousand years, even behind his neighbour the Javan; but we have more originality, and the great volume of nature has hardly been opened. I was extremely unfortunate in the death of Dr. Arnold, who accompanied me as a naturalist from England: he fell a sacrifice to his zealous and indefatigable exertions in the first journey which he made into the interior; but not until he had immortalized his name by the discovery of one of the greatest prodigies in nature which has been yet met with, a flower of great beauty, but more remarkable for its dimensions; it measures a full yard across, weighs fifteen pounds, and contains in the nectary no less than eight pints, each petal being eleven inches in breadth, and there being five of them. I sent a short description of this plant, with a drawing, and part of the flower itself, to Sir Joseph Banks, from whom, or some of the members of the Royal Society, you may probably have heard more particulars. I have now with me, as a botanist, Dr. Jack, a gentleman highly qualified; and we are daily making very important additions to our herbarium. We have recently discovered at this place some very beautiful species of the *Nepenthes*, or pitcher plant, which, in elegance and brilliancy, far surpass any thing I have yet seen in this quarter: the plant is very remarkable, and though the genus has been generally described, but little is known of the different species. We are now engaged in making drawings of them, and with a few other of the most remarkable and splendid productions of the vegetable world which we have met with, propose forming them into a volume, to be engraved in Europe. This will be an *earnest* of what we propose to do hereafter; and you will oblige me much by informing me whether His Royal Highness would have any objection to their being dedicated to him: there will not be above six or eight engravings, but they will be on a large scale.

" Besides our botanical pursuits, I have in my family two French naturalists, one of them step-son to the celebrated Cuvier; their attention is principally directed to zoology, but we include in our researches every thing that is interesting in the mineral kingdom. Our collection of birds is already very extensive, and in the course of two or three years we hope to complete our more important researches in Sumatra. We shall endeavour to include the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, and wherever the *Dutch*, who are the *Vandals* of the East, do not establish themselves to our ex-

clusion. I hope the plants, &c. by Dr. Horsfield reached Claremont in safety and tolerable preservation.

" On the west coast of Sumatra we abound in great varieties of corallines and madrapores, but few of these are known in England, and collections are rare; I am preparing a few for Claremont, and shall be happy to hear from you if they are likely to be acceptable, or what would be more so.

" I beg of you to present my respects to Prince Leopold, with every assurance of deep regard, affection and esteem, which it may be respectful for me to offer.

" To the Duke of Kent I will thank you also to present my respects, and my congratulations on his marriage. * * * *

" Allow me to add my kindest remembrances to Sir Robert Gardiner, the Baron, and Dr. Stockman, and to assure you, my dear friend, that I am with sincerity and truth,

" Your obliged and very faithfully attached friend,

" T. S. R *."

To Dr. Wallich.

" *Singapore, June* 17, 1819.

" Our friend Dr. Jack will keep you so regularly informed of our proceedings, that I shall not attempt to give you any account of our collections and discoveries. You will be happy to hear that we are at last on the wing for Bencoolen, where we shall commence operations on a more determined plan. We have, however, no right to complain, and Singapore would have recompensed all our pains, had we found in it nothing but the new species of nepenthes, which are splendid beyond description, and for novelty, size, and effect, certainly rank amongst the beauties of the East."

To her Grace the Duchess of Somerset.

" *Singapore, June* 11*th*, 1819.

" We are, at last, on our return home, and hope to leave this for Bencoolen in about a week. Poor Lady Raffles! do you not pity her, to have been so long separated from her little girl, at such an interesting age, and to have been again confined among strangers, and with no one about her in whom she could confide?

* The beautiful plant alluded to in the foregoing letter has been named *Nepenthes Rafflesiana*, and has since been engraved by Mr. Lambert, whose liberality in patronising any new discovery in his favourite science is well known.

" To add to our misfortunes, I was myself compelled to leave her only four days before the event. On my return, however, to Penang, I found her quite well, and one of the most beautiful boys that eyes ever beheld. Both have done well ever since, and all are in doubt which is the most beautiful, Leopold or his sister Charlotte: he is three months old this day. Our troubles are not yet quite over, as we have a sea voyage of at least a month before us.

" My new colony thrives most rapidly. We have not been established four months, and it has received an accession of population exceeding five thousand, principally Chinese, and their number is daily increasing.

" It is not necessary for me to say how much interested I am in the success of the place; it is a child of my own, and I have made it what it is. You may easily conceive with what zeal I apply myself to the clearing of forests, cutting of roads, building of towns, framing of laws, &c. &c.

" T. S. Raffles."

To ————————.

" *Singapore, June* 15*th*, 1819.

" I am happy to inform you that every thing is going on well here. It bids fair to be the next port to Calcutta; all we want now is, the certainty of permanent possession, and this, of course, depends on authorities beyond our control. You may take my word for it, this is by far the most important station in the East; and, as far as naval superiority and commercial interests are concerned, of much higher value than whole continents of territory.

" Sophia and young Leopold are in high health and spirits: our darling girl is running about and talking, but it is now eight months since we saw her. What an age!"

To W. Marsden, Esq.

" *Singapore, June* 11, 1819.

" My Dear Sir,

* * * * *

" I am now about to return to Bencoolen by the way of the Straits of Sunda, after an absence of nine months, three of which were spent at Acheen. At some future period I hope to give you an account of the information collected at the last-mentioned place. Our political negociations were eventually successful, and although I had much anxiety and annoyance, I have no reason to regret my employment on the mission. Our government were nearly committed on the worst side of a very troublesome question; and it required no common degree of assiduity and perseverance to persuade authorities, who had previously declared opinions, that they were wrong. My colleague, Captain Coombs, however, at last saw the question

in the same light in which it always appeared to me, and we had the satisfaction to conclude a treaty with the legitimate sovereign, by which all our objects were obtained, without the necessity of involving ourselves in any way. I have sent a copy of our report to Mr. ——, and you will oblige me by perusing it when at leisure; it is not very long, considering the voluminous nature of our detached proceedings, which occupy upwards of 1000 pages.

* * * * * * *

" The most important discoveries we made were in the existence of extensive teak forests near the northern coasts, and the general prevalence of mutilated Hindu images in the interior; of the former I obtained specimen branches of the trees, and undoubted evidence; and of the latter the accounts given were of a nature which left little doubt in my mind with regard to the fact: I have set further inquiries on foot, and in the course of time I hope to obtain much interesting information on this subject. I have obtained several copies of their annals, and much information regarding their constitution and customs, but I have not time at this moment to enter on the subject. Their line of Mahomedan kings appears to have commenced in 601 of the Hegira, and from that period until the reign of Secunder Muda, or Macota Alem as he is more generally called, Acheen is said to have been tributary to Rum; it then obtained Maaf, or exemption from tribute. The crown and regalia appear to have been brought from Rum shortly after the establishment of Islamism, and I think it probable that Acheen was the first and most important footing obtained by the Mahomedans to the eastward, and whence their religion was subsequently disseminated among the Islands.

" There is a fine harbour on the northern side of Pulo Way, the best in the Achenese dominions, and until this period unknown to Europeans. It will be long, I fear, before Acheen will be restored to a state of complete tranquillity and confidence. * * * * * *

To Sir Robert Harry Inglis.

" *Singapore, June 12th,* 1819.

" My Dear Sir,

" It is now nearly nine months since I left Bencoolen for Bengal, and during the whole of this period, as well as previously, my mind and time have been so continually devoted to the pressing and embarrassing duties of the responsible situations in which I have been placed, that the more satisfactory and comfortable duties of private friendship have necessarily been too often neglected. Among these I accuse myself of not having written to you, and I trust in your kindness to admit this general excuse as a sufficient apology.

" From the warm and kind interest you take in all that concerns us, I am sure

you will hear with pleasure that both Lady Raffles and myself have in general continued to enjoy the blessing of health, and that we are the happy parents of two most lovely children: our little girl was born at sea on the passage out; the boy at Penang about three months ago; on both occasions the circumstances in which Lady Raffles was placed were very distressing. It is easy to conceive the anxiety and privations attending such an event on board ship; and at Penang, independently of our not being in the least prepared either with a nurse or otherwise, I was myself compelled to leave her only four days before the event took place. All, however, has gone on well, and we are truly thankful to the Great Author and Disposer of all events, for the mercies and blessings we enjoy.

"I know not how I can better fulfil my promise to you, than by giving you a general, but, as it must necessarily be, a hasty account of my proceedings, plans, and prospects, since I left England. I will endeavour to do this in as few words as possible, but it must be without order or arrangement. I will begin with Bencoolen, and the immediate interests of that settlement.

"Before I left England I was prepared for the necessity of very essential changes in the mode of management. The encouragement given to slavery, gaming, and other vices, and the system of forced services, and deliveries at inadequate rates, appeared to me incompatible with the general principles of good government, and inconsistent with the character which the British nation has latterly assumed.

"I accordingly endeavoured to procure an authority for reforming these evils; and although I did not succeed to the extent I wished, I believe an impression was made on some of the more enlightened of the Directors, and on the President of the Board of Control, (Mr. Canning,) that some change was necessary and indispensable; under these circumstances I assumed charge of the settlement, and a more reduced and wretched place than I found cannot well be conceived; recent neglect and an awful visitation of Providence, had contributed to render the scene even more miserable than it might otherwise have been; but under any circumstances, Bencoolen would have struck me as more insignificant and unimportant than any one of the twenty-two Residencies lately under my authority as Lieutenant-Governor of Java.

"The natural disadvantages of the place are so great, and the effects of misrule so deeply and extensively felt, that whilst I had every inclination to commence a new order of things, I was not very sanguine in the result; the country had already been too far impoverished and destroyed, the people too long deprived of all motive for energy and improvement, and the coast too long abandoned by the native trader, and too inhospitable to invite his return. In this state, I had to determine whether I would undertake the thankless office of reformer, without the means of shewing any immediate advantage, or continue in the course of my predecessors, and eat the bread of idleness. My decision was in favour of the former, and among the first acts

which I had the satisfaction to perform, were the emancipation of 300 slaves belonging to the Company, and the abolition of the gaming and cock-fighting farms, whence the principal local revenues had previously been derived.

" These and other changes declaratory of the new system of government which was about to take place, only paved the way to more essential changes ; and before I proceeded to Bengal, the system of forced services and deliveries was abolished, new agreements entered into with the Chiefs, the courts of justice regulated on some fixed principle, and an active police established. All has been quiet since, and on my return to Bencoolen, the experience of the last twelve months will afford some data on the eventual effects.

" Before, however, I proceeded to this length, I endeavoured to make myself well acquainted with the people and the country, and with this view visited the interior of the Island, not only immediately inland of Bencoolen, but to the southward, inland of Manna, and to the northward inland of Padang.

" My journey inland of Bencoolen, though not more than between twenty and thirty miles, seems to have exceeded any thing attempted by any former Resident; the other journies were of course declared absolutely impracticable. It would swell this letter to an unreasonable length were I to attempt any detailed account of them ; they were highly interesting, and though attended with fatigue and exposure, fully repaid us for the trouble and anxiety. To the southward of Bencoolen, and inland of Manna, is situated the country of the Pasumahs, at a distance of three days' journey entirely through primitive forests, abounding in elephants and tigers. No roads are cut, and continued wars having taken place between the Pasumahs and people of Manna, the few passes through the mountains were unknown, or with difficulty traced. These mountains are from three to five thousand feet high, and in some places much higher, and run in a connected range of two or three ridges almost the whole length of Sumatra, at an average distance of about twenty miles from the coast. It is inland of these mountains that the more fertile districts are to be found, those on the coast and to the westward of the mountains being for the most part sterile, and very thinly inhabited. The Pasumah country is on the eastern side of the mountains, and independently of the advantage of settling in person the long-existing disputes between those people and what are called the Company's districts on the coast, I had an additional inducement to visit the interior, in the hope of discovering something in Sumatra more valuable and attractive than I had yet seen ; and I was not disappointed, for I found in Pasumah a fine race of people, in physical appearance far superior to those on the coast, with ingenuous manners, and comparatively industrious habits ; a soil richer even than the most fertile lands in Java, well cultivated, and a climate in every way congenial, the thermometer being as low as 65°, till after eight o'clock in the morning, while on the coast at the same hour it usually exceeds 80°.

" Lady Raffles accompanied me on this as well as on my subsequent journey to Menangkabu, and you may form some idea of the fatigue we underwent when I tell you, that for the three days we had to pass in the forest and mountains, the paths were so narrow and precipitous, that it was absolutely impossible to relieve her from the fatigue of walking, except by occasionally carrying her for half-an-hour on a man's shoulders. We walked from before day-light, sometimes till nine at night, and then we had to prepare our leafy dwelling from the branches of the surrounding trees. We carried a cot and bedding with us, but sometimes this did not come up; and I had to select the smoothest stone from the river to serve as a pillow.

" Every thing having succeeded at Pasumah to my wishes, a treaty of friendship and alliance was entered into, and we returned to Manna by a different route, though with equal fatigue and danger. Manna is situated about eighty miles from Bencoolen; to this place we had proceeded in a buggy along the sands in a journey of two days. We then continued our route southward as far as Cawoor, keeping the sea-shore, and proceeding on horseback; the distance about forty miles.

" On our return to Bencoolen, which was accomplished by the 4th of June, new cares commenced. A Commissioner, with a party of troops, had arrived in a Dutch frigate, for the purpose of taking charge of Pedang, by far the most important, and indeed the only valuable station on the west coast of Sumatra.

" I had previously written to the Governor General of Batavia, that there was an out-standing account between the two governments to the amount of 170,000 dollars, incurred by the British Government on the faith of its being repaid by the Dutch, whenever the place might be transferred, and according to the terms of the capitulation of the place, I had requested His Excellency would depute some person to examine the accounts, and give me some acknowledgment before the actual transfer. I accordingly called on the Commissioner for adjustment, but to my surprise, he informed me, that he had explicit orders not to enter upon any discussion of the kind; that it was his duty first to hoist the Dutch flag; and that afterwards the subject might be considered. As we had woeful experience of such a procedure in Java, where after we had once allowed them to hoist their flag, they treated all our claims with indifference and disregard, I was satisfied that unless we had some acknowledgment of this debt before the actual transfer, and while the English flag remained, the amount would be irrecoverably lost, and the subsequent claims laughed at; I therefore persisted in my demand, and the result was the return of the Commissioner to Batavia, for further orders. The Dutch government refused to waive the point. I remained resolute; and the discussion ended in a reference to Bengal. In the mean time I was anxious to make myself acquainted with Padang, but more so to attempt a visit to Menangkabu, the ancient capital of the Malayan empire, of which Europeans in these seas had heard so much, but which no European had yet seen. The difficulties which were opposed far exceeded those we had met with at Pasumah, but

determined to overcome them, we accomplished our object, and during a journey of fifteen days, principally on foot, we passed over a distance of, at least, 250 miles, which no European foot had before trodden, crossing mountains not less than 5000 feet in elevation; sometimes whole days along the course of rapid torrents, on others, in highly-cultivated plains, and throughout the whole, in a country in the highest degree interesting. We here found the wreck of a great empire hardly known to us but by name, and the evident source whence all the Malayan colonies now scattered along the coasts of the Archipelago first sprung, a population of between one and two millions, a cultivation highly advanced, and manners, customs, and productions in a great degree new and undescribed. I can hardly describe to you the delight with which I first entered the rich and populous country of Menangkabu, and discovered after four days' journey through the mountains and forests, this great source of interest and wealth. To me it was quite classical ground, and had I found nothing more than the ruins of an ancient city, I should have felt repaid for the journey, but when, in addition to this, I found so extensive a population, so fertile a country, and so admirable a post whence to commence and effect the civilization of Sumatra, the sensation was of a nature that does not admit of description. Instead of jealousy and distrust on the part of the natives, they received us with the utmost hospitality, and though their manners were rude, and sometimes annoying, it was impossible to misunderstand their intentions, which were most friendly. They had but one request, namely, that I would not allow the Dutch to come to Padang—'for the twenty-three years that the place had been in our possession, great changes had taken place, new interests had arisen, children then unborn had become men, and those who had been friends to the Dutch were now no more.' I pacified them by receiving an address, which they wrote in public to the King of England, soliciting his attention to their interests, and as I found on subsequent enquiry, that the Dutch influence had never extended inland beyond the mountains, but had been expressly limited to the western side of them, I did not hesitate to enter into a conditional treaty of friendship and alliance with the Sultan of Menangkabu, as the lord-paramount of all the Malay countries, subject of course to the approval of Lord Hastings.

"The state of agriculture in the Menangkabu country is far higher than I expected to find it; not in any respect inferior to what it is in Java, and in some respects superior. Water-wheels and sugar presses being common throughout Menangkabu, while they are almost unknown in Java, shews that in this point of view they are at least equal. In manners and civilization, however, they are very far behindhand. Some traces of a former higher state of civilization are discernible, but in general the people are little beyond what they are found to be in other parts of Sumatra. The Sovereign of Menangkabu has little or no authority, and the population seem to have relapsed into the ancient divisions of tribes so general throughout Sumatra.

" On our return from Padang to Bencoolen, my discussions with the Dutch Government had gone to considerable length. The first unfriendly and unneighbourly act on their part was to discontinue the regular post which had been established between Bencoolen and Batavia; this afforded me an additional necessity of obtaining a station in the Straits of Sunda, where our China ships might refresh in passing to and fro. The coast of Sumatra from the south-western extremity to Bencoolen is in general subject to a high surf and want of anchorage, and to bring forward Bencoolen at all, it was essential that we should have some convenient port for communication with shipping, and it occurred to me that the present was a favourable opportunity to establish our claim to an anchorage in Lampoon Bay. The Dutch, however, would not listen to it, and as the boundaries were not defined, I hoisted our flag at the extremity of the bay to which I thought we had a just claim. We discovered and surveyed an excellent harbour, and had the plan been supported by the higher authorities, I am convinced that much might have been done.

" It was evident the Dutch were determined to keep us out of the Archipelago altogether, and that unless we immediately occupied some station for the security of our own commerce, it would be in their power without direct acts of hostility to interfere with it, and seriously embarrass our future intercourse.

" As however I am now getting into a more general question than the local politics of Bencoolen, it will be necessary to give you some general idea of the proceedings of the Dutch authorities, and of the measures which I have contemplated to meet them. Much as the affairs of Bencoolen occupied my attention in the first instance, they were sunk into insignificance when contrasted with the higher objects to be obtained by opposing the Dutch. Bencoolen has so little in itself that much can never be expected from it. The only chance was by the establishment of a port in the Straits of Sunda, or by the retention of Padang, and the extension of our influence in the interior. Had the latter been practicable, I am inclined to think the period would not have been distant when the whole of Sumatra would have acknowledged our authority, and a settled and enlightened government been established throughout. Under existing circumstances, and the orders I have received to withdraw from Padang and the Straits of Sunda, all that has been left to me has been to correct abuses, establish a more rational kind of government in the immediate vicinity of Bencoolen, and to reduce our expenses as much as possible. But to proceed to the Dutch.

" The circumstances in which the British interests and character have been placed by the recent convention with Holland, and its consequences, are most distressing, and certainly call loudly for the interference of the authorities in Europe. I will endeavour to explain them to you as briefly as possible.

" From the period of our first establishment in India, our interests and policy have been opposed to those of the Dutch. We found them in possession of the

all events respect our claims, seemed to prevail, and nothing was done. It was in vain that I represented, while in England, that our settlements of Bencoolen and Penang were both too inconveniently situated to answer any useful purpose: the evil had not arisen, and it was conceived the Dutch would be as slow as usual in their movements, and that at all events we had abundance of time. All that I could effect was to obtain instructions to watch and report their proceedings, and on these instructions I have not failed to watch them narrowly, and to place before the higher authorities the dangers to which our interests are already subjected.

" On my arrival in India I found my apprehensions realized: the Dutch were not only steadily pursuing the policy for our absolute exclusion, of which I complain, but they were openly and avowedly doing so, and they were not very particular as to the means.

" It had been an object of our policy to admit and preserve the independence of the Bornean states. At the period of the conquest of Java, no European authority was established in any of them, but the ports were open to the general trader. Many of the princes of these states had risen into authority and independence subsequent to the decline of the Dutch power; and, with the exception of Banjar Masing, during the administration of Marshal Daendels, the Sultan had fairly bought the Dutch out, who withdrew, leaving him, by a written declaration, independent, on condition of his purchasing the fort and other buildings from them. This condition he fulfilled; and while Lord Minto was at Malacca, on his way to Java, he received ambassadors from that state, courting our alliance. His Lordship was pleased to listen to their proposals, and an agreement or treaty was entered into, one of the first articles of which was, that we should never transfer the place to the Dutch. Our treaty was made with an independent Prince, who was then acknowledged as such by the Dutch, and without reference to the conquest of Java. This place the Dutch commissioners claimed under the convention, and it was in vain we urged the impossibility of making the transfer. They were, however, determined, and our Government not thinking it a place worth contending for, and being further displeased with the local authority, and perhaps ignorant of the value of the position, withdrew, on which the Dutch sent a commanding force, took possession, entered into a nominal treaty with the Chief, by which they secured to themselves the exclusive trade and control, and of course shut us out from further intercourse, the first and most important article in all their agreements with these states being the exclusion of the English.

" As our Government were content to abandon Banjar Masing, and the Dutch had already effected their purpose in that part of Borneo, it only remained for me to endeavour to maintain the independence of Pontiana and Sambas on the western coast, Rhio and Lingen at the southern entrance of the Straits of Malacca, and Palembang and Acheen on Sumatra.

" I received information at this period of extensive expeditions fitting out at

Batavia for the purpose of taking possession of all the most commanding positions in the Archipelago, and as no time was to be lost, I communicated my sentiments very fully to the Supreme Government, urging a request to be permitted to proceed there in person for the purpose of more particularly representing the dangers which threatened us. Lord Hastings was at this time up the country, and it would have been useless for me to have proceeded to Calcutta, until I knew he was on his return to the Presidency.

" In acknowledgment of my communication to the Sultan of Palembang, which was sent overland (the territories of Palembang and Bencoolen being adjoining,) ambassadors arrived, stating the apprehensions of the Sultan, that the Dutch were about to invade the place with a large force, to dethrone him on account of his having been raised by the English, and to throw the whole country into confusion.

" To understand the Palembang question, it is necessary to revert to former proceedings, and as it is a subject that will probably excite interest at home on account of Banca, you may be desirous of knowing some of the particulars.

" While acting as agent for the Governor-General, and before the conquest of Java, I had authority to treat with Palembang, and the Sultan being desirous of our alliance, it was necessary to make it a condition that he first separated himself from the Dutch. This he hesitated to do, and the negociation dropped.

" The conquest of Java followed, and a Dutch establishment being still stationed at Palembang, we conceived ourselves, according to the capitulation, entitled to the full benefit of the Dutch existing treaty with the Sultan. A commission was, therefore, sent for the arrangement of our interest in that quarter. When they arrived at Palembang, they found the Dutch fort and establishment deserted, and on enquiry were told by the Sultan that the Dutch authorities had some time before quitted the place. The Sultan then said he was willing to treat with us as an independent Prince, but his conduct to the Commissioners was very unsatisfactory, and excited considerable suspicion, and they returned without any advantageous result. Shortly after, authentic intelligence was received that the Dutch Resident and garrison had been murdered in a most treacherous manner by the Sultan's permission or authority, and that the story of their having quitted the place of their own accord was all a fabrication. The event was stated to have taken place on the Sultan's receiving intelligence of the conquest of Java. He then seems to have seen his error in not having accepted our previous offer, and actuated as well by a spirit of hatred to the Dutch as by his own interest, which he conceived would be best consulted by setting himself up as an independent Prince, the idea of massacring the Dutch and of keeping the fact secret was discovered.

" An expedition was immediately fitted out to punish the party. Gillespie commanded, and had full authority to investigate and act according to circumstances. The fact of the murder was proved beyond doubt. The Sultan fled into

the hills and was dethroned, and his brother raised to the throne in his stead. To compensate us for the expense of the expedition, the new Sultan ceded to us the Islands of Banca and Billiton in perpetuity, and it was a condition that we should no longer interfere in the domestic affairs of Palembang. He, however, required from us a military guard provisionally, to protect him from his brother, who still remained in the interior. All these arrangements were unreservedly approved of and confirmed by the Supreme Government, and all went on quietly, until Major Robinson, an officer in whom confidence had been placed, abused his trust, and it is strongly suspected for a valuable consideration, entered into an agreement with the old Sultan, to re-establish him in authority, on condition of his paying 200,000 dollars to the British Government. This agreement was of course disavowed by me, Major Robinson removed and disgraced, the old Sultan put off the throne, and his brother again raised; the money being returned, and the old Sultan permitted to reside at the capital of Palembang, under the guarantee of the British Government that he did not interfere with the just rights of his brother.

"In this state affairs stood when the convention was signed in Europe, by one article of which his Britannic Majesty agrees to cede the Island of Banca to the Dutch, but no mention is made of either Palembang or Billiton. As soon as intelligence was sent to the Sultan that we were about to withdraw, he strongly urged the condition of the cession of Banca, namely, that the European power was not further to interfere with Palembang, and called upon us to prevent the Dutch from interfering with his authority, by requiring them to guarantee the treaty. This they refused to do; and no sooner had we quitted Batavia, than they commenced their machinations against the unfortunate man, which ended in his brother being again called to the throne, for a payment of 400,000 dollars, and himself being conveyed to Batavia as a prisoner, after his seal had been surreptitiously applied to a mock treaty, which transfers all the Palembang territory to the Dutch. The officer who was deputed by me to Palembang, Captain Salmond, brother to Colonel Salmond of the India-House, was seized by the Dutch, and, with his suite, sent to Batavia as prisoners. The circumstances attending this seizure are fully detailed in a protest entered by me, and sent to the Dutch authorities, and evince a disregard of character greater than could well be conceived in any civilized nation of the present day.

"The Palembang question, as politically considered, appears to stand thus: Banca was not considered as naturally accruing to the Dutch, under the general terms of the convention, otherwise a specific article, ceding that Island to them, would not have been necessary; and his Britannic Majesty, by so specifically transferring his rights in it to the Dutch, confirms, of course, the treaty by which these rights were obtained, at the same time that his Netherlands' Majesty, by receiving possession of the Island under this specific article of the treaty, in like manner

acknowledges the full title of Great Britain to cede it. Now the terms on which the Island was ceded to us were, that we would guarantee the independence and rights of the Sultan, who ceded it, and that we would no further interfere with the internal affairs of Palembang. The Dutch, however, not satisfied with Banca, require first their factory at Palembang also, and afterwards the dethronement of the very Prince from whom we first obtained the cession. Thus acting upon two principles inconsistent with each other, and destroying the only title by which we could legally cede Banca, they claimed Palembang under their ancient rights, and Banca under those newly acquired; and because the Sultan whom we raised required of them to guarantee the existing treaty, and expressed his attachment to the power to whom he was indebted for his throne, they soon contrived to fabricate charges against him, to banish him from his country, and to admit four lacs of substantial excuses (the sum said to have been paid on the occasion,) as a sufficient retribution from the old Sultan, who had murdered their countrymen, and whom they have again raised to the throne.

"I fear, however, that if I go into further particulars, I shall never make an end of my letter, and therefore I shall break off here with the account of affairs before I proceeded to Bengal. In August I received accounts of the probable return of the Governor General to Calcutta, and on the 1st of September proceeded there with Lady Raffles in a small brig.

"Lord Hastings had arrived, and my reception was very gratifying. I found every unfavourable impression which had formerly existed, removed from his Lordship's mind, and that the Supreme Government were willing to enter on the consideration of our interests to the eastward.

"On a deliberate consideration, a moderate line of policy was decided upon, and the relative advantages of the Straits of Sunda and of Malacca being considered, the latter seemed to be more important to us. It would have been too much to have kept the command of both, and as the west coast of Sumatra was comparatively unimportant, it was resolved to sacrifice our establishments there, in order to obtain a more substantial advantage elsewhere. My plan for occupying the port of Rhio, and which I had mentioned to the authorities in Europe, was adopted, by which we expected to obtain the command of the southern entrance of the Straits of Malacca; and it was determined to secure the command of the northern entrance by bringing our long-pending discussions with Acheen to a close.

"While in Bengal I received accounts that Colonel Bannerman, the Governor of Prince of Wales' Island, alarmed at the approach of the Dutch so near to Malacca, had deputed an agent to proceed to the neighbouring states, including Rhio, for the purpose of entering into commercial treaties for the security of our trade, on the re-establishment of the Dutch at Malacca. In the Bornean states, however, this agent was refused admittance by the Dutch, who had previously taken possession. But at Rhio, Siak, and other minor states in the Straits of Malacca, he had met with every

success; the native princes being anxious to render their connexion with the English permanent. In their treaties, however, no stipulation for the exclusion of the Dutch was made, but the parties bound themselves not to act upon any obsolete or interrupted treaties with them, and our acknowledgment of their independence was all that they required. The Dutch, however, no sooner obtained possession of Malacca, than, notwithstanding our treaties, which were communicated to them for their information, they sent an overpowering force to Rhio, &c., declared the Chief to be their vassal, treated our negociations with contempt, and dictated a treaty which excluded our trade from the port, &c.

" The decision, however, of the Supreme Government was taken before intelligence to this effect was received, and it was hoped I might yet be in time to secure our interests at Rhio and Acheen.

" As a proof of the confidence now placed in me by the Governor General, his Lordship was pleased to appoint me his agent and representative, to effect the objects he had in view to the eastward. In October I received authority to prosecute the negociation commenced at Rhio, by the establishment of a British port at that place, and to act as senior commissioner with the agent of the Penang Government, for adjusting all affairs at Acheen.

" Contemplating the practicability of our forming an establishment at Rhio, I was authorized to place Major Farquhar, formerly Resident of Malacca, in charge of it, and although our interests to the eastward were thus provisionally decided under two authorities, namely, those at Penang and Bencoolen, and my establishment at Rhio would border very closely on the Straits of Malacca, it was conceived that whenever Colonel Bannerman might vacate Penang, my succession to that government would be the means of uniting all our interests, and a good understanding in the meantime prevent inconvenience.

" I will not tire you with details, but it is necessary you should know that in forming our establishment at the place from which I write this letter, I was opposed in the strongest manner by local authorities, but have received the unreserved approbation of the Governor General. Of the grounds on which I felt myself justified in taking up this position, as well as of the advantages of the position itself, I shall hereafter speak. In the meantime I would wish to give you some account of my proceedings at Acheen, a place which at one period attracted more attention in Europe than most Eastern countries, but which has long declined in importance.

" For the last four years the country of Acheen had been a prey to disorder and anarchy. A rich merchant of Penang, Syed Hussain, patronized by the late Mr. Petrie, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the capital, set up claims to the sovereignty, and having expended an immense sum in briberies and corruption, contrived by means of his superior naval force, and the advantage of equipping his vessels from Penang, to command the trade of the Achenese ports, and to invest

one of his sons with the title of Sultan. The Penang Government taking part with this side of the question, strongly recommended the support of it by the Supreme Government, and a force of a thousand men was actually applied for with proper equipments in order to establish the newly created king thoroughly on his throne. Captain Coombs, a protege of Mr. Petrie's, and who had been employed as the Agent of the Penang Government, was in Bengal at the time of my arrival, and Lord Hastings asked my opinion. I had no hesitation in giving it as far as it was then formed, and the Supreme Government were induced to pause. I was subsequently joined in a commission with Captain Coombs for the purpose of finally adjusting the question.

" After my arrival at Penang, I was informed that Colonel Bannerman had protested against my interference at Acheen, and had written in such terms to the Supreme Government that it was incumbent on me to await the answer. I complied with this request, and while this question was pending, proceeded to this place, effected my object, and returned to Penang in time to receive the further instructions of the Supreme Government. These only tended to confirm what I had formerly received, and Captain Coombs and myself accordingly proceeded to Acheen. We remained there nearly seven weeks, during the early portion of which we were directly opposed in our politics, but at length after a paper war which actually occupies above a thousand pages of the Company's largest sized paper, he came round to my opinion, and was satisfied that in justice and honour there was but one course to pursue, namely, supporting the cause of the legitimate Sovereign. The spurious claims set up by Syed Hussain were proved to be unfounded, and it was clear he had grossly deceived our government. We therefore concluded a treaty, and effected all the objects we required, namely, the right of having a Resident and establishment at Acheen, and to exclude all foreign European nations from having a fixed habitation. All that we had then to do was to require the Governor of Penang to restrict Syed Hussain from further interference, and troops and equipments of course became unnecessary.

" I never had a more disagreeable duty, and consequently was highly satisfied to bring our mission to so desirable a conclusion. It was an object of great importance to take the right side of the question, and had our government been once committed on the other, and troops introduced, we should soon have been so deeply involved that a worse than Candyan war might have been apprehended. In a country like Acheen by military operations we had every thing to lose and nothing to gain.

" After the conclusion of our mission to Acheen, I joined Lady Raffles at Penang, and returned to this place on my way to Bencoolen.

" I must now give you some account of Singapore, our title to the place, its present condition and advantages, as well immediate as prospectively. The Dutch

in occupying Rhio had considered the Sultan of Lingen as the legitimate Sovereign of Johore. We found, however, that there was an elder brother, who by the laws and usages of the monarchy laid claim to this distinction, and that in consequence of these disputed claims, neither of them had been regularly installed, and that consequently since the death of the father, which happened about six years ago, there had been actually no regular constituted King of Johore. The elder brother's claims were admitted to be just, and the cause of his not being regularly crowned attributed to the intrigues of the Vizier or Rajah Moodah of Rhio, who had nearly usurped all authority, and who of course preferred a nominal superior to a real one. The empire of Johore was once the most extensive of this part of the world, even in its most limited extent: it included the southern part of the Peninsula, and all the Islands which lay off it. The Bandahara of Padang, and the Tumungung of Johore are the principal officers and hereditary nobles, and the acknowledgment of these two is essential to the establishment of a new Sovereign. When I arrived off Singapore, I received a visit from the Tumungung, who represented to me the recent conduct of the Dutch, and stated that as the Dutch had treated with an incompetent authority, it was still left for us to establish ourselves in this division of the empire, under the sanction of the legitimate Sovereign. This Sovereign soon made his appearance, and though not yet formally installed, was recognized by us in that capacity, on his being acknowledged as Sovereign by the Bandahara and Tumungung. Fortunately also we discovered at Singapore a harbour more convenient, and a port more commanding than Rhio itself, and as no European authority had ever set foot on the Island, and the land was the property of the Tumungung, we did not hesitate to treat for the occupation of the port, and to establish ourselves pending the reference to Bengal. I have just received letters from Lord Hastings, conveying his entire approval of my proceedings, and an assurance that he is too well aware of the importance of the position, and of the necessity of opposing the encroachments of the Dutch, not be deeply interested in the success of the establishment.

" Having succeeded in all the objects which were contemplated by the Supreme Government, as within the reach of the authorities in this country, it remains for me to inform you of the further objects recommended for adoption at home. The free and uninterrupted command of the Straits of Malacca having been obtained, it is conceived that the Dutch Government will readily cede to us the settlement of Malacca, now useless to them, and with it Rhio and the Islands lying off the southern entrance of the Straits; and this obtained, our object will be to gain Banca. The Dutch are indebted to us in nearly a million sterling, for actual property and disbursements, and we are willing to forego this claim, and to set every question at rest between the two governments, provided they will restore Banca. This would, of course, settle the Palembang question at once; and as our ministers can no longer be ignorant of the intrinsic value of Banca to the British Government,

on account of its mines, and the question is thus one in which not only the national honour, but the national interests, are deeply concerned, it is to be hoped the best endeavours will be made.

" This is the policy recommended by the Supreme Government, and the detailed sentiments of Lord Hastings to this effect were forwarded to Europe by Mr. Ricketts, who left Bengal in January last.

" The Penang Government seem inclined to think any settlement further east as injurious to the interests of that Island; but this is taking a very narrow view of the subject, and will not, of course, be listened to.

" The ports of Borneo ought to be considered independent, or the Dutch might be limited to the southern provinces connected with Banjar Masing. If such an arrangement as this is made, I should suppose that our principal station on the west coast of Sumatra should be at Padang, and that all our arrangements should have in view, the eventual establishment of one united and respectable government to the eastward.

" I will now conclude this long and irregular history of my public proceedings. I think you will give me justice for not having been idle in the cause of honour and humanity since my return to this country. I say humanity, because it is perfectly clear, that in the proportion that we extend our influence, that cause is promoted, while it is necessarily checked and perverted under the influence of our rivals. I have now Borneo on the one side and Sumatra on the other, and were the Dutch not established at Pontiana and Sambas on the one, and at Padang and Palembang on the other, a free intercourse would be established, and civilization extended. Sambas and Pontiana command the rich and populous districts of the interior, in which upwards of 100,000 industrious Chinese are established, while Padang is the key to Menangkabu, whence all Sumatra might with facility be brought under control and regulation. All our hopes are now from England: more cannot be done in this country, and what has been accomplished, has been almost entirely on my own anxious responsibility. An additional clause to the convention, declaratory and explanatory of the footing on which the British and Dutch interests in the Archipelago, both political and commercial, are to stand, is indispensable; and, of course, the more favourable this can be made to us the better. We have to expect nothing short of commercial hostility on the part of the Dutch, and unless we take care of ourselves, they will impress the natives with a belief that we have not the power to do so.

" I did intend, in this letter, to have entered at some length into other subjects, which have attracted my attention since my return to India, but it is so unreasonably long, that I must bring it to a close, with an apology for the extreme haste and inaccuracy with which it is written, and for taking up so much of your time on subjects which are probably of little interest to you.

" You will have heard, that shortly after my arrival at Bencoolen, I had the satisfaction to establish a Bible Society. This was followed by the establishment of schools, and recently, on the visit of the Bishop of Calcutta to Penang, we formed a District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, entitled the Prince of Wales' Island and Fort Marlborough Committee.

" I have now with me, on board the ship on which I proceed to Bencoolen, a printing-press, with types in the Roman and native characters, and have just granted permission to the Extra Ganges Mission to establish a college at Singapore, for the study of the Chinese language, and the extension of Christianity.

" The state of society, even among the Europeans at Bencoolen, was very bad on my arrival. I trust it is improving. An instance has occured which will, I hope, impress upon the higher authorities the necessity of attending more closely to the religious and moral character of their establishments.

" I am afraid the progress towards improvement will be slow. I hope it will be sure, and, as soon as I can give you a good account, you may rely upon hearing from me. I did intend to write to Mr. Wilberforce, but I find I have not time, as the ship sails to-day. I shall, therefore, defer writing to him till my return to Bencoolen, when I hope to have much new matter. In the meantime you will oblige me much by presenting my respects, and assuring him that we are doing all we can in the good cause. I wish he were fully aware of what might be done here.

" On the voyage from England, the attention of Lady Raffles and myself was principally devoted to natural history. We had with us Dr. Arnold, an eminent naturalist, and an amiable man, and, with his assistance, we studied most of the elementary works. Our poor friend, Dr. Arnold, has since fallen a sacrifice to his exertions, and we have lost him; but we have supplied his place by Dr. Jack, a young man of very superior talent, and excellent disposition. His time is almost exclusively devoted to botanical pursuits, and our collections are already very interesting and extensive. I have also in my family two French naturalists, one of them step-son to Cuvier. They undertake the zoological department. We collect a few stones wherever we go, and chemistry may be added to the list of our studies.

" These pursuits we selected as the most amusing and useful we could follow. I was well aware that Sumatra afforded nothing in language, literature, science, or the arts, to interest. The great volume of nature, however, is laid open before us; and, in the absence of political objects, we foresaw enough to occupy our attention during the period of our banishment. We are vain enough to hope, that with the means we at present possess, and continued application for the next five years, we shall be able to do much towards describing the natural history of Sumatra and the adjoining islands.

" Thus you will see that we do not depend entirely upon public or political objects. I have done what I conceive my duty in these; and if my projects fail, I shall still have enough to interest me at home.

"Lady Raffles unites in the most affectionate regards to Mrs. Inglis and yourself, and we beg that you will offer our kindest respects to Sir Hugh and Lady Inglis. To Sir Hugh I would write, had I not already informed you of all that is likely to prove interesting to him. My next letter shall, however, be to him; but it must be delayed until I have more leisure and time to condense what I would wish to say. I should not feel myself authorized to convey my sentiments in the same loose and unguarded manner to him that I do to you. I rely upon your friendship and kindness, and remain always, Most sincerely your's.

"It may be satisfactory to Sir Hugh to know that Lord Hastings has made the *amende honorable;* expressed in the handsomest terms his regret that he should ever have viewed my proceedings in Java in another light, and his approbation and applause of the general principles which regulated my Government, which he is pleased to say were as creditable to me as honourable to my country."

The following opinion of two professional men, who had derived much experience in the trade of the Eastern Islands, evinces the estimation in which Singapore was held even at this early period.

"The settlement of Singapore, lately established by Sir Stamford Raffles, being, in my opinion, of the utmost importance both in a political and commercial point of view to the British empire, particularly in the event of a war with France, Holland, or America, the Dutch Government will no doubt strongly remonstrate against that measure, and endeavour to make us relinquish it; but I think every possible argument, founded on truth and experience, should be brought forward in order to secure to us that valuable settlement.

"The Bugguese prows from Celebes and other parts of the Eastern Islands, will resort to the settlement of Singapore with their goods, and barter them for our manufactures, in preference to going to Malacca or Batavia, and it will soon become a depôt for the Eastern traders.

"The Straits of Sunda and Malacca are the two gates or barriers leading into the China Sea for all the commerce of British India, Europe, and the Eastern coasts of North and South America, which gates the Dutch fully command, if we do not retain the settlement of Singapore; for our settlement of Prince of Wales' Island being situated far to the northward and on the coast of an open sea, it affords no protection to our China trade, nor to ships passing through Malacca Straits, whereas the possession of Malacca and Rhio by the Dutch, also of Java and Banca, gives them the complete command of the Straits of Sunda, Banca, and Malacca.

"If we retain the settlement of Singapore, great security will be afforded to our China trade in the event of war; for by possessing a naval station at the entrance of the China Sea, no enemy's cruizers will ever dare to wait off Puloaor to

intercept our ships from China, which Admiral Linois did with the Marengo line-of-battle ship and two frigates, when he attacked the valuable fleet under the command of Captain Dance: and it was fortunate for the Company and the commerce of British India, that Linois had not a larger force.

"I trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in addressing you on this subject; but considering it of great importance, I thought it right to do so, in case you deem it proper to communicate it to Mr. Canning, or any others of those concerned.

"J. Horsburgh."

"*Penang, July 2*, 1819.

"The Bengal Government in January last sent down Sir Stamford Raffles to see and pick out some good place for a settlement east of Malacca, and after looking at several, he laid hold of the fine Island of Singapore, near the mouth of Johore River: from St. John's Island it bears N.N.E. five miles, in latitude 1° 16′ N. We now become again masters of the Malay peninsula, and all the Rajahs up to Padang consider themselves under our protection, our Sultan is the head of all the Malay states north of Palembang, being Sultan of Johore. He resides on the Island of Singapore with Major Farquhar, and the town is on the site of the old Malay capital of 1550. It is a most capital situation, as the Islands cover the Archipelago from the N.W., S.W., and N.E. winds; in short, in my opinion it is much better than Malacca. We have a flag on St. John's, and in war time, a few heavy guns on St. John's will give us complete command of the Straits of that place. Sir Stamford Raffles has also made a treaty with the old King of Acheen, which excludes all other Europeans and Americans.

"I have a letter from Sir S. Raffles of the 17th ultimo from Singapore, informing me that there are now five thousand souls there. When we got possession of it in the end of January, there were only five hundred; they are the inhabitants from Malacca and Rhio that are gone there. Our ships of war can ride there in war time, and run out off Pulo Auro, and see the coast clear, and back again in a week.

"Carnegie."

Sir Stamford returned to Bencoolen, and the only event that occurred on the voyage was, the vessel striking on a bank in the Straits of Rhio during the night. It was feared she would not be got off, and a small boat was prepared to endeavour to carry him back to Singapore, with the Editor and their child, an infant four months old; but just as they were leaving the vessel, hopes were entertained that by throwing all the water overboard to lighten the ship she might be got off, and before morning the attempt succeeded. It was then considered fortunate that the accident occurred so near an European settlement; but on stopping at Rhio and sending in a

boat, stating what had happened, and requesting a supply of water, the Dutch Resident refused all intercourse, asserted that Sir Stamford went as a spy, and would not give the assistance solicited; it was, therefore, with considerable anxiety that the voyage was continued; fortunately in passing through the Straits of Banca, a good Samaritan appeared in one of the beautiful American vessels, so numerous in these seas, when the Captain generously, and at considerable risk, for the wind was strong and in his favour, stopped his course, and with great difficulty, by means of ropes, conveyed some casks of water, and went on board himself to inquire into the cause of distress; the Captain's name is forgotten, but his kindness has often been acknowledged with gratitude and praise.

It is difficult to convey an idea of the pleasure of sailing through this beautiful and unparalleled Archipelago, in which every attraction of nature is combined; the smoothness of the sea, the lightness of the atmosphere, the constant succession of the most picturesque lake scenery, Islands of every shape and size clustered together, mountains of the most fanciful forms crowned with verdure to their summit, rich and luxuriant vegetation extending to the very edge of the water, little native boats, often with only one person in them, continually darting out from the deep shade which concealed them, looking like so many cockle-shells wafted about by the wind. Altogether it is a fairy scene of enchantment, deserving of a poet's pen to describe its beauties.

CHAPTER XIV.

Sir Stamford arrives at Bencoolen—Endeavours to induce the inhabitants to take an interest in the improvement of the country—Irregularities which formerly prevailed—School for the children of the Slaves—Its success—Missionaries—Religion of the people—Effect of an institution for the Education of the higher orders—Anxiety for Mr. Wilberforce's assistance—Bible Society—Schools—Sir Stamford resolves to proceed again to Calcutta—Billiton—Lord Hastings on the subject of Eastern arrangements—Leaves Calcutta to return to Bencoolen.

The immediate concerns of Bencoolen engrossed Sir Stamford's attention on his return from Singapore. He was anxious to excite an interest in the Europeans for the improvement of the natives, and to induce them to find occupation and amusement in a place where they were obliged to pass so many years of their lives. Of public duty there was little for them to perform; and it was always a subject of regret to him, that so many young men were doomed to spend their days in idleness, without any stimulant from the hope of future promotion or success, to rouse them to energy and activity.

Committees were appointed to inquire into various subjects; societies were formed for bettering the condition of the people, and for promoting the agriculture of the country.

The appearance of the Settlement was greatly changed. On Sir Stamford's first arrival in 1818, he found that every tree and shrub had been cut down (from fear of the natives) around the residence of the chief authority, which had in consequence a most desolate appearance: he immediately formed a garden, and surrounded the Government-house with plantations. As a proof of the luxuriance of vegetation in these Islands, it may be stated, that during his absence of eleven months, the casuarina trees had grown to the height of thirty and forty feet; and he had the pleasure, on his return, to see the house encircled by a shrubbery of nutmeg, clove, coco, and cassia trees, and of driving through an approach of alternate nutmeg and clove trees; the place seemed to have been converted almost by magic from a wilderness into a garden. The nutmeg tree is exceedingly beautiful; it bears in profusion, spreads its branches in a wide circle, and the fruit is perhaps the most beautiful in the

world; the outside covering, or shell, is of a rich cream colour, and resembles a peach; this bursts, and shows the dark nut, encircled and chequered with mace of the brightest crimson; and, when contrasted with the deep emerald green leaf, is delightfully grateful to the eye.

Sir Stamford wrote to Mr. Wilberforce at this time on various subjects connected with his plans for the general improvement of the people around him.

To W. Wilberforce, Esq.

"*September*, 1819.

"My Dear Sir,

"I have delayed writing to you thus long in the expectation of leisure, which I have never found; but I cannot longer decline the duty of giving you some information regarding the state of our population, and the means which are in progress for its amelioration and improvement. My public duties have called me to different and distant countries, and a large portion of my time has necessarily been devoted to political objects; but in the course of these, neither the cause of the slave, nor the improvement of those subjected to our influence, has been forgotten. In Sumatra I had, in many respects, a new field to tread; its population, for the most part, is many centuries behind that of Java; and before any rational plan for general improvement could be adopted, it was necessary not only that much detailed information should be collected, but that the principles and extent of our political authority and influence should be clearly understood and established.

"I shall not attempt to sketch even the outline of the picture which presented itself at Bencoolen, a settlement which has been in our possession upwards of a century; but in which, I am sorry to say, I found as many vices and defects, political as well as moral, as were usually exhibited in the worst of the Dutch settlements. To attempt any improvement in the existing order of things, without changing the principle, appeared to me more likely to increase the evil than remove it, and a thorough and entire reform became indispensable. This I found it necessary to introduce, and to effect on my personal responsibility; but I have since had the satisfaction to receive the approval of the higher authorities, who have admitted that these changes appear to have been 'founded on sound principles of economy, expediency, and humanity.' Thus encouraged, I have not hesitated to prosecute my plans with ardour and decision, and the results, as far as they have yet been seen, have fully answered my expectations. As much has been done as the time and the peculiar circumstances of the country and people have admitted, and the foundation has at least been laid on which a better state of society may be established.

"Among the more striking irregularities which I found to prevail, was the encouragement and countenance given to slavery, by the entertainment on the part of Government of a gang of negroes, in number between two and three hundred. This

appeared to me so opposite to the Company's general practice and principles in India, and so prejudicial to their character, that I did not hesitate to take upon myself the measure of emancipating the whole, and by this my first act to give an earnest of the principles on which my future Government would be conducted. A provision was continued for the old and infirm, as well as the children; and as the latter were numerous, no time was lost in affording them the means of obtaining such an education as might fit them for the new state and condition to which they had been raised. An institution for the education of the Caffre children was accordingly established, and placed under the immediate superintendence of our chaplain; and from this small beginning, originating in the abolition of slavery, may be traced the progress we are now making on a more extensive and enlarged scale throughout the Archipelago, and to which I am now to draw your attention.

" The success of this little institution was soon manifest—an aptness and capacity in the children to receive instruction, and the unexpected talent displayed by some of them, excited general interest; in the mean time our information and experience of the native character became more extensive, and it was found that no serious obstacle stood in the way of generally educating the whole of the rising generation subjected to our influence. In my visit to Bengal I had obtained the aid of the Baptist missionaries, and one of these young men, well acquainted with the principles and practice of our national schools, accompanied me on my return, bringing with him a small fount of types in the Roman and native character. With this experience and aid I lost no time in giving effect to a plan I had long contemplated, and the improvement which had already taken place in the tone and taste of our small European society, seemed to second my efforts. In our chaplain, the Rev. Charles Winter, I found every disposition to extend the sphere of his usefulness, and by associating him in a committee of gentlemen who had formerly been in my family in Java, and on whose principles, zeal, and devotion I could rely, I readily found the means of effective superintendance. The enclosed printed copy of the proceedings of this committee will place you in full possession of the principles on which we have proceeded, and of the particulars of what has been done towards the establishment of schools at Bencoolen. In the last report of the committee with which this paper concludes, you will perceive some interesting observations on the condition of society, the character and usages of the people, and the facilities which are afforded for more generally extending the plan of educating the whole of the native population. On this report I shall only observe, that in estimating the character of the people, the committee have rather taken a general opinion for granted, than gone themselves into the investigation of that character, or the causes which may have tended to deteriorate it. On this subject they are professedly superficial: in other respects you will find much to interest you, and I am confident they will have your full support and approbation in the general conclusions and anticipations

which they form. Among the older inhabitants I found an inveterate prejudice against the natives, although by their intimacy with them I might have expected a different opinion. Much of this, however, is already wearing off, and I have at least introduced into this superintending committee enough of the new leaven of charity and benevolence to prevent the institution from running aground on the rocks of illiberality and prejudice.

" While this committee have confined themselves to things as they are, and to objects of immediate and practical usefulness, another committee have directed their undivided and particular attention to the causes which may have produced the present state of society—to the origin and root of the evil, and the means which in a more extensive and enlarged view it may be proper to contemplate for its counteraction. I had myself paid much attention to this subject, and in my different excursions into the interior of the Island had collected abundant information. The various reforms and alterations which I have introduced had been adopted on a thorough knowledge of the state of the country and people; but as yet I stood alone. It was on my undivided conviction, and on my personal representations alone, that the necessity and propriety of these amendments were upheld; and as the interests of some were affected, and the doubts and malignity of others might be injurious, I thought it advisable that such a body of information should be collected by an independent committee, as would give weight and security to my own measures, and at the same time enable a distant authority to form a correct judgment of the real state of the case. The condition of society at Bencoolen is so peculiar, and it has been influenced by so many extraordinary and unaccountable circumstances, that it is difficult to convey any adequate or just idea of it in a few words. The first report of this committee is therefore of high interest, and I am confident it will be perused by you with attention. You will find depicted in it a state of society very different from what is usually met with, but you will observe with pleasure that, in the character of the people, we still find the rudiments and basis of a better order of things.

" It is at present exclusively an official paper, and you must consider its communication as expressly private. Some severe strictures are necessarily passed in it on the general system of European administration, which it might not be pleasant to lay before so severe a tribunal as the public, although I am myself of opinion that it is far better openly to acknowledge our errors, where we know we have done wrong, and thus to bind ourselves to a different course for the future.

" I am in a particular manner indebted to a member of my family, Mr. Jack, for the zeal, ardour, and ability which he has infused into the researches and proceedings of this committee; and, I think, you will find more information in a small compass, on the subject on which it treats, than is elsewhere to be met with. The labours of the committee are by no means closed; they will prosecute their inquiries

into the inmost recesses of Sumatra, and endeavour to exhibit, in a clear and comprehensive view, the real resources of the country, and the true character, feelings, and capacity of its population. Of this large Island, the districts immediately dependent on Bencoolen are, perhaps, the least important; but, as the seat of our authority, they have necessarily attracted our first attention. We have opened our ports to a free and unrestricted commerce, and have foregone all prospect of revenue from the country, at least in its present impoverished state; and it is to the improvement of the people in their minds and their morals, that we now alone look for our public prosperity.

"I must now carry you to a more extensive field, and endeavour to obtain all the aid of your powerful patronage and support for an institution, which is to operate on a more enlarged and still more important scale, and which is intended to complete the design I had in view: it is the key-stone to the arch, and when once this is constructed and well cemented, holier and better men may raise upon it such a superstructure as their duty to God may require. All that I attempt is to pave the way for better things; and, although I am far from lukewarm towards higher ends, I am content to confine all my views to the enlargement of the human mind, and the general spread of moral principles. In the present state of these countries, these are the first to be attended to—to prepare the mind for religious truth and Christian discipline. It is true the people of these Islands are distinguished by the absence of that spirit of intolerance and bigotry, which prevails on the continent of India, and that they place the fullest confidence in the benevolence and liberality of our government and institutions; but we as yet only see them as the sea in a calm. I write these remarks to you, my dear Sir, without reserve, knowing that in your kindness and liberality they will meet with every indulgence. I am far from opposing missionaries, and the more that come out the better; but let them be enlightened men, and placed in connection with the schools, and under due control.

"I must, however, return to my institution, which is intended to be a native college, for the education of the higher orders of the natives, and to afford the means of instruction to ourselves in the native languages, and of prosecuting our researches into the history, literature, and resources of the further East. When I tell you that the effect of this institution is intended to be felt among a population of not less than thirty millions, and that its influence may eventually, and perhaps at no very distant date, extend over ten times that number, it is not necessary to say more on the extent and importance of the field; of its nature and interest, I need only refer you to the map of the world, and request you to consider all those countries lying to the east and south of the Ganges, as included within our range. It is from the banks of the Ganges to the utmost limits of China and Japan, and to New Holland, that the influence of our proposed institution is calculated to extend; and of these extensive countries, no portion has a higher and more peculiar interest

than the Eastern Islands. I dare not, however, trust myself to descant upon them, or to enter upon so extensive and important a field at the close of a private letter, which has already exceeded its proper limits; but I regret this the less, as I am enabled to forward to you, in a more connected form, a copy of the leading arguments and reasoning which have weighed with me on the occasion.

" This paper has been drawn up to be submitted to the Marquis of Hastings, in the hope of obtaining his Lordship's powerful support; but if it can be rendered in any way useful in your hands in aid of the objects contemplated, or in furtherance of the enlightened views which are always present to your philanthropic mind, you are at liberty to circulate it as you may think proper. We shall require all the aid of powerful support at home; and as you were kind enough to take so warm an interest in the fate of our Java Benevolent Society, I am inclined to hope that the views and principles of the African Institution will not be considered to have been less attended to in our present proceedings, which promise to have a far more immediate and extensive operation.

" I am particularly anxious that the lamp we have lighted should not be allowed to shine with a dim or imperfect lustre; the spark has been struck with enthusiasm, and while I remain in this country, the flame shall be fanned with ardour and perseverance; but we must look to a higher Power for the oil which is to feed and support it, and, above all, to the protecting and encouraging influence of true principles and British philanthropy, to shield it, not only against the blasts of adversity, but the no less destructive vapours of indifference and neglect.

" However anxious I may feel to devote the best portion of my life, and however much my fortune might justify a longer residence in this country, I have reason to feel that my health is not likely to carry me through more than five or six years' continuance in these Islands: and it is, therefore, necessary that I should look forward to a period when the influence of my personal presence and exertions will be withdrawn. I am now endeavouring to lay the foundation as broad as possible, and have already selected fit instruments for the furtherance of my plans in several of the most important stations; but that I may raise more labourers for the field, it is of importance that they should have a high and steady superintending and encouraging authority to look to; such an authority and support at home as the labourers in the African cause at all times found. Can you not take us under your parental wings, or could you not make the Eastern Islands a branch of the African Institution under some other designation? If our objects and our principles are the same, and the field for improvement is at least as wide and important, why should this fair and interesting portion of the globe, superior by far in the extent of its population, and equal in its resources, and so peculiar in its character, be left to slumber in ignorance, while the wilder shores of Africa, and the more distant isles of the South Sea alone invite the attention of the philanthropist? Hitherto it has been left at the

mercy of the Moor and the Dutchman, and it might be difficult to decide which has been the most injurious; for my own part, I am inclined to prefer the former, but perhaps my prejudices against the Dutch may carry me too far. Be this as it may, we are now independent of both; the station which has been established at Singapore, at the southern extremity of the Malayan Peninsula, has given us the command of the Archipelago as well in peace as in war: our commerce will extend to every part, and British principles will be known and felt throughout.

"I ought to apologize for the length of this letter, knowing how much your time is occupied, and how little of it can possibly be devoted to an object which appears to me so important as the present. I will not say I envy the unfortunate African because he enjoys so much larger a portion of your thoughts and attention, but I cannot help adding that I wish they were, even for a short time, directed to the Malay, the Javan, the Sumatran, the Bornean, the Avanese, the Siamese, the Chinese, the Japanese, and the millions of others with whom I am in daily communication, and to whom the name of William Wilberforce, if not entirely unknown, is only coupled with that of Africa. I know, my dear Sir, that the boundless goodness of your heart, and the noble stretch of your mind embraces at once the good of all mankind; but perhaps from an impression that individual exertions are best directed to one particular focus or object, or more probably from the absence of correct information of the importance and necessity of your influence in these seas, the subject may not have sufficiently attracted your attention.

"I have observed it noticed in a late publication, 'that it is upon Asiatic soil only that the advocates of the slave abolition are to gain their final victory—that upon the British Asiatic policy in the development of the unbounded resources of Asia depends the ascendancy of the British character.' The writer most probably drew his conclusions from very different premises, and they are so strikingly illustrative of what I would impress upon you, that I could not omit noticing them. You must remember also that we have many of the woolly-headed race scattered over these Islands from the Andamans to New Guinea, and that there have not been wanting persons who consider them as the aborigines of the country—that the Malay language extends westward as far as Madagascar, and that, however remote these Islands may be from Africa geographically, and distinct from it politically in the present condition of the world, there are traces of a more intimate connection in former times. I mention this to shew that we have even claims upon you as the friend of Africa—for I am far from concurring in the opinion regarding the aborigines of these Islands, and rather consider the Caffres we now find in them to have been brought by traders in remote periods as slaves—as such they are generally considered and treated whenever entrapped.

"The same political objection which might be started to the interference of your Society in Bengal, and where we have an extensive dominion, and an efficient Govern-

ment to provide for all its wants, does not apply to the countries beyond the Ganges. With these our intercourse is entirely commercial, and our object is to raise the native Governments into consideration and importance; the stronger and more enlightened these are, the safer our communication, the more extensive our commerce, and the more important the connexion. There is hardly one of these states whose history, resources, and population, is known to the European world. A part of my plan is to encourage the collection of all interesting details on these subjects, and I could wish that the persons who devote their time to these objects should possess the means of communicating the information to the public. An annual report to the African Institution, or to you individually, with such occasional tracts as may be interesting, might be forwarded. But I leave to you to point out what had best be done. You will perceive that we are not idle, and that the spirit which has gone forth only requires to be properly directed and supported to lead to results of the most promising nature.

"I must now conclude with my kindest regards to Mrs. Wilberforce, in which Lady Raffles unites most cordially, as well as in every assurance of respect, esteem, and veneration, with which I am, very obediently,

T. S. R.

"I should mention that I caused your present of a seal to be duly delivered to the Penambahan of Samunap *, and that I have in return received his acknowledgments through the Governor General of Batavia, together with a handsome crees, which I am requested to forward to you as a mark of respect and attention on the part of that Chief."

Extract from a Letter to Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart.

"*Bencoolen, October* 5, 1819.

* * * * * * *

"I have much to communicate to you on the subject of our Bible Society and Schools, of the latter particularly; but as our proceedings will probably be

* A native Chief, who had inherited in his family domestic slaves. When it was proposed that all the slaves on the Island should be registered, he proudly said, "I will not register my slaves; they shall be free: hitherto they have been kept such, because it was the custom, and the Dutch liked to be attended by slaves when they visited the palace; but as that is not the case with the British, they shall cease to be slaves; for long have I felt shame, and my blood has run cold, when I have reflected on what I once saw at Batavia and Samarang, where human beings were exposed for public sale, placed on a table, and examined like sheep and oxen!" The slaves in Java were the property of the Europeans and Chinese alone: the native Chiefs never required the services of slaves, nor engaged in the traffic of slavery. Whilst in England Sir Stamford had a seal made, and Mr. Wilberforce's name engraved on it, which he took out, and sent to this Chief as a token of acknowledgment for this liberal act.

printed, a communication of them in that form will perhaps be sufficient until I can write you more at length. My attention during the last two months has been very closely directed to the moral condition of our population. Schools on the Lancastrian plan have been adopted with success, and I am now proposing the establishment of a native college at Singapore. I mean to submit my plans, in the first instance, to the Government of Bengal, and, if possible, to carry Lord Hastings with me. Some aid from the Company is indispensable, and his Lordship has evinced a general desire to support similar institutions.

" I can assure you we are not idle, and if we do not make more noise about what we are doing, it is because we are more intent on the real object, than the acquisition of credit for what we do ; it is for the pleasure and satisfaction which the labour itself affords, and the gratification a favourable result may ensure, that we work, and not for the uncertain praise and applause of the day. I enclose the first Report of our Bible Society ; it says little, but to the purpose, and it may be interesting as the first production of a small press, which I have established at Bencoolen.

" Lady Raffles unites with me in kindest respects.

" I remain,

" T. S. Raffles."

To ——— ———.

" *October* 7, 1819.

" Sophia enjoys the best health, and our two children are of course prodigies. The boy even excels his sister in beauty and expression, and our only anxiety is to take them to England before the climate makes an inroad on their constitution. Till they are six, seven, or eight years old, they may remain with safety ; but after that period both mind and body will be injured by a longer residence within the tropics.

" Such portion of my time as is not taken up in public business, is principally devoted to natural history. We are making very extensive collections in all departments ; and as Sophia takes her full share in these pursuits, the children will, no doubt, easily imbibe a taste for these amusing and interesting occupations. Charlotte has her lap full of shells, and the boy is usually denominated ' *le jeune Aristote.*'

" T. S. R."

Whilst happily employed in these more domestic but not less interesting occupations, intelligence was brought of the death of Colonel Bannerman. This event, melancholy in itself, Sir Stamford thought likely to afford an opportunity for urging upon the consideration of the Supreme Government, his views for the general administration of the Eastern Islands. He therefore resolved to proceed again to Calcutta. The season was far advanced, the vessel which brought the report was the only one likely to touch at Bencoolen for many months; and he was obliged to separate

himself from his family on account of its total want of accommodation, as the captain when offered any sum he would name to make room for the Editor, proposed to arrange a part of the *hold* of the vessel; public duty seemed to require his presence in Calcutta, and therefore Sir Stamford determined to proceed there, and be contented with part of the only cabin.

The following are extracts from the letters written during the voyage, or during his residence in Calcutta.

To ———.

"*On board the brig Favourite, October* 20, 1819.

"I am once more at sea, on my way to Calcutta. On deliberate consideration I resolved to proceed to Bengal for the advantage of personal communication, the object at stake being important. The size of the vessel, and the season of the year, about the change of the monsoon, have weighed with me in leaving Sophia at Bencoolen; and distressing as the separation must be, I do not regret that I am alone, for we have experienced very bad weather, and it is as much as I can do to stand up against all the privations and annoyances of the vessel.

"My views regarding the Eastern Islands are extensive, and, I think, important to our commercial and political interests. The field is large, new, and interesting; and, in spite of all your advice, *Self*, I can assure you, is never viewed or reflected upon by me with any other feelings than those of patriotism, benevolence, and duty. Hitherto you have not had a word of my commercial plans; these I have kept back, as they did not require the immediate attention that those of a political nature did; but they are not less important, for they include the whole trade of the Archipelago. I will, however, give you some account of what we have been doing at Bencoolen. Here, at any rate, my measures have met with general approbation. They are admitted by the Supreme Government to be founded on *sound principles of economy, good government, and humanity.*

"My absence from the seat of government, with little or no communication for upwards of eleven months, during which the charge of the place necessarily devolved on a person who did not comprehend the principles on which I acted, has afforded the means of proving that there was nothing in the nature of those principles calculated to create commotion, or to occasion dangerous consequences; that, in fact, such an apprehension was a mere bugbear, created in the confused noddles of those who were ignorant or afraid of their advantage, and supported by those who knew no better; that innovation and reform are attended with difficulties and dangers, no one will deny, but it is for him who carries them into effect to be prepared to meet and subdue them as they arise. I wish, however, those who were so ready to declare the impossibility of the change would now admit they were mistaken, and state the grounds of their misconception. They could not resist giving

me at least credit for overcoming what they conceived impossible. I would then simply ask their opinion on the contrast between *what is*, and *what was?*

" You will recollect a conversation we had previous to my embarkation, on a very serious subject. To prove to you that I am not inattentive to those important interests on the *largest* scale, I refer you to what we have done towards the amelioration, civilization, and improvement of our population, the only rational steps which can be taken for eventually spreading advantages of a higher nature, which we derive from the comforts of revelation and religion.

* * * * *

" Of the more immediate and practicable measures, however, I must refer you to the recent establishment of schools on the Lancastrian principle. A parent school has been established at Bencoolen, whence I hope to supply each village with a tutor, and gradually extend the spread of knowledge throughout the whole Island. The march will be slow but sure, and while we are doing all we can to amend the present race, we are preparing to supply their place, in the rising generation, by a people in whom improvement and civilization may be more readily extended.

* * * * *

" But still a more important and interesting report deserves your attention, as containing a true picture of the present state of society at Bencoolen, on the subject of the recent changes which have been effected. It has occured to me that this mode of exhibiting our real condition was advisable. My individual opinion might be doubted, or supposed to be interested or biassed; I have, therefore, availed myself of the support of others, and by placing our clergyman at the head of the committee, given a degree of weight which could not attach to the same arguments used by me alone. As I have no council at Bencoolen, I make committees supply their place. Reflect that Bencoolen is the oldest establishment we have in India. It is folly to say I am doing the Company an injury in exposing the vices of the system: they must be exposed in order to produce a thorough repentance, without which we cannot amend our ways; or to use a more appropriate phrase, turn over a new leaf. No man, and no body of men, were ever condemned for acknowledging their errors, provided they were resolved to depart from them; it is by a perseverance in what is bad, by an endeavour to conceal from ourselves and the world, that things are as bad as they really are, that we do mischief.

* * * * *

" I feel so satisfied that all I have done, and am doing at Bencoolen, is right, that I am only apprehensive on one point, and that is, the authorities in Europe crying out prematurely. The obstacles in my way, in the point of economy, are great; while there is so large an establishment of civilians for whom there is no employment, and so many dependants on the Company's bounty, what can be done? Remove the former, and let the latter die off, and we shall get on.

"My health and constitution will not admit of my remaining many years in India, and I must endeavour, by an increased activity, to make up for want of time. When do you think I shall get home? Will seven years' banishment be enough for all my sins? or must I linger till I can sin no more?

"You will be happy to hear that I have the advantage of a highly scientific friend in Dr. Jack, who supplies poor Arnold's place. I have also two Frenchmen employed, and my collections are very considerable; and both Sophia and myself pass many happy hours among the flowers, the birds, and the beasts, &c.

* * * * *

"I have revised the custom-house and port regulations, which was absolutely necessary, and declared the port free of all duties."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*At sea, in the Bay of Bengal, Nov.* 9, 1820.

"Behold me again at sea in my passage to Bengal. I had hardly arrived at Bencoolen, when events occurred which rendered this voyage indispensable; but I have undertaken it alone, the smallness of the vessel and the adverse season of the year inducing me to insist on Lady Raffles remaining quietly at home. An opening seems now to be afforded for extending my views and plans to the Eastward, and this shall be the last effort I will make. If I succeed I shall have enough to occupy my attention while I remain in the East; and if I do not, I can only return to Bencoolen, and enjoy domestic retirement in the bosom of my family.

"In this country, you will be happy to hear that we have completely turned the tables on the Dutch. The occupation of Singapore has been the death-blow to all their plans; and I trust that our political and commercial interests will be adequately secured, notwithstanding the unhandsome and ungenerous manner in which ministers have treated me individually, or the indifference they have shewn to the subject. I was perfectly aware that they would not like the agitation of the question; but they ought to have been aware that it could not be avoided, and that however easy it may be in the Cabinet to sacrifice the best interests of the nation, there are spirits and voices engendered by the principles of our constitution that will not remain quiet under it. * * * * *

"But a truce to politics; a few words on our domestic arrangements and plans will, I doubt not, be far more interesting than all my public speculations. You are already informed that Lady Raffles presented me with a son and heir while at Penang; he is now a fine stout boy, and as bold as a lion; the reverse of your god-daughter in almost every thing. She is the most gentle timid being in existence. It is now above a month since I left them, and two more will elapse before I see them again.

* * * * * * *

"I have endeavoured to supply the place of Dr. Arnold by another botanical friend, and when other objects do not distract us, we always find abundant employment among our plants and animals. The two French naturalists are indefatigable, and their collection is already very extensive. I am now preparing for transmission to Sir Joseph a full description of the *Duyong*, or mermaid of these seas. I am afraid, however, that the particulars will but ill accord with the accounts of former travellers, and that in this, as in many other cases, when we descend from imagination to simple facts, there will be a wonderful falling off; were it not so in the present instance, I don't know how I could detail to you the relish with which I dined off the flesh of one of these seducing animals.

"I intended to have sent your Grace a detailed account of my mission to Acheen, where I had to put the crown on the proper head; but the subject is so mixed with political matter, that I fear it would have but little interest; for what can you care about a kingdom at the other end of the world, and where the people have no peculiar virtues to recommend them? I was detained in the country for nearly two months, and to give you an idea of my employment, it may be sufficient to state, that our proceedings filled upwards of a thousand pages of the Company's largest sized paper. This is the laborious way in which we are sometimes obliged to do business in India, and will perhaps account for my unwillingness to enlarge farther on a subject of which I must be pretty well tired.

* * * * *

To the Rev. Dr. Raffles.

"*At sea, November* 9, 1819, *within three days sail of Calcutta.*

"My Dear Cousin,

"As I know the warm interest you feel in our plans of improvement, I lose no time in enclosing, under a separate cover, a copy of the first proceedings which have been printed of our Bible Society, and a still more interesting account of our schools: the latter forms but a part of a more general and extensive plan that I have set on foot for the spread of knowledge, and the growth of moral principles throughout the Archipelago. Much of my time has lately been devoted to these objects, and if I am able to carry my plan for the establishment of a native college at Singapore, the system will be complete. If you refer to the map, and observe the commanding position of Singapore, situated at the extremity of the Malay Peninsula, you will at once see what a field is opened for our operations. It is very probable that I shall print a few copies of a paper which I have drawn up on this subject, in which case I shall not fail to send you a copy.

"The Baptist Missionary Establishment have lately written to me on the subject of sending out missionaries. My answer is encouraging, and I have accom-

panied it by some general observations on the plan of conversion. We have already one young man, and a small printing press; but we require active zeal, and I shall find enough to do for all you can send out; but let them make haste—years roll on very fast. Two years have now elapsed since I left England, and in five or six more I hope to be thinking of returning. There is no political objection whatever to missionaries in this part of the East, and so far from obstructing, they may be expected to hasten and assist, the plans which are already in operation."

To the same.

"*Off the Sand Heads, Bengal, November* 10, 1819.

"My Dear Cousin,

* * * * * *

"I wish to bespeak your good offices, and the exertion of all your energies, in support of an institution I am about to form for generally educating the higher class of natives. The enclosed paper will place you in full possession of my views, plans, and anticipations in this respect, and I shall not detain you here by a repetition of them.

"I have written to Mr. Wilberforce on the subject, and am anxious that he should take us under the parental wing of the African Institution. I promise glorious results, and all I ask is support and encouragement, not so much for myself, but to aid and foster a proper spirit in those who must practically assist, and on whom the immediate superintendance and labour must fall, when I am over the seas, and far away. All improvements of this nature must be slow and gradual, and we should look a good way forward. The short time that I may remain in India will only serve to set the machine in motion—and how uncertain after all is life! Unless some permanent support is found in England, an accident to me might destroy all my highest anticipations.

* * * * * *

"I am now on my way to Calcutta, in the hope of forwarding all my plans—and if I am successful, you shall soon hear further from me. In the mean time, and always, believe me, most affectionately,

"T. S. Raffles."

Referring to this subject in a letter to another friend, of the same date, he says, "The field is certainly extensive and interesting, and among so many good men at home, it is hard if we cannot find some friends to the Eastern Isles. If Mr. Wilberforce will take them up all will go right."

To the same friend he wrote again in the same month another letter, from which the following is an extract.

* * * * *

" I wish to draw your attention to an Island which has not hitherto attracted much notice.

" The Island of Billiton holds a remarkably commanding position between the China and Java Seas: it is situated nearly mid-way from the Malay Peninsula to the Island of Java, and is equi-distant from Sumatra and Borneo. It forms with Banca, and the numerous small Islands lying between, that passage into the China Seas known by the name of the Straits of Gaspar, and has the Caramata passage on the east.

" Billiton contains an area of not less than four or five hundred square miles; it is for the most part mountainous and covered with forests; and the native settlements which have been formed are mostly situated on the coast, and near the principal rivers. Its most valuable export is a particular kind of iron, in great request among the Malay countries; but it furnishes tin, and most of the other raw products which are peculiar to these Islands. Cultivation does not appear to have been carried to any considerable extent; but the soil is understood to be fertile, and the country throughout abundantly watered. From the geological specimens which have been obtained, and the consideration of its position between Banca and Borneo, with both of which it is connected by chains of smaller Islands, it may be inferred to be of similar constitution, and when fully examined, will probably be found equally rich in mineral productions. The provinces of Borneo, to the southward of Succadana, and immediately opposite to Billiton, form part of the ancient kingdom of Mattan, still independent of Dutch authority or claims, and are considered particularly valuable, on account of the abundant produce of gold and diamonds, and the extent of native agricultural population in the interior. The restrictive policy of the Dutch has induced the Chiefs to close their ports, in a great measure, against general intercourse and trade; but the mission lately sent to Singapore from these states, sufficiently shews the desire of the Chiefs to re-open them, if assured of our alliance and the non-interference of the Dutch.

" Of the population of Billiton it is not easy, in the present state of our information, to form an estimate. It is composed of several small and independent establishments, which have latterly considerably increased, particularly since the transfer of Java. It has been considered a place of refuge for those who were unwilling to submit to the severity of the Dutch restrictions, and has naturally become the resort of pirates and smugglers. The opinion generally entertained by the natives, that this is a British Island, and that they cannot be interfered with by the Dutch, has tended to increase the resort, particularly of the smugglers.

" The opinion of the authorities in Europe is decisive in favour of our sovereign right to this Island not having been affected by the convention with the Netherlands.

" Billiton lies in the direct track of the trade between Europe and China, passing through the Straits of Sunda, and would afford a convenient port of refreshment for our China ships, and might be expected to become a most extensive entrepôt between Europe and China.

" When the Islands of Banca and Billiton were obtained in cession to the East India Company, it was considered that a line drawn between Sumatra and Borneo, in the latitude of Billiton, would form a most advantageous boundary between the French and English authorities, in the possible event of the restoration of Java. This arrangement would still have left to the power in possession of Java, the unbroken and uninterrupted empire of that and the more eastern Islands.

" An establishment of the same nature as that at Singapore, would be sufficient for every immediate purpose. In connection with that settlement, it would form a most valuable and important link in our series of stations, and would always ensure to us every fair advantage in the trade of the Archipelago.

" Of the comparative view of Billiton and Singapore it may be observed, that the latter settlement was made solely with a view to command the Straits of Malacca, and the protection of our trade passing to and from China in that direction. It has no influence or command whatever over the Straits of Sunda, an advantage which is possessed by Billiton.

" The two stations would mutually assist each other, and answer almost every object we have in view, and the loss of either would not be easily supplied.

" The above observations are necessarily general, and it is much to be wished that more information should be obtained as to its harbours, population, &c., and what changes have taken place since it was considered to have fallen under the British rule,—what port offers the greatest advantages for a station, and what the immediate local facilities or difficulties of establishing the same.

" I send you a copy of Lord Hastings' reply to a letter from me on the subject of our eastern arrangements. His Lordship is ready enough to act as soon as he possesses authority, and I know that the other members of Council concur in and approve of the plan I have proposed. His Lordship would perhaps incline more to the acquisition of territory, and a disposition towards Ava and Acheen is discernible; but in this, I presume, he will be checked from home. Military men and Bengal civilians are more favourable to territorial extension than the Court of Directors are likely to be, and, therefore, I calculate that some plan on the principle of that I have suggested, will be adopted.

" I hope the authorities at home will not be induced to give up Billiton, under an idea that it is of no value to us. If my proceedings have only saved this one spot from the wreck, I shall have done some good. I am just drawing up a memorandum on the subject for this government, and will send you a copy of it.

" This appears to be the moment for a grand push. You may, in good con-

science, put my personal interest out of the question, and believe that I am solely actuated by public ambition, to place our Eastern possessions on a respectable and permanent footing."

Letter from Lord Hastings.

"*Calcutta, November 27th,* 1819.

"My Dear Sir,

"The consolidation of our Eastern possessions into one government, subordinate to the supreme authority, would unquestionably be a desirable arrangement. I think it likely to strike the Court of Directors, in consequence of the various documents which have within the last two years been transmitted to them. Their judgment possibly may not determine the point, for the consideration of the subject will be complicated with the result of discussions between the Courts of London and Brussels. I fear we shall have but a patched determination. Till a decision shall be signified to us, it would be premature to fashion, even provisionally, any plan; but it is always expedient to scrutinize, in the interval, all particulars, so as to be prepared to act upon the principle which may be dictated to us.

"I am, &c."

The state of Sir Stamford's mind, in private as well as in public, may be collected from the following letters written about this time.

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*Calcutta, December 17th,* 1819.

* * * * *

"I do all I can to raise myself above these feelings, in the hope that there is, even in this world, more happiness than we weak mortals can comprehend. I have had enough of sorrow in my short career; and it still comes too ready a guest without my bidding; but I drive it from my door, and do my best to preserve my health and spirits, that I may last out a few years longer, and contribute, as far as I can, to the happiness of others.

"But away with this melancholy strain. I fear I am getting almost as bad as those to whom I would preach, and in truth, I am at this moment heavy and sick at heart. I could lay me down and cry, and weep for hours together, and yet I know not why, except that I am unhappy. But for my dear sister's arrival, I should still have been a solitary wretch in this busy capital. I left Lady Raffles and my dear children at Bencoolen three months ago; and I have no one here of congenial feelings with whom I can communicate.

* * * *

" Of my public views and plans I have not much to say ; we remain quite neutral pending the reference to Europe.

* * * * *

" It is said that Captain Canning will be appointed to reside in some diplomatic capacity at Batavia ; an accredited agent with the Batavian Government will be the surest means of preventing serious disputes.

* * * * * * *

" If there is time, I will endeavour to send your Grace a paper, which will explain to you more fully what my present views and wishes are. I do not, however, set my heart on them, or, indeed, on any thing else, except returning to England as soon as possible. I am almost tempted to say that this is becoming every day more and more the sole object of my desires, and I do yet hope that ere the fifth repetition of Christmas, we may be within reach of one of the Duke's parks. On my return to Bencoolen, I shall probably be able to speak more decidedly on this point, and in the mean time, what I have now said will, I hope, convince you that I am beginning to turn my thoughts homewards. I must look out for some cottage or farm, and profiting by the distresses of the great landholders, endeavour to sell butter and cheese to advantage—do you think this would do ?"

* * * * *

To W. Marsden, Esq.

" *Calcutta, December* 28, 1819.

" My Dear Sir,

" I have the pleasure to forward to you, under separate covers, two or three papers connected with my views and plans to the eastward, which may, perhaps, be interesting to you. One of these is a paper suggesting the advantage of consolidating our eastern establishments under one government ; another, which is printed, suggests the advantage of affording the means of education to the native Chiefs of the Archipelago ; and a third is the copy of a report of a committee appointed to inquire into the state of society at Bencoolen, &c. I should be happy to receive your opinion, generally, on the arrangements proposed.

" The paper on the policy of uniting our establishments to the eastward, was of course drawn up for the meridian of Calcutta, where I have reason to believe the principles are most fully concurred in. In a more lengthened official report on the commercial resources of the Archipelago, which goes home in the present packet, I have of course not alluded to the abolition of the present form of government at Penang. I believe it is the wish of Lord Hastings to establish Captain Canning as a resident Agent at Batavia, and that this forms part of the plan suggested for the consideration of the authorities in Europe. The idea is, I think,

good; but I hope the duties of this Agent will be strictly confined to communications with the Dutch, and that this appointment is not in any way intended to interfere with the government of the British settlements, in their connection and intercourse with the native states."

To ———.

"*Diamond Harbour, January*, 1820.

"I have been delayed in Calcutta for a month longer than I expected, on account of a severe and trying illness, which has long confined me to my bed and room. I am happy, however, to say, that I am again convalescent, and in a fair way of recovery. I embarked yesterday. Sophia and the children were well the beginning of December, but I have not heard from them since I sailed.

"Singapore, I am happy to say, continues to rise most rapidly in importance and resources. It is already one of the first ports in the East, and I doubt not you will receive very favourable reports by every homeward-bound ship. I could write volumes in its favour, but it may suffice to say, that it has in every respect answered beyond my most sanguine expectations.

"On leaving Calcutta, you will expect some opinion from me on the state of my interests, and generally of the opinions entertained respecting my views and plans to the eastward. Here, as in England, I find that my presence has served to dissipate many a cloud, and that opposition has receded as I approached. There is a very favourable disposition to me personally, but, I believe, still more so to my plans, which are now approved of, and upheld by all descriptions of persons, high and low. The following extract from a note I have received from a very high and influencing authority, will speak for itself:—'Your very interesting report, regarding the commercial relations of the Eastern Islands, is still in circulation with the members of government. It will not, probably, lead to any practical result in this country, but will, of course, be brought to the notice of the authorities at home. I should sincerely rejoice to see adopted the admirable scheme which you have sketched for the organization and management of our eastern possessions. I am surprised that the commercial men of Calcutta have not more distinctly marked their sense of the great advantages likely to accrue to the commercial interests of India and England, from the successful prosecution of your plan.'

"With regard to the commercial men, nothing can exceed the attention I have received from them; they gave me a public dinner, and made every demonstration to me personally during my stay in Calcutta; but they wait till I have left it to send in a written representation to Government, which, for many reasons, it is better should be done during my absence.

"I hope the Supreme Government will also forward, by the present ship, their

sentiments upon my administration and proceedings at Bencoolen; they fully approve and applaud all I have done, and their communications to me on the subject are most flattering.

" Report says, the Dutch have been driven out and massacred at Padang. Nothing is more likely, for their conduct was abominable. Oh that our politicians at home would act with a little common sense and firmness; it is folly for them to procrastinate; and unless they do what is just and fair, nature and circumstances will involve them in the eventual necessity of a still more unpleasant interference hereafter.

" It is my intention to write a defence of my conduct against the charge of Lord Bathurst, (of having exceeded my powers), and this will be forwarded through the Supreme Government. The public authorities at home seem never to have adverted to my being furnished with a commission as Lieutenant Governor; and that it was by virtue of this commission, that I protested against the Dutch, and not as a separate or political agent. I maintain, and shall continue to maintain, that I was perfectly authorized to make that protest; and consequently, that however it may be condemned, it cannot be annulled. I had full right to make it, and my commission is my warrant."

CHAPTER XV.

Sir Stamford did not succeed in introducing a more economical and simple mode of government for the Eastern Islands—Difficulties of altering established forms—Illness—Sight of Sumatra—Tappanooly—Battas—Population—Language—Manners—Civilized cannibals—Eating their prisoners in war, criminals, and parents, alive—Description of eating a person as a punishment—Padries—Cholera Morbus—Camphor tree—Laws of the Battas—Succession of nephews—Mr. Ward's opinion.

Sir Stamford Raffles failed in his endeavour to prevail upon the Supreme Government to introduce a more simple mode of management for the Eastern Islands. It is, perhaps, not easy to break up large and old establishments, or to check the progress of patronage and power. The government of Penang was admitted to be a cumbrous, useless machine; for which no employment could be found. A Resident with two or three assistants at each, were acknowledged to be sufficient for all the duties at each of the three stations of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore,—the latter was so fixed by Sir Stamford; but when Bencoolen was given up to the Dutch in 1824, the East India Company transferred all the civil servants from that establishment to these places, in two of which there were already more than it was possible to find employment for; and even since that event more young men have been sent out to Penang; under such arrangements it is impossible to keep down expenditure; and Singapore has in consequence greatly increased in expense since Sir Stamford relinquished his control over it.

In the month of February, 1820, Sir Stamford prepared to leave Calcutta and return to Sumatra, with the consciousness of having, to the utmost of his ability, endeavoured to prevail upon those who had the power, to reform what was acknowledged to require reformation, and to lessen expense, where it was confessed that useless expenditure existed.

The nature of his feelings, and of his occupations on his return to the scene of his public duties in Sumatra, is well described by himself in his letters to different friends, from which the following are extracts. They contain a curious and almost original account of some of the inhabitants of that great Island.

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*Off Sumatra, February* 12, 1820.

"You will, perhaps, have condemned me for so long a silence, yet when you know the cause, I am satisfied you will cease to think unkindly.

"I have been ill—very ill—so much so, that for the last month of my stay in Calcutta, I was confined to my bed and forbidden to write or even to think. I was removed from my room to the ship with very little strength, but I am happy to say, that I am already nearly recovered; the sight of Sumatra, and the health-inspiring breezes of the Malayan Islands, have effected a wonderful change, and though I still feel weak, and am as thin as a scare-crow, I may fairly say that I am in good health and spirits.

"I am beginning to turn my thoughts homewards, and shall very soon ask your advice on a thousand pursuits. * * * *

"I have just left Tappanooly, situated in the very heart of the Batta country, abounding in Camphor and Benjamin, and full of interest for the naturalist and philosopher. If you have occasionally looked into Mr. Marsden's History of Sumatra, you will recollect that the Battas are cannibals. Now do not be surprised at what I shall tell you regarding them, for I tell the truth, and nothing but the truth.

"To prepare you a little, I must premise that the Battas are an extensive and populous nation of Sumatra, occupying the whole of that part of the Island lying between Acheen and Menangkabu, reaching to both the shores. The coast is but thinly inhabited, but in the interior the people are said to be 'as thick as the leaves of the forest;' perhaps the whole nation may amount to between one or two millions of souls. They have a regular government, deliberative assemblies, and are great orators; nearly the whole of them write, and they possess a language and written character peculiar to themselves. In their language and terms, as well as in some of their laws and usages, the influence of Hinduism may be traced, but they have also a religion peculiar to themselves; they acknowledge the one and only great God, under the title *Dibata Assi Assi,* and they have a Trinity of great gods, supposed to have been created by him. They are warlike, extremely fair and honourable in all their dealings, most deliberate in all their proceedings; their country is highly cultivated, and crimes are few.

"The evidence adduced by Mr. Marsden must have removed all doubt from every unprejudiced mind, that, notwithstanding all this in their favour, the Battas are strictly cannibals; but he has not gone half far enough. He seems to consider that it is only in cases of prisoners taken in war, or in extreme cases of adultery, that the

practice of man-eating is resorted to, and then that it is only in a fit of revenge. He tells us that, not satisfied with cutting off pieces and eating them raw, instances have been known where some of the people present have run up to the victim, and actually torn the flesh from the bones with their teeth. He also tell us, that one of our Residents found the remains of an English soldier, who had been only half eaten, and afterwards discovered his finger sticking on a fork, laid by, but first taken warm from the fire: but I had rather refer your Grace to the book; and if you have not got it, pray send for it, and read all that is said about the Battas.

"In a small pamphlet, lately addressed to the Court of Directors, respecting the coast, an instance still more horrible than any thing related by Mr. Marsden is introduced; and as this pamphlet was written by a high authority, and the fact is not disputed, there can be no question as to its correctness: it is nearly as follows.

"A few years ago, a man had been found guilty of a very common crime, and was sentenced to be eaten according to the law of the land; this took place close to Tappanooly; the Resident was invited to attend; he declined, but his assistant and a native officer were present. As soon as they reached the spot, they found a large assemblage of people, and the criminal tied to a tree, with his hands extended. The minister of justice, who was himself a Chief of some rank, then came forward with a large knife in his hand, which he brandished as he approached the victim. He was followed by a man carrying a dish, in which was a preparation or condiment, composed of limes, chillies, and salt, called by the Malays *Sambul*. He then called aloud for the injured husband, and demanded what part he chose; he replied the right ear, which was immediately cut off with one stroke, and delivered to the party, who, turning round to the man behind, deliberately dipped it into the Sambul, and devoured it; the rest of the party then fell upon the body, each taking and eating the part most to his liking. After they had cut off a considerable part of the flesh, one man stabbed him to the heart; but this was rather out of compliment to the foreign visitors, as it is by no means the custom to give the *coup de grace*.

"It was with a knowledge of all these facts regarding the Battas that I paid a visit to Tappanooly, with a determination to satisfy my mind most fully in every thing concerning cannibalism. I had previously set on foot extensive enquiries, and so managed matters as to concentrate the information, and to bring the point within a narrow compass. You shall now hear the result; but, before I proceed, I must beg of you to have a little more patience than you had with Mr. Mariner. I recollect that when you came to the story of eating the aunt, you threw the book down. Now I can assure your Grace that I have ten times more to report, and you *must* believe me.

"I have said the Battas are not a bad people, and I still think so, notwithstanding they eat one another, and relish the flesh of a man better than that of an

ox or a pig. You must merely consider that I am giving you an account of a novel state of society. The Battas are not savages, for they write and read, and think full as much, and more than those who are brought up at our Lancastrian and National Schools. They have also codes of laws of great antiquity, and it is from a regard for these laws, and a veneration for the institutions of their ancestors, that they eat each other; the law declares that for certain crimes, four in number, the criminals shall be eaten ALIVE. The same law declares also, that in great wars, that is to say, one district with another, it shall be lawful to eat the prisoners, whether taken alive, dead, or in their graves.

"In the four great cases of crimes the criminal is also duly tried and condemned by a competent tribunal. When the evidence is heard sentence is pronounced, when the Chiefs drink a dram each, which last ceremony is equivalent to signing and sealing with us.

"Two or three days then elapse to give time for assembling the people, and in cases of adultery it is not allowed to carry the sentence into effect, unless the relations of the wife appear and partake of the feast. The prisoner is then brought forward on the day appointed, and fixed to a stake with his hands extended. The husband or party injured comes up and takes the first choice, generally the ears; the rest then, according to their rank, take the choice pieces, each helping himself according to his liking. After all have partaken, the chief person goes up and cuts off the head, which he carries home as a trophy. The head is hung up in front of the house, and the brains are carefully preserved in a bottle for purposes of witchcraft, &c. In devouring the flesh, it is sometimes eaten raw, and sometimes grilled, but it must be eaten upon the spot. Limes, salt, and pepper are always in readiness, and they sometimes eat rice with the flesh, but never drink toddy or spirits; many carry bamboos with them, and filling them with blood drink it off. The assembly consists of men alone, as the flesh of man is prohibited to the females: it is said, however, that they get a bit by stealth now and then.

"I am assured, and *really* do believe, that many of the people prefer human flesh to any other, but notwithstanding this *penchant* they never indulge the appetite except on lawful occasions. The palms of the hands, and the soles of the feet, are the delicacies of epicures!

"On expressing my surprise at the continuance of such extraordinary practices, I was informed that formerly it was usual for the people to eat their parents when too old for work. The old people selected the horizontal branch of a tree, and quietly suspended themselves by their hands, while their children and neighbours, forming a circle, danced round them, crying out, 'When the fruit is ripe, then it will fall.' This practice took place during the season of limes, when salt and pepper were plenty, and as soon as the victims became fatigued, and could hold on no longer, they fell down, when all hands cut them up, and made a hearty meal of

them. This practice, however, of eating the old people has been abandoned, and thus a step in civilization has been attained, and, therefore, there are hopes of future improvement.

" This state of society you will admit to be very peculiar. It is calculated, that certainly not less than from sixty to one hundred Battas are thus eaten in a year in times of peace.

" I was going on to tell your Grace much about the treatment of the females and children, but I find that I have already filled several sheets, and that I am called away from the cabin; I will therefore conclude, with entreating you not to think the worse of me for this horrible relation. You know that I am far from wishing to paint any of the Malay race in the worst colours, but yet I must tell the truth. Notwithstanding the practices I have related, it is my determination to take Lady Raffles into the interior, and to spend a month or two in the midst of these Battas. Should any accident occur to us, or should we never be heard of more, you may conclude we have been eaten.

" I am half afraid to send this scrawl, and yet it may amuse you, if it does not, throw it into the fire; and still believe that, though half a cannibal, and living among cannibals, I am not less warm in heart and soul. In the deepest recesses of the forest, and among the most savage of all tribes, my heart still clings to those afar off, and I do believe that even were I present at a Batta feast, I should be thinking of kind friends at Maiden Bradly. What an association! God forgive me, and bless you all.

" I am forming a collection of skulls; some from bodies that have been eaten. Will your Grace allow them room among the curiosities?"

To W. Marsden, Esq.

" *At sea off Anulaba, February 13th*, 1820.

" My Dear Sir,

" Owing to my long absence from Bencoolen, and frequent change of residence, my Europe letters have seldom reached me without considerable delay, and then *en masse*. I have now before me your letters of the * *

" After thanking you generally for these kind proofs of your attention and friendship, allow me to express my particular obligations to you for Marco Polo, which I am happy to say has reached me in excellent condition. I have not had time to read it through, but I have devoted all my spare hours to it, and mean to go through it *de suite* as soon as I am once more settled at home.

" I am looking with anxiety for Crawfurd's work, from the time he has taken to arrange and polish, I feel no doubt of its value. I expect from him a somewhat new view of the literature, history, and antiquities of Java, as he appears in his

review of my work in the Edinburgh to have thrown a cloud over that part of my story. I shall be happy to stand corrected where I am wrong, and to acknowledge my error; but I hope he will give something more than assertion as to the dates which he disputed. I have obtained some new lights on these since my return to this country.

" I observe what you say in your last letter regarding the publication of my late journeys in the interior. Dr. Horsfield has sufficient materials. Should he not undertake it, I shall have no objection to draw up the account myself; but I confess I would prefer its being undertaken by some other hand than mine. I shall be most happy to receive your suggestions as to the best mode of giving the public an account of the kind. I have a good deal to say about the interior of Moco Moco, and Sambi-Acheen, and Palembang; and if you purpose another edition of Sumatra, perhaps some of the information may be useful to you. I am not desirous of publishing, and yet I should be sorry if the information were lost for want of it.

" From the map you will receive, you will perceive an essential difference in the situation of Pageruyong. It is about thirty miles east of the west coast. From the distracted state of the Menangkabu country, it was difficult to obtain extensive information. The question regarding the communication between the rivers of Siak and Indragiri, must still rest on the authority on which you received it; as far as I could infer, and calculate distances and probabilities, I conceive it most likely that no such communication exists. The Indragiri river appears to be navigable for sloops of fifty and seventy tons, as high as the Falls, and it is even said that boats of considerable burthen are to be found above them. These are situated in that part of the country usually called *K'uantan,* near which the Sultan of Pageruyong has recently fixed his residence.

" It occurs to me, that an account of the *Orang Putis,* or Padries, might be well introduced into the account of our journey to Menangkabu, and I have already collected some very interesting information respecting these people, who, in many particulars, seem to resemble the Wahabees of the desert. They have proved themselves most unrelenting and tyrannical; but their rule seems calculated to reform and improve, inasmuch as it introduces something like authority, so much wanted over all Sumatra."

The following is an extract from the paper of information collected on the occasions to which Sir Stamford here alluded:

" The Padries are causing great alarm at our northern stations, and seem to be rapidly increasing in power. The natives say, at first one of the Chiefs of the country, who was well-read in most religious books, had great sense and cunning, and much wealth and influence, consulted with some of his friends of the neigh-

bouring districts, to endeavour to introduce some improvements among the people; 'for,' he observed, 'not one-tenth of the population prayed, or seemed to have any fear of God, but, on the contrary, were totally addicted to cock-fighting and inebriety;' he was therefore determined to abolish gambling, and to forbid the use of all intoxicating beverages.

"His friends wished him to go further; they alleged that it was written, 'that he who did not pray, and refused to embrace the tenets of the Koran, merited death and confiscation:' it was then determined to enforce the tenets of the Mahomedan religion throughout the province.

"The Chief then proclaimed that the religion of Mahomet consisted in four principal doctrines: faith, circumcision, seclusion, and the knowledge of God, and that prayer was the proof of religion; and he entreated all people to unite with him in establishing these doctrines amongst themselves, and in every other country within their means; that the tokens of union in the cause of God should be a beard for the males, and that the women should conceal their faces; that neither sex should bathe naked; that the selling of strong drinks should be unlawful, and the use of tobacco for smoking or eating should be abolished.

"The people generally, as may be supposed, were not inclined to practise so much self-denial, and war was soon declared against all who refused to pray and receive the new tenets. The country was devastated, the people plundered, and fines levied upon the conquered. A council was appointed to see that prayers were regular, and that drinking, and eating tobacco were no longer practised. A man who shaved away his beard was to be fined. The filing of teeth was to be punished by the forfeit of a buffalo. If the faces of females were uncovered; if women quarrelled; if a child was beaten, fines were imposed: long nails on the fingers were reduced by cutting them and the flesh together, besides a fine. Repeated neglect of fast and prayers was punished with death."

"I intended to have written you very fully from Bengal, but I was attacked by a severe fever, and not allowed to use my pen for ten minutes together. I, however, forwarded to you from thence several papers, which I hope may prove of some interest. One of these is the report of a committee appointed to assist in forming something like a statistical account of Sumatra. You are fully aware of my sentiments respecting Bencoolen, and will not, therefore, be surprised to find them confirmed in the report. Not having a council, I avail myself of the assistance and advice of committees whenever I find it necessary that my opinions should be examined or confirmed, and I have already found considerable advantage from the plan. In a small place like Bencoolen, it is likely that such committees will generally feel the influence of the superior authority; but yet they may possess independence and talent sufficient to assist and protect that authority very essentially.

"Of my plan for a college at Singapore, I feel no doubt you will approve generally. The success of the undertaking will depend on the estimate I have formed of the character of the people; if I am right, they are a very different people from those on the continent of India, and it is in this difference that the advantage exists. On this subject also, I hope, when you are at leisure, you will favour me with your sentiments.

"Of my own circumstances, plans, and expectations, I have not much to say at present. The result of my visit to Bengal has been a more intimate connection with that government, and a strong recommendation home from them in favour of all my plans, whether at Bencoolen, Singapore, or Penang, or of the whole collectively.

"You will be pleased to hear that Singapore has again become a great and flourishing city. The population is already more than three times that of Bencoolen, and is rapidly augmenting. I do not like to say much on the subject, because it is something like praising one's own child; but I may fairly say that it has in every respect exceeded even my most sanguine expectation, and this, you will admit, is saying not a little.

"With respect to the Dutch, every thing remains in great suspense pending the references made to Europe by both parties. The Governor General in council has declared his sentiments of their proceedings in much less qualified terms than I had previously done, and does not hesitate to tell the authorities of Batavia, that they have been actuated throughout by views of unbounded ambition, and an unfair and dishonourable attempt to injure and degrade the English.

"I will not, however, detain you * * * *

"The cholera morbus has latterly committed dreadful ravages at Acheen, Penang, and Quedah: it is now raging at Malacca, and I have great apprehensions for Singapore. From Bencoolen I have not heard for some months, but I am in hopes that the inhospitable nature of our coast, and the poverty of our inhabitants, may for once be in our favour, and that we shall neither receive so unwelcome a guest, or, if he does effect his landing, afford him sufficient subsistence for his support. We fell in with a brig yesterday from the Isle of France, where this fatal disease appears also to have arrived: God knows where it will go next; whether eastward to Siam and China, or westward to Africa and Europe."

To William Marsden, Esq.

"*Off Nattal, February* 27, 1820.

"My Dear Sir,

"As I shall find an arrear of five months to get through at Bencoolen, it may be as well that I communicate to you, without loss of time, some of the particulars which I have ascertained in my late visit to Tappanooly.

"We had a fine view of the waterfall at Mansular, and I did not fail to approach

it in a boat near enough to ascertain that it does not fall into a great Danu, but into the sea. We landed on the Island, and collected a few plants of undescribed species. The rock of which the Island is composed is trap or basalt.

" A subject of greater interest was the camphor tree, and, as might be expected, I tried my luck, and was fortunate in procuring a small quantity of camphor from the tree felled on the occasion. My friend, Dr. Jack, has now satisfied himself on all points, and a detailed description is in progress. You are already informed that the flowers have been examined, and found to be monadelphous *(monadelphia polygamia);* specimens have been sent home to Mr. Brown and Mr. Lambert.

" But my attention was still more attracted by the people of the country; and though our stay was short, I was enabled to satisfy myself fully on several very interesting points. I have found all you say on the subject of cannibalism more than confirmed. I do not think you have even gone far enough. You might have broadly stated, that it is the practice not only to eat the victim, but to eat him alive. I shall pass over the particulars of all previous information which I have received, and endeavour to give you, in a few words, the result of a deliberate inquiry from the Batta Chiefs of Tappanooly. I caused the most intelligent to be assembled; and, in the presence of Mr. Prince and Dr. Jack, obtained the following information, of the truth of which none of us have the least doubt.

" It is the universal and standing law of the Battas, that death by eating shall be inflicted in the following cases.

" 1st. For adultery.

" 2d. For midnight robbery; and,

" 3d. In wars of importance, that is to say, one district against another, the prisoners are sacrificed.

" 4th. For intermarrying in the same tribe, which is forbidden from the circumstance of their having ancestors in common; and,

" 5th. For treacherous attack on a house, village, or person.

" In all the above cases it is lawful for the victims to be eaten, and they are eaten alive, that is to say, they are not previously put to death. The victim is tied to a stake, with his arms extended, the party collect in a circle around him, and the Chief gives the order to commence eating. The chief enemy, when it is a prisoner, or the chief party injured in other cases, has the first selection; and after he has cut off his slice, others cut off pieces according to their taste and fancy, until all the flesh is devoured.

" It is either eaten raw or grilled, and generally dipped in Sambul (a preparation of Chili pepper and salt), which is always in readiness. Rajah Bandahara, a Batta, and one of the Chiefs of Tappanooly, asserted that he was present at a festival of this kind about eight years ago, at the village of Subluan on the other side of the bay, not nine miles distant, where the heads may still be seen.

" When the party is a prisoner taken in war, he is eaten immediately, and on

the spot. Whether dead or alive he is equally eaten, and it is usual even to drag the bodies from the graves, and after disinterring them, to eat the flesh. This only in cases of war.

" From the clear and concurring testimony of all parties, it is certain that it is the practice *not* to kill the victims till the whole of the flesh cut off by the party is eaten, should he live so long; the Chief or party injured then comes forward and cuts off the head, which he carries home as a trophy. Within the last three years there have been two instances of this kind of punishment within ten miles of Tappanooly, and the heads are still preserved.

" In cases of adultery the injured party usually takes the ear or ears; but the ceremony is not allowed to take place except the wife's relations are present and partake of it.

" In these and other cases where the criminal is directed to be eaten, he is secured and kept for two or three days, till every person (that is to say males) is assembled. He is then eaten quietly, and in cold blood, with as much ceremony, and perhaps more, than attends the execution of a capital sentence in Europe.

" The bones are scattered abroad after the flesh has been eaten, and the head alone preserved. The brains belong to the Chief, or injured party, who usually preserves them in a bottle, for purposes of witchcraft, &c. They do not eat the bowels, but like the heart; and many drink the blood from bamboos. The palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are the delicacies of epicures.

" Horrid and diabolical as these practices may appear, it is no less true, that they are the result of much deliberation among the parties, and seldom, except in the case of prisoners in war, the effect of immediate and private revenge. In all cases of crimes, the party has a regular trial, and no punishment can be inflicted until sentence is regularly and formally passed in the public fair. Here the Chiefs of the neighbouring kampong assemble, hear the evidence, and deliberate upon the crime and probable guilt of the party; when condemned, the sentence is ratified by the Chiefs drinking the tuah, or toddy, which is final, and may be considered equivalent to signing and sealing with us.

" I was very particular in my enquiries whether the assembly were intoxicated on occasions of these punishments. I was assured it was never the case. The people take rice with them, and eat it with the meat, but no tuah is allowed. The punishment is always inflicted in public. The men alone are allowed to partake, as the flesh of man is prohibited to the women (probably from an apprehension they might become too fond of it). The flesh is not allowed to be carried away from the spot, but must be consumed at the time.

" I am assured that the Battas are more attached to these laws than the Mahomedans are to their Koran, and that the number of the punishments is very considerable. My informants considered that there could not be less than fifty or sixty

men eaten in a year, and this in times of peace; but they were unable to estimate the true extent, considering the great population of the country; they were confident, however, that these laws were strictly enforced, wherever the name of Batta was known, and that it was only in the immediate vicinity of our settlements that they were modified and neglected. For proof, they referred me to every Batta in the vicinity, and to the number of skulls to be seen in every village, each of which was from a victim of the kind.

" With regard to the relish with which the parties devour the flesh, it appeared that, independent of the desire of revenge which may be supposed to exist among the principals, about one half of the people eat it with a relish, and speak of it with delight; the other half, though present, may not partake. Human flesh is, however, generally considered preferable to cow or buffalo beef, or hog, and was admitted to be so even by my informants.

" Adverting to the possible origin of this practice, it was observed that formerly they ate their parents when too old for work; this, however, is no longer the case, and thus a step has been gained in civilization.

" It is admitted that the parties may be redeemed for a pecuniary compensation, but this is entirely at the option of the chief enemy or injured party, who after his sentence is passed may either have his victim eaten, or he may sell him for a slave; but the law is that he shall be eaten, and the prisoner is entirely at the mercy of his prosecutor.

" The laws by which these sentences are inflicted, are too well known to require reference to books, but I am promised some MS. accounts which relate to the subject. These laws are called huhum pinang àn, from depang an to eat—law or sentence to eat.

" I could give you many more details, but the above may be sufficient to shew that our friends the Battas are even worse than you have represented them, and that those who are still sceptical have yet more to learn. I have also a great deal to say on the other side of the character, for the Battas have many virtues. I prize them highly. However horrible eating a man may sound in European ears, I question whether the party suffers so much, or the punishment itself is worse than the European tortures of two centuries ago. I have always doubted the policy, and even the right of capital punishment among civilized nations; but this once admitted, and torture allowed, I see nothing more cruel in eating a man alive than in torturing him for days with mangled limbs and the like. Here they certainly eat him up at once, and the party seldom suffers more than a few minutes. It is probable that he suffers more pain from the loss of his ear than from what follows; indeed he is said to give one shriek when that is taken off, and then to continue silent till death.

" These severe punishments certainly tend to prevent crimes. The Battas are

honest and honourable, and possess many more virtues than I have time to put down.

" I have arranged to pay a visit to Tobah, and the banks of the great lake, in the course of next year, and my plan is to go into the interior by the way of Barus, and to return by way of Nattal, taking the longest sweep where our influence will be most felt. Lady Raffles will, I hope, accompany me, and I shall endeavour to give up full six weeks for the trip. I am perfectly satisfied we shall be safe, and I hardly know any people on whom I would sooner rely than the Battas. In examining your map it appears to me that you have carried the places mentioned in Miller's journey much too far to the eastward; for instance, Batangenan, which is inserted near the eastern coast. He certainly never penetrated half across the Island, and in my opinion hardly beyond the first range of low hills.

" It may be interesting to you to know, that it is not among the Battas that the nephew inherits the rank and title; they invariably marry by jujur, and the eldest son succeeds. Personal property is divided, two-thirds to the eldest son, and one-third among the rest, boys and girls alike. Where there are more wives than one, the eldest son of the first wife succeeds.

" It is among the Malays that the succession of the nephew takes place. The Malays, as you are aware, trace their descent from Pati sa Batang and Kai Tumungung of Menangkabu. With the descendants of the former the nephew or kammanakan always succeeds. With the descendants of Kai Tumungung the eldest son or anak succeeds. The people of the Bander su Pulu, and nearly of all Padang, are of the tribe or division of Pati sa Batang, and this will account for the nephew succeeding with them.

" At Nattal the grandson inherits, unless the persons are married by jujur, when the son succeeds in preference.

" In my enquiries after books Rajah Bandara gave me the names and contents that follow.

" 1. Dha'un. On medicine.

" 2. Pehi on Balangkahan Malay. On Astrology.

" 3. Tandong. On the Art of War.

" 4. Rumba. On Ditto, and which is referred to in cases of the last extremity.

" 5. Pangram bui. Rules for taking up proper positions, &c. in war, (Quarter-Master-General's department.)

" The great god of the Battas is styled Debatta Assi Assi; and he it is who is supposed to have created Batara Guru, Seri Pada, and Mangala Bulan, the inferior Trinity of their worship.

" It would also appear that they have also something like an ecclesiastical Emperor or Chief, who is universally acknowledged, and referred to in all cases of public calamity, &c. His title is *Sa Singah Maha Rajah,* and he resides at *Bakara* in the

Toba district. He is descended from the Menangkabu race, and is of an antiquity which none disputes. My informants say certainly above thirty descents, or 900 years. He does not live in any very great state, but is particular in his observances; he neither eats hog nor drinks tuah. They believe him possessed of supernatural powers. He can blight the paddy, or restore the luxuriance of a faded crop.

" Writing is said to have been first introduced among the Battas by two persons named Datu Dalu and Datu Labi.

" At Selindong is a stone image of a man, of great antiquity, supposed to have been brought from Pageruyong.

" Mr. Prince has recently discovered the ruins of a temple, with an inscription on stone, in unknown characters, inland of Nattal. People are at present employed in obtaining *fac similes*, but it is at some distance, and until I can visit the spot myself, I do not calculate on much. The inscriptions obtained at Menangkabu have been translated by the Panambahan of Samanap into Javanese."

The following is an extract from a letter of Mr. Ward, a missionary, who afterwards made an excursion into the Batta country. It is introduced here as a corroboration of the truth of this extraordinary practice.

" Four days after my arrival at Tappanooly, I commenced an excursion into the Batta country with Mr. Burton. We entered at the old settlement of Tappanooly, and pursued a north-westerly course, with the view of penetrating as far as the great lake of Toba. The hills were clothed with their native woods, and but thinly. At the distance of about twenty miles from the western coast, where the country assumed a more even surface, the forests entirely disappeared, and gave place to cultivation and an extensive body of people. The district of Silindang so highly gratified us, that we were tempted to remain a few days previously to prosecuting our journey to the Lake, a couple of days in advance. Three thousand people, who had never beheld a white face, received us in a manner perhaps similar to what we read of respecting the first appearance of the Spaniards in America. We were kept for four hours, on an elevation of twelve feet, exhibiting our persons; and not an hour passed for several days, during which we were not surrounded with crowds from various parts of the country. Some venerated us as gods; all paid us much respect; and in point of treatment, we had nothing to complain of. To an assembly of the Chiefs the objects of our mission were explained; several tracts were read, and the future introduction of books was proposed, to all of which they listened with interest and pleasure, and frankly invited Mr. Burton to take up his abode with them; and we may view the result as a pleasing prospect for his future labours. Our notions relative to the Batta character and habits have been much corrected. We found them quiet and harmless, and much more under the influence of civil order than had been supposed,

although their government appeared of a singular nature. The practice of cannibalism was general and frequent. Mr. Burton had soon an attack of dysentery, in which he exhausted his little store of medicine, and we were compelled to return without actually seeing the Lake. We gained some interesting particulars of it, which shall be duly mentioned. We discovered a hot mineral spring, depositing large quantities of lime. On the whole, I may say the Batta country, with regard to scenery, surpasses every thing I have yet beheld: it possesses a delightful climate, an extensive population, and extreme fertility.

"At Sibolga I procured specimens for Batta types, and made arrangements for two native schools."

Mr. Burton, the Missionary who is named in the foregoing letter, had requested permission to leave Bencoolen, and settle in the Batta country, with his wife and children, for the purpose of establishing schools, and devoting his life to the education and improvement of a people whose character and barbarous customs excited general horror and detestation. He was exceedingly well received, and the people gladly availed themselves of the means of instruction thus offered them: but after having laboured diligently for several years, and succeeded in establishing schools, both himself and his wife fell a sacrifice to the climate; and the Editor cannot but bear her testimony to the brightness of faith, the humble trust in God alone, the total sacrifice of all personal comfort, which they evinced when they went with their infant children amongst these people, with the determination there to live and die; there to devote themselves to their labour of love, in the hope of conveying the glad tidings of the Gospel to those who had yet to learn that the Son of God died for them.

CHAPTER XVI.

Sir Stamford devotes himself to his favourite pursuits, builds a house in the country—Collections in natural history sent home—Correspondence of Captain Flint with the Java Government—Colonel Farquhar's account of Singapore—Extract from Mr. Grant's letter—Improvement in Bencoolen—Pulo Nias—Easy communication with Palembang across the Island—Sir Stamford's description of his children—His confidence that he has pursued a right course—His defence of his conduct—His opinion of the powers he was invested with—Arrival of missionaries—Mr. Burton settles in the Batta country—Sir Stamford not supported by the ministry—Introduction of British manufactures into China—Agricultural Society—Expense of Singapore—Manufacture of sugar—Colonization—Lake of Korinbie—Cultivation of rice—Nutmeg-trees—Malayan plants—Political speculation—Death of the Editor's brother.

On his return to Bencoolen (March, 1820) Sir Stamford felt that, politically, he had done all in his power to promote the best general and national interests of his country in the Eastern Seas; and from this time he devoted himself to the improvement of the little settlement, the more immediate scene of his residence and government; and indulged in pursuits to which he was always passionately attached. He resolved to build a house in the country; and as soon as one room was finished, took a part of his family, and occupied himself in cultivating the ground. He formed spice plantations to a large extent, and succeeded in introducing the cultivation of coffee. The labour was performed by convicts, who were settled in a village, and soon became a useful community. The beauty, the retirement, the quiet domestic life, which he led in this happy retreat, soon restored his health; he rose at four in the morning, worked in his garden (in which he always planted all the seeds himself) until breakfast; then wrote and studied till dinner; after which he examined his plantations, always accompanied by his children; and often walked about until a late hour of the night. But his manner of life at this period may be best known by a reference to the following selections and extracts from his correspondence.

To ———

"*Bencoolen, March* 12, 1820.

"You will be happy to hear that I am once more in the bosom of my family, and in the enjoyment of every possible domestic felicity. We arrived here a few days

ago, and found every thing going on well, and as it should do. The country is perfectly quiet, the people satisfied, and Bencoolen, on the whole, improving; so much so, that as far as our personal comforts are concerned, we shall regret whenever the order arrives that we must quit it.

" Charlotte and Leopold are in high health and spirits; and in the course of two or three months, we hope to make up the trio. Sophia is quite well; and, as you may well conceive, quite happy at my return, after an absence of five months: for myself, I never was in better health.

" We are doing wonders in natural history, notwithstanding the want of support on the part of the Government.

" We have literally nothing for the civil servants to do at Bencoolen, and idleness is the root of all evils; they ought to be transferred to some other settlement, and not to be obliged to waste their time, life, and health, here.

" The Sultan of Palembang still maintains his independence, having driven the Dutch out of the river with the loss of many ships and lives.

To Mr. Marsden.

" *Bencoolen, March* 14, 1820.

" My Dear Sir,

" I shall have the opportunity of writing you very fully by the Mary in the course of a few days; in the meantime it may be interesting to you to know that I purpose sending by her the whole of our zoological collection, among which are beautiful specimens of the tapir, rhinoceros, kijangs, &c. stuffed, in skeleton, and in spirits. It will, I think, be as important and interesting a consignment as was ever sent home. I have had, as you may suppose, a great deal of trouble.

" The term of their engagement is now concluded with my French naturalists; and they are pledged by duty and honour not to publish until the collections arrive and are noticed in England.

" I find the krabut, or great flower, to be much more general and more extensively known than I expected; in some districts it is simply called *ambem ambem*, and it seems to spring from the horizontal roots of those immense climbers or limes which are attached like cables to the largest trees of the forest. It takes three months from the first appearance of the bud to the full expansion of the flower; and the flower appears but once a year, at the conclusion of the rainy season.

" Further enquiries respecting the tunnu and babi-ala, induce me to believe that there is still some large animal in our forests not inferior in size to the tapir, marked with a narrow riband of white around the belly and back. The tapir having remained so long undiscovered, affords at least some grounds for concluding it possible that others may exist. The natives who describe this animal simply say, that the white

band is narrow, the feet three-toed, head truncated, and tail long. The chungkor of Palembang may be a third animal.

" I have a long list of animals, of which nothing yet is known beyond the name and native description.

" I have recently heard of several interesting remains of antiquity in the interior.

" As the French gentlemen decline giving me the Linnæan descriptions I require, I shall set to work directly in framing a kind of *catalogue raisonné*, which shall be sent by the Mary, or the first ship that follows. In this I shall give a short description of the most remarkable subjects, without reference to what the French artists may say on availing myself of their papers.

" The Duyong, which I sent to Sir Joseph Banks, will, I hope, have arrived safe. I have the skin and another complete skeleton here; also one about four and a half feet long, preserved in spirits. In consequence of Sir Everard Home's notice, I immediately turned my attention towards it, and procured two specimens in a few months.

" With respect to the tapir, I am not surprised that an account was first published in France. Major Farquhar had sent a stuffed specimen and a head to the Asiatic Society, with a paper descriptive of the animal, and giving an account of the discovery. About the same time a living animal was sent from Bencoolen to the menagerie at Calcutta.

" It was from the examination of these in Calcutta that the Frenchmen prepared their accounts; and the omission on our part is attributable, in a great measure, to the dilatoriness in the publications of the Asiatic Society.

" I have now several specimens, two male and female dried and stuffed, four in spirits, and four in skeleton.

" The Frenchmen maintain that the babi ala is one and the same animal with the tunnu: I suspect, however, that they are mistaken. The true babi ala is represented to be a very different animal: it is the chungkor of Palembang, and abounds particularly in the district of Banguasin: the bones are preserved for medicinal purposes.

" If the description is correct, and you know how far reliance is to be placed on the unvarnished tale of the Sumatrans, this must be either a new animal altogether, or the babi rusa.

" I should here mention, that I do not find the babi rusa to be known as a native of Sumatra, and unless it should turn out to be the babi ala, which is at least doubtful, it cannot, I think, be yet considered as part of our fauna. What our future discoveries may lead to, I will not say.

" Of the deer we have several specimens.

" The skins of our rhinoceroses are all soft. As yet I can only trace the two-

horned animal in Sumatra. The white-banded animal, which I have provisionally termed a rhinoceros, on account of the horn, must be an entirely new animal.

" I break off to give audience to no less than three Sultans, who have been waiting for me for the last hour, and a man this moment appears with a cobra capella winding round his arm; it is not so large as the serpent of India, but has exactly the same description of hood.

" My *tunjong segara* expands rapidly, and is by far the brightest flowret of our Eastern Isle; and my little boy Leopold is following quickly in her steps: in a few weeks Lady Raffles promises me a continuation of the series.

To ——— ———.

" *Bencoolen.*

" By the ship Mary I have sent a most valuable collection in natural history. The greatest possible care has been taken to render the collection valuable, and an appropriate accompaniment to that from Java. All I ask is, that you will not be lukewarm in promoting the interests of science and general knowledge.

" I have thrown politics far away; and since I must have nothing more to do with men, have taken to the wilder but less sophisticated animals of our woods. Our house is on one side a perfect menagerie, on another a perfect flora; here, a pile of stones; there, a collection of sea-weeds, shells, &c. I enclose you a curious correspondence, which has taken place between the authorities in Java, and my brother-in-law, Captain Flint, who touched at Batavia on his way to Singapore: it will shew you the degree of personal feeling that still exists on the part of the Dutch.

From Mr. Brand, Resident of Batavia, to Captain Flint, R. N.

Batavia, March 29, 1820.

" Sir,

" The Resident of Batavia having laid before his Excellency the Governor General your application for leave to proceed to Samarang, I am directed to inform you that, under existing circumstances, no person who may any ways be supposed to be connected with Sir Stamford Raffles and his views, either avowed or concealed, can be allowed a free ingress into the Island of Java, and that your request to be permitted to proceed to the eastern districts cannot therefore be acquiesced in.

" In regretting that public grounds should lead to a refusal which may, perhaps, be productive of individual hardships, it is, however, satisfactory to reflect, that the alleged object of your voyage to Samarang, *viz. the adjustment of private concerns with Messrs. Deans, Scott, and Co.*, may be obtained with equal facility at Batavia, where a branch of that house is established.

" I retain the passport under which you proceeded to this place, and have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) " J. E. Brand."

To J. E. Brand, Esq. Secretary to Government.

" *Batavia, April 6th,* 1820.

" Sir,

" In adverting to the general tenor of your letter of the 29th of March, I cannot but express my astonishment at so unexpected a communication; and I should be wanting in duty to myself and to the rank I have the honour to hold in the service of my country, did I allow it to pass unnoticed.

" The cause of my visit to Java was entirely of a private nature, which I conceive is sufficiently proved by my having brought out a passport from his Excellency the Dutch Ambassador in London, which I had the honour to enclose in my letter to the Resident, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General, and therefore cannot, by liberal minds, be construed as in any way connected with the situation or views of Sir Stamford Raffles: and allow me here to observe, that it is not consistent with the known character of a Captain in the British navy, to act so degrading a part as that of a spy—a term not absolutely expressed, but most distinctly implied by the whole tenor of your letter.

" My conduct, from the moment of my arrival, will bear the strictest scrutiny. I landed in my uniform, and immediately called at the Government-house. The following day I had the honour to dine with his Excellency, in the same dress. I took that opportunity to mention my wish to proceed to Samarang.

" At that time the Governor General made no objection whatever, but, on the contrary, inquired if I wished to proceed over-land. This I declined in the most respectful manner, and on my quitting the Government-house, his Excellency referred me to the Resident, as the channel through which all public communications are made. I have written my name in full on the cover of every letter I have sent through the post-office, or otherwise.

" *This does not savour of concealment.* That part of your letter negativing my being allowed, therefore, a free ingress into the Island of Java, must have been written in total misconception of mine to the Governor General; and my subsequent letter to the Resident, if proof be wanting, is sufficient of itself to show I had no wish or inclination to visit the interior of the Island.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,

" Your obedient servant,

(Signed) " Wm. Flint."

To W. Flint, Esq.

"*Batavia, April 8th*, 1820.

"SIR,

"Having laid your letter of the 30th March and 6th instant before his Excellency the Governor General, I am now directed to give the following reply thereto:

"The communication which I had the honour to address to you on the 29th cannot, but by a studious misconstruction, be made subservient to inferences of the nature alluded to by you. The tenor of that letter was frank and unequivocal, and sprung from no other motive but the very natural desire to restrain the admittance of all persons, who might be supposed to possess that same eagerness of disseminating a hostile spirit towards the Dutch authorities, of which the late acts and attempts of Sir Stamford Raffles bear such decided and irrefragable testimony; for although the aspersions here alluded to, in whatever form thrown out, have been met by the Government with the only feeling which they are calculated to excite, yet it cannot be a matter of astonishment, that the Government should be unwilling to admit, without restraint, persons in whom the same tendency to indiscreet and ungenerous censure may be expected.

"The tenor, however, of your last letter to my address has induced the Governor General not to apply to you personally, a measure in which, at first view, you appeared from a general consideration of your private and public connexions with Sir Stamford Raffles, to be included; and relying, therefore, in the most unreserved manner, and with all confidence due to the rank you occupy in the British navy, a corps so eminently distinguished for honourable principles, on the assurance given by you as to the object of your visit to this Island, his Excellency is pleased to permit you to proceed to Samarang, for which purpose the necessary passport will be issued to you on application to the Resident of Batavia.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "J. E. BRAND."

The following letter from Colonel Farquhar to Sir Stamford Raffles, describes the state of Singapore at this period.

From Colonel Farquhar.

"*Singapore, March* 31, 1820.

"MY DEAR RAFFLES,

"As a vessel sails from hence this morning, bound for Batavia, touching at Rhio, I avail myself of the opportunity of sending these few lines to Mr. Skelton

at Batavia, to be forwarded on to Bencoolen by any opportunity that may offer. The public accounts from January are all ready to be despatched, and I should have sent them on by the Betsy, but as that vessel is quite at the disposal of the Commander, who may alter his voyage at Rhio or elsewhere, I have deemed it most expedient to wait a more certain conveyance, which we may daily expect from Bengal.

" We have now been nearly seven weeks without news of any kind from Calcutta. Your letters of the 3d of January are the latest that have come to hand. I have written to you frequently by way of Java, Penang, and lastly *via* Palembang.

" Nothing can possibly exceed the rising trade and general prosperity of this infant colony; indeed, to look at our harbour just now, where upwards of *twenty junks,* three of which are from China, and two from Cochin China, the rest from Siam and other quarters, are at anchor, besides ships, brigs, prows, &c. &c., a person would naturally exclaim, surely this cannot be an establishment of only a twelvemonth standing! One of the principal Chinese merchants here told me, in the course of conversation, that he would be very glad to give five hundred thousand dollars for the revenues of Singapore five years hence. Merchants of all descriptions are collecting here so fast, that nothing is heard in the shape of complaint, but the want of more ground to build on. The swampy ground on the opposite side of the river is now almost covered with Chinese houses, and the Bugguese village is become an *extensive town.* Settlements are forming up the different rivers, and from the public roads which have been made, the communication to various parts of the country is now quite open and convenient.

" A trade direct with Japan will, I have no doubt, be opened very soon, and the advantages that are likely to result from such a commerce you are well aware of; in short, this settlement bids fair to become the emporium of Eastern trade, and in time may surpass even Batavia itself.

" The Dutch Admiral has been at Rhio for some time, as has Mr. Timmerman, Dutch Resident at Malacca. They have been holding a consultation on various points: amongst others, how a reconciliation with the Bugguese can be best effected. This, I fancy, they will have a difficult measure to bring about, as the Bugguese appear to have lost all confidence in their system of government.

" Here we may expect a great accession of strength from the natives. I have transmitted to you Mr. Timmerman's protest respecting Rajah Bellawa, who sought an asylum here with his family and followers, after being driven out of Rhio by the Dutch. I have likewise forwarded copies of the same to the Supreme Government.

" I have most reluctantly been obliged to assume charge of the military pay department, but sincerely hope that you may have succeeded in establishing some other arrangement than what was last received from Bengal.

" Our treasury is at present at a low ebb—the troops are now nearly two

months in arrears. I have written to Penang for cash, but as trade increases, we shall have now frequent opportunities of getting supplies from the merchants for bills on Bengal. The little capital at present here is employed on the spot. We are, as you may suppose, most anxious to hear from you again. I hope you have, long ere this, reached Bencoolen in safety. Pray present my best wishes to Lady Raffles, and give your dear little ones a kiss each on my account.

"Believe me, ever your's, &c.

"W. FARQUHAR."

To ———.

"*Bencoolen, April* 3, 1820.

"Singapore, I am happy to say, continues to thrive beyond all calculation, notwithstanding the * * * * * * * and the uncertainty of possession. The exports and imports even by native boats alone exceed four millions of dollars in the year.

"Sophia and our little ones are quite well. I enclose you an extract from a letter I have just received from Mr. Grant: (the late Charles Grant, Esq. one of the Directors of the East India Company), his favourable opinion of what I have done is very satisfactory."

"*London, July* 19, 1820.

"You will easily conceive that it has not been possible for me to enter fully with you into the various subjects of the letters and papers you have sent me. I have, however, done all that I believe you expected from me, that is to uphold your views of what our national policy ought to be with respect to the Eastern Archipelago—views, the leading principles of which I entertained before your return to India, as favouring not only the fair commercial interests of our country, and of a vast region of Asia, but the moral and political benefit of its immense population.

"You are probably aware of the obstacles which have been opposed to the adoption of your measures, and even threatened your position in the service. Your zeal considerably outstepped your prudence, and the first operations of it became known at an unfavourable juncture. It was thought that the state of affairs in Europe required that they should be discountenanced.

"The acquisition of Singapore has grown in importance. The stir made here lately for the further enlargement of the eastern trade fortified that impression. It is now accredited in the India House. Of late, in an examination before a committee of the House of Lords, I gave my opinion of the value, in a moral, political, and commercial view, of a British establishment in the locality of Singapore, under the auspices of the Company. From all these circumstances and others, I augur

well as to the retention and encouragement of the station your rapidity has preoccupied. Accept of these few hints instead of an elaborate letter.

" I have heard of your efforts for introducing religious improvement into Bencoolen. I hope that disposition will follow you wherever you go.

(Signed) " C. GRANT."

To ———.

" *Bencoolen, April* 7, 1820.

" The unexpected arrival of the Borneo enables me to send you a few lines.

" Singapore continues to thrive and prosper beyond my most sanguine expectations. Once permanently settled, it will give advantages in commerce far beyond your contemplation. Major Farquhar being anxious to return home, I have appointed Travers to relieve him, and he sailed from hence for that purpose about ten days ago. The whole of the establishments at Singapore—civil, military, and political—do not exceed 5000 dollars, £1200, a month. Of Bencoolen I have little to add, except that the place is improving. I should be sorry to find the place given to the Dutch, but if it must be so, I hope we shall have an equivalent.

" I hear the Dutch place all their hopes on being able to remove me from the Eastward. I have become so much identified with the question now pending between the two governments, that they conceive their interests will be best secured by getting me out of the way.

" I have just received accounts of the Dutch left at Rhio and Banca. They must now regret the wild ambition which induced them to aim at such extensive sovereignty; their empire is literally crumbling to pieces.

" The only loss in our family has been in the death of my favourite bear, whose demise I shall not fail to notice with due honour when treating on natural history."

To Mr. Marsden.

" *Bencoolen, April* 14*th*, 1820.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I cannot allow a direct opportunity to pass without again thanking you for the kind interest you continue to take in our welfare, and letting you know that we continue in excellent health, with as fair prospects as political circumstances at present admit. My two children expand daily, and are all and every thing we could wish them. Lady Raffles bears the climate better than I expected.

" In the political world I have nothing to communicate. In Java all remains quiet. The Dutch have wisely followed up the revenue system I established, and though I could say a great deal against particulars, I am on the whole tolerably satisfied with what they have done in this respect.

"We are anxiously awaiting the final arrangements from home. My last advices were in August, at which date the subject had been taken up. Java, and the Moluccas, with Macassar, or Celebes, is all that strictly ought to be left to the Dutch. Banca is of no further value to them.

* * * * *

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*Bencoolen, April 18th*, 1820.

"I wrote you very fully about three weeks ago by the Mary, by which ship I sent Sir Joseph Banks a large consignment of prepared animals. I hope they have arrived safe, and proved that we are not idle. I have just now so little to do with politics, that I am able to devote a good deal of time to natural history; and I think you would be amused to see the extensive collection I am making. I intend to send you a large consignment by the first favourable conveyance, of which I shall request your Grace's kind care, until my return to England. This may serve as an indication that I am looking forward to the day when we may again meet. Two years have rolled away already; three or four more will, I hope, accomplish all the objects I have in view in this country; and then———we shall I hope meet again, all parties a few years older, but in other respects neither colder nor less happy than before we parted. We must now begin to forget those hateful words, 'Good bye' and to think of 'how do you do;'—time flies fast,—where are the years that are past—and how short may those which are to come appear when once we have again met, and look back upon them!

"Your Grace will, I doubt not, be happy to hear, that our prospects, even at Bencoolen, are improving; the place no longer has that gloomy and desolate appearance of which I first complained. Population and industry are increasing; the inland merchants begin to bring down the gold and cassia from the interior, and a stranger would hardly know the place again, so much is it changed from what it was two years ago. We have a good many comforts about us, and shall really regret any political necessity which obliges us to remove from what has now become our second home. We have a delightful garden, and so many living pets, children tame and wild; monkeys, dogs, birds, &c. that we have a perfect *regne animale* within our own walls, to say nothing of the surrounding forests now under contribution. I have one of the most beautiful little men of the woods that can be conceived; he is not much above two feet high, wears a beautiful surtout of fine white woollen, and in his disposition and habits the kindest and most correct creature imaginable; his face is jet black, and his features most expressive; he has not the slightest rudiments of a tail, always walks erect, and would I am sure become a favourite in Park Lane.

"Not long ago I gave your Grace a short account of my Batta friends. I am

now much engaged in obtaining particulars of a very extensive and interesting population in one of the larger Islands lying off Sumatra, Pulo Nias.

" The Nias people believe in one Supreme God, Lora Langi, but they do not pay him any kind of public worship. Below him is another God, called Batu Ba Danaw, who has charge of the earth, which they say is suspended from a stalk, or string, as an orange from the branch of a tree. This is, perhaps, as happy an idea as the double-headed shot of Lord Erskine, and perhaps his Lordship may avail himself of the hint in the next volume of Armata. The world they suppose to have seven stages, or gradations, inhabited by as many different orders of beings. The stage immediately under us is possessed by dwarfs. The heavens, or sky above us, (Holi Yawa,) are peopled by a superior order of men, (Barucki,) of a most beautiful form and appearance. These are gifted with wings, and are invisible at pleasure, and they take an interest in all that passes on earth; they are governed by kings of their own: the one at present reigning is called Luo Mehuhana; there were four kings who ruled before him, and from whom he is descended.

" ' The people of the earth,' they say, ' had for a length of time continued in a state of the grossest ignorance and barbarism; they neither lived in houses nor tilled the ground, but wandered about, subsisting on what the earth spontaneously produced. At last, the wife of Luo Mehuhana took pity upon their miserable condition, and ordered one of her subjects to descend to the earth, and teach its inhabitants the arts of civilization. He accordingly descended on Pulo Nias, and instructed them how to till the ground, to live in houses, to cook their victuals, and to form in societies. He taught them also to speak, for hitherto they had not possessed even this means of communication.'

" Their laws are remarkably severe. It is death to touch any part, even the finger, of an unmarried woman, or the wife of another man; but, notwithstanding this, I do not learn that they are particularly chaste. The wives are bought from the parents, as in Sumatra; and a man may have as many as he can afford to pay for.

" I will not, at present, trouble you with further particulars; the above will be sufficient to shew that they are at least very original in their ideas; and on this account, if on no other, they must excite an interest.

" I must not close my letter without a few words on the politics of this part of the world, in which I hope your Grace still continues to take some interest.

" It will be satisfactory to you to know that the Dutch authorities in this country have at length been brought to their senses; and if what has been done here is only supported and followed up with common prudence and decision, we may at least save our commercial interests from the ruin which so lately impended. Singapore continues to rise as rapidly as all the out-stations of the Dutch decline."

The following extract of a letter from Sir Joseph Banks to Dr. Horsfield, will shew the high opinion he entertained of Sir Stamford, as well as of the botanical collections made in Java, and the encouragement he so liberally and generously extended to all those in pursuit of scientific objects; it was written in the year 1817, when Sir Stamford was in England:

"The collections are interesting in the extreme, and will, when published, make very valuable additions to the science of botany. Your industry, Sir, in collecting them is praise-worthy in the extreme; and the talent you have shewn in arranging them encourages a well-founded hope of much advantage to science being derived from your arrangement and observations on them.

"We are all here delighted with the acquaintance of Governor Raffles; he is certainly among the best informed of men, and possesses a larger stock of useful talent than any other individual of my acquaintance.

"I beg, Sir, that you will be assured that I shall always be ready and happy to give you every assistance in my power, and that you will have no scruple in addressing questions to me. Gentlemen who, like you, cultivate science in the wilderness of nature, where books are not to be found, have a right to call upon us inhabitants of libraries for every assistance you stand in need of, which we have the power of affording.

"I beg, Sir, that you will believe me your obliged and obedient servant,

"Joseph Banks."

To Mr. Marsden.

"*Bencoolen, April* 20, 1820.

"As you may not possess a correct vocabulary in the Nias language, I send you a few words; and you may, perhaps, be glad to learn, that I am at present directing my attention a good deal to that Island.

"I hope hereafter to give you a comparative vocabulary in the Nias and Batta languages, of not less than three thousand words. My object is to compare them particularly with the Malay and Buggis. I shall follow the same arrangement as adopted in the Appendix to my History of Java, in order to render it more convenient for reference.

"My small establishment in the interior at Bukit Kabut has been of the greatest service in attracting traders and settlers from the interior; and were the affairs of Palembang once settled to our satisfaction, the interior would soon be as well known as the coast. There is a very good horse-road from Marlborough to Muara Billiti, on the Palembang river, whence the passage by water to Palembang can be accomplished in less than three days. Were Palembang free from the Dutch, I should make it the usual route between this place and Singapore.

" I have the pleasure to send Mrs. Marsden three boxes of spices, the produce of our own garden. We are now commencing plantations in the interior."

To ——— ———.

" *Bencoolen, May* 26, 1820.

* * * * * *

" At Singapore our interests and influence are rapidly extending; all goes on just as I could wish; and I think that you will be happy to hear that even Bencoolen has assumed a new interest in my eyes, and that I really feel a satisfaction in the progressive improvement of the place. The last few months' leisure has enabled me to investigate the ancient tenure and history of the place and people, and the causes which have retarded the improvement of both; and to apply remedies which are likely to be effective: the old system may be now considered as destroyed, root and branch; and although a few of the decayed branches, and some noxious weeds may here and there appear, the country has generally assumed a new aspect, cultivation is quite the order of the day, and commenced upon with a spirit I hardly expected.

* * * * *

" Under these circumstances I should be sorry if any thing removed me from the place for the next year—and it will certainly require attentive management for a few years subsequent—the country and people are, in many respects, so different from what I found them, that a stranger would hardly know them again. It sometimes occurs to me as possible, that Bencoolen may be given to the Dutch, in exchange for some other place. Sooner than we should lose our footing in the Archipelago I would willingly resign it; but, under any circumstances, it would be heart-breaking to give up the place just as the fruits of my system, and the returns for my labour, are about to be seen."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

" *Bencoolen, June* 2, 1820.

" It is almost an age since I heard from England. Your last letters were dated nearly a twelvemonth ago!—what a lapse!—and what may not have occurred in the interim? I dread to think of it; and yet, after all, I believe it is these cares and anxieties that are the chief source of all our earthly bliss, for without them we could not appreciate their reverse, or know what real happiness is. Had I not returned to India I should never have contemplated the delight which I now anticipate of once more meeting a long absent friend. You see what a philosopher I am.

" Nothing very particular has occurred since my last, except the birth of another boy. My dear little Charlotte is, of all creatures, the most angelic I ever

beheld. She has those inborn graces which, as she expands, must attract the admiration of every one—but she has a soft heart, and is so full of mildness and gentleness, that I fear she will have many trials to go through in this unfeeling world. Her brother Leopold, however, will take her part, for he has the spirit of a lion, and is absolutely beautiful; but I will not tire you with any more family details, it will be sufficient to add, that we are all well, and as happy as absence from dear and relative friends will admit. My life is at present rather monotonous, not however unpleasantly so, for I have all the regular and substantial employment of domestic comfort in the bosom of a happy and thriving family; and in the daily pursuits of agriculture and magisterial duty I find abundance to interest and amuse —but I am no longer striding from one side of India to another, overleaping mountains, or forming new countries—I am trying to do the best I can with a very old and nearly worn-out one, in which I hope, by infusing a new spirit, and encouraging habits of industry, and motives of enterprize, much may be done. I am busily engaged in taking a census of the population, and inquiring into the processes of husbandry, and the village institutions, and I think you would be amused to see me amid my rude and untutored mountaineers, collecting the details, and entering into all the particulars, as if they were the peasants of my own estate. I am becoming so attached to these pursuits, and find them so much more satisfactory than political discussion, that I believe I shall be sorry to change this mode of life. Allow me, therefore, to indulge my whim for a short time longer, and then I shall be able to carry home such a weight of experience, as may perhaps bring all your barren lands into cultivation. If I am not rich enough to have a farm of my own, I shall wish to become a farmer on your lands, and then * * * *

"This is a very hurried letter, written at a moment when the ship is under weigh"——

* * * * * *

Perhaps this was one of the most happy periods in Sir Stamford's life; politically he had attained the object which he felt so necessary for the good of his country (the establishment of Singapore). He was beloved by all those under his immediate controul, who united in showing him every mark of respect and attachment, and many were bound to him by ties of gratitude for offices of kindness, for private acts of benevolence and assistance which he delighted to exercise towards them. The settlement, like many other small societies, was divided into almost as many parties as there were families on his first arrival; but these differences were soon healed and quieted, and a general interchange of good offices had succeeded. The natives and Chiefs appreciated the interest which he took in their improvement, and placed implicit reliance upon his opinion and counsel.

The consciousness of being beloved is a delightful, happy feeling, and Sir Stam-

ford acknowledged with thankfulness at this time that every wish of his heart was gratified. Uninterrupted health had prevailed in his family, his children were his pride and delight, and they had already imbibed from him those tastes it was his pleasure to cultivate; this will not be wondered at, even at their early age, when it is added, that two young tigers and a bear were for some time in the children's apartments, under the charge of their attendant, without being confined in cages, and it was rather a curious scene to see the children, the bear, the tigers, a blue mountain bird, and a favourite cat, all playing together, the parrot's beak being the only object of awe to all the party.

Perhaps few people in a public station led so simple a life; his mode of passing his time in the country has been already described. When he was in Bencoolen he rose early and delighted in driving into the villages, inspecting the plantations, and encouraging the industry of the people; at nine a party assembled at breakfast, which separated immediately afterwards; and he wrote, read, studied natural history, chemistry, and geology, superintended the draftsmen, of whom he had constantly five or six employed in a verandah, and always had his children with him as he went from one pursuit to another, visiting his beautiful and extensive aviary, as well as the extraordinary collection of animals which were always domesticating in the house. At four he dined, and seldom alone, as he considered the settlement but as a family of which he was the head; immediately after dinner all the party drove out, and the evening was spent in reading and music and conversation. He never had any game of amusement in his house. After the party had dispersed, he was fond of walking out with the Editor, and enjoying the delicious coolness of the night land-wind, and a moon whose beauty those only who have been in tropical climates can judge of, so clear and penetrating are its rays that many fear them as much as the glare of the sun. Though scarcely a day passed without reptiles of all kinds being brought in, and the Cobra de Capello in numbers, the Editor never remembers these pleasures being interrupted by any alarm.

Amidst these numerous sources of enjoyment, however, Sir Stamford never forgot that the scene was too bright to continue unclouded, and often gently warned the Editor not to expect to retain all the blessings God in his bounty had heaped upon them at this time, but to feel that such happiness once enjoyed ought to shed a bright ray over the future, however dark and trying it might become.

To Mr. Marsden.

"*Bencoolen, June 27th*, 1820.

"As the notice given of the present opportunity of sending letters has been unexpected and short, I am not able to enter so fully as I could wish into the affairs and prospects of Bencoolen. This deficiency, however, I shall endeavour to supply by forwarding to you herewith copies of my recent letters on the subject, toge-

ther with the regulations which I have recently established. It will, I am sure, afford you satisfaction to find that I am at length enabled to make a favourable report. I am very confident of success, but all depends on a perseverance in the plans commenced, and some liberality on the part of Government.

" I shall feel much indebted for your advice and opinion on any points which may strike you. I am perfectly open to conviction wherever I may have been wrong, and shall not be offended with the freedom of your remarks.

" The London arrived here on the 9th instant, and is now taking in a cargo of pepper at Tappanooly. By her I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of December. Pray tell Mrs. Marsden that I will endeavour to make amends by sending her a volume of details on all family matters the moment I can obtain an hour's leisure; in the mean time it will be satisfactory to her to know that we are all well and happy. My three children, Charlotte, Leopold, and Marco Polo, for so he is still called, although he was christened Stamford Marsden, are certainly the finest children that were ever seen; and if we can manage to take them home in about four or five years, we hope to prove that the climate of Bencoolen is not so very bad.

" As there was no chance of a direct opportunity, I have sent by the London duplicates, and even more complete sets of the quadrupeds and birds than those sent by the Mary, numbered, named, and ticketed, so as to correspond with my catalogues.

" I am at this moment superintending a complete set of the drawings, to be forwarded by the present opportunity, *via* Calcutta.

" I fear there will hardly be time for completing the duplicates of the catalogue of birds. My writers are now engaged upon it, and I will do my best to send it by the present conveyance.

" I find the natives in the interior consider the *Ungka Puti* as the Rajah Binatang, on account of the extreme lightness and celerity of his movements: they say that in the morning he swings from tree to tree, and runs along the branches without shaking the dew from the leaves.

" From the reports received from Batavia, it would seem the Dutch hesitate with regard to another attack on Palembang; in this I think they are wise—they seem to be in sad confusion, quarrelling among themselves, and without confidence in any of their subjects. About a fortnight ago they shot seven Frenchmen for deserting, and attempting to go over to Palembang—it is not, however, true that the Sultan has any foreign aid whatever. Singapore continues to prosper more and more.

" We are now busy in arranging the reptiles and crabs, of which we have a very large collection."

To ———.

"*Bencoolen, June 27th,* 1820.

"You will find that I am not at a loss for useful employment and amusement at Bencoolen; it is a small place, but I will make the most of it I can. I no more trouble my head about the Dutch. I have turned farmer, and as President of the Agricultural Society, find more real satisfaction than is to be derived from all the success that could attend a political life. We are all quite well; Sophia will write to this point."

To the same.

"*Bencoolen, July* 7, 1820.

"We are all quite well, and shall be very well content to remain so. Singapore goes on progressively, and even Bencoolen is assuming a new and interesting character. My time and attention are at present devoted chiefly to agricultural pursuits, and I am determined, if possible, to make the place raise its own supplies. I am taking a general census of the population of the country, and of its agricultural resources; and I hope soon to send you home some reports of interest and importance. The field is not very extensive, but it is new and untried, and energy and zeal shall not be wanting to make the most of it.

"Sophia and our three children are quite well; Charlotte and Leopold are every thing we could wish, and the most intelligent children I ever met with, and young Marco Polo promises well. Leopold is by far the finest child of the three; he is handsome, bold, and intelligent, and struts about the house with an air of the most complete independence. We are all busy cultivating potatoes and plucking nutmegs. I hear that the Government of Batavia have declined sending the projected expedition to Palembang this year, and I think they are wise for so doing: the Sultan holds out nobly. The Dutch still complain of me. God knows I have shewn them courtesy enough on this coast, and since the fate of Padang has been decided, I have felt but little interest in any other possession to the northward."

To the same.

"*Bencoolen, July* 14, 1820.

"Since the establishment of the factory of Singapore, I have bid adieu to all political responsibility. My time has been exclusively devoted to the pursuits of natural history, and the immediate interests of Bencoolen, which I am endeavouring to advance with all my might.

"Should Mr. Grant come into the chair, there is still a hope that all may be right. I am not, however, very sanguine, and shall be prepared for whatever ignorance, injustice, or party-spirit may dictate.

"I have lived long enough in the world to appreciate what is valuable in it; and the favour of ministers or courts never appeared to me equal to the conscientious conviction of having done one's duty—even the loss of fortune, honours, or, I might add, health. I have more satisfaction in what I have done since my return to India, than with all my former endeavours; and the more I am opposed, the more my views are thwarted, destroyed, and counteracted, the firmer do I stand in my own opinion; for I am confident that I am right, and that when I appear at home, even those who are most opposed to me will be the first to acknowledge this. They do not, and will not, look at the question in its fair and true light; and such appears to be the spirit of *persecution*, that it would be idle to oppose it at this distance. I shall, therefore, bend with the blast, and endeavour to let the hurricane blow over me; the more violent it becomes, the sooner will it expend itself, and then it will be time for me to raise my head, to shew the injury and devastation which has been spread abroad, and the folly of the course which has been pursued.

"The only mischief in this line of policy is this, that it will force me to become a more public and prominent character than I would wish. My ambition is to end my days in domestic peace and comfort and literary leisure. A busy scene will oppose this, and though I may become a greater man, I perhaps may not become a happier one.

"This brings me to my defence against the charges for which I am arraigned. It is certainly no trifling accusation against a man, to say that he acted against positive orders—that he is impetuous, injudicious, and untrustworthy; and I could fill a volume in refutation of all that has been said against me in this respect. Let us see how the case stands.

"I *never* was instructed to consider my office as purely commercial, so much for my Lord Bathurst's assertion; this is a question of *fact*, and if disputed, the *onus probandi* must remain with his Lordship. It is true, I was first appointed Resident; and afterwards informed, that I was allowed the same rank I had enjoyed in Java, but expressly that it was to occasion no *additional expense to the Company*—this was the only reservation, the only condition. I afterwards received a commission from Government giving me full authority as Lieutenant-Governor to do all acts of government, the words being the same as in the commissions to Penang, Madras, and Bombay, with the single exception of what related to a council being struck out, thereby giving me more power than either of those Governors. For this commission I paid £150, and the Deputy Chairman informed me that it had been drawn out with the advice of a solicitor. No condition whatever was required; but that I should enter into covenants and a bond with an immense security to fulfil them. All these things virtually made me Lieutenant-Governor, with all the powers attached thereto, or they were a fraud, and I have been cheated.

"It seems improbable that grave and experienced persons should practise a

deliberate imposture, such as giving a man a title and withholding from him privately the privilege of which that title implies the possession: one has a difficulty to suppose they would have been so very childish. To me it was an affront to make me a party to such an imposture. To a gentleman the carrying of false colours is surely a most humiliating office, and it is clear that no more invidious trap can be laid for a man than to make him hold himself out as something more than he is. My first feeling was to get this humiliating condition put an end to—to step down from the title of Lieutenant-Governor to that of Resident: the humiliation might have affected the vanity of other men, but the bearing a false title is what affects a man's honour. I actually had made some progress in sending my commission to England, but prudence whispered this might give offence. I therefore retain it until the storm is past, when it will be returned from me with such an appeal as shall demand attention.

"But after all, what has this to do with the question about the Dutch? the commission only makes you Governor of Bencoolen, and as Governor of Bencoolen you can only act within the jurisdiction of Bencoolen. The affairs of Samanka arose out of the affairs of Bencoolen—a boundary was disputed, and whether I was Resident or Governor, I must have pursued the same course. Nearly similar was the case with Padang, and as for Palembang, it was a case of emergency in which the British faith and honour were concerned; and I interfered and protested not as *British* agent, as it is said, but as the nearest British authority to the scene of action. Had I been Resident, it would have been the same, and you will find my protest signed as Lieutenant-Governor.

"Now to the third point. Was I not in fact British agent over the whole of the Archipelago—my commission as Lieutenant-Governor only applied to Bencoolen; but I had separate instructions from the Court 'to watch the motions of foreign nations and particularly the *Dutch* in the Archipelago generally, and to write to the Court and the secret committee.' However vague these orders might be, they conveyed to me an authority to inquire into the state of the further East; they required of me to busy myself in political inquiries. How was I to gain the information required, but through the means of agents? and as this duty was altogether distinct from, and gave me a jurisdiction *far beyond the limits* of the authority of Bencoolen, what was I but an agent—a *political agent* to all intents and purposes? As such I certainly considered myself; but it will, I fancy, puzzle my enemies to find any act or deed in which I so designate myself—this I carefully avoided, and to all papers I signed my name as Lieutenant-Governor. In fact, I never did assume the title of British agent for the Archipelago, though I undoubtedly did, and do act as such, as these orders have never been repealed.

"These are points of fact which will form prominent items in my defence; in which I propose to take a review of the whole course of measures, commencing from

my appointment as agent to the Governor General, Lord Minto, in 1810, down to the present time. The longer I delay it, the more complete it will be, and it will, perhaps, in the end form a tolerably sized volume. I fear that the points are so strong, that, at the present moment, it might perhaps excite angry feelings; and without my personal presence it might not have all its effect. I have informed the Supreme Government that I mean to appeal, in justice to my own character, and that of the East India Company whom I serve.

" After all, it is not impossible the ministry may be weak enough to abandon Singapore, and to sacrifice me, honour, and the Eastern Archipelago, to the outrageous pretensions of the Dutch. In this case, I may be recalled sooner than I expect, perhaps immediately. This I am aware of, but I should be best contented with things remaining *even as they are* for two or three years to come; I should then be better prepared for the contest; for a contest it must come to, sooner or later, and the longer the adjustment of our differences with the Dutch, on a *broad* and *just* footing, is delayed, the better must it be for our interests.

" I shall not fail to look forward, and to be prepared for this contest, come when it will; and if I cannot carry my plans here, they must prevail in England eventually.

" So much for politics and the Dutch. I shall now turn to more pleasing, and, at the same time, more safe subjects for discussion—what I am doing at Bencoolen, and the state of our domestic circle.

" In all your letters, you do not ask a question about Bencoolen. Is it because it is too insignificant? Here, at any rate, I am supported and upheld by the Bengal Government; they have hitherto approved, unconditionally, of all my arrangements, and they have not been trifling. I have had to upset every thing, and have had every possible difficulty to oppose in surmounting the prejudices and abolishing the corruptions of a hundred years' standing. The place is at last thriving, the remedy applied has been efficient, the turn has been taken, and a few years' perseverance will make this a new and prosperous country—great it can never be. I must, however, be prepared for an attack on the score of expense. The charges of the settlement have, I fear, rather been increased than otherwise, and this, with many, will tell against it; but it ought to be considered that we have abolished all revenues, consequently have no receipts to meet the charge—this was ordered by the Bengal Government—and that at the present moment we have a double establishment, civil and military. All changes and reforms are, besides, expensive; and although all my plans lead to real and practical economy, some liberality in effecting them is indispensible in the nature of things. I am endeavouring to cultivate the soil, and to civilize the people; and, I am happy to say, that some progress is making in both, notwithstanding the stubbornness with which both have been charged. It is a poor

place, and much can never be made of it; but as it now nearly comprises my whole jurisdiction, and to act well our part, as far as our means extend, is all that is required, I do not deem its improvement unworthy my attention. It has become a beautiful place; the spice gardens are rapidly increasing; and, as a place of retirement, I hardly know one which I would prefer to it. It is now my place of confinement; and as it is far superior to St. Helena, I ought not to complain. The Dutch wish me to be confined at Engano.

"Sophia and my dear children enjoy excellent health and spirits. We are now spending a few weeks in the midst of groves of nutmegs, cloves, and mangosteens."

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To the Rev. Dr. Raffles.

"*Bencoolen, July 17th,* 1820.

"My Dear Cousin,

"I have now before me your letters of the 18th December, delivered to me by Messrs. Burton and Evans, who arrived here early in last month, and are both likely to do well for themselves and the good cause in which they are embarked. I like them much, and they seem disposed to meet all my wishes. If any thing, they are rather above than below the standard I would have fixed; and I am fearful they are hardly prepared for the difficulties and privations of a missionary life in such a barbarous country as this; they do not, however, appear to want zeal; they are scholars and gentlemen; and their wives are well calculated to aid their endeavours. Mr. Evans and his wife remain at Bencoolen, where they purpose opening a school on the 15th of next month. I have assisted them by placing the children of our free school under their superintendence, and advancing them funds to commence the undertaking. Mr. Burton proposes fixing himself at Tappanooly or Natal, in the northern part of Sumatra, with a view to the conversion of the Battas and people of Pulo Nias. The field for his exertions is new and interesting, and I hope he will have energy and courage enough to explore it. The world knows so little of these people, and their habits and customs are so peculiar, that all the information which he collects will be useful. You are of course aware that they are cannibals. The population of the Batta country does not fall short of a million; and throughout the country it is the invariable law not only that prisoners taken in war should be eaten, but that capital punishment should also be inflicted by *eating the prisoners alive* for the five great crimes. You may rely on the fact, and that *eating alive* is as common with them as hanging in England. I have lately passed some part of my time in this part of the country, and can vouch for the correctness of what I state. The Island of Nias lies off the coast of Sumatra, nearly opposite Natal, and contains a population of above a hundred thousand souls: they have no

religion whatever, and I am convinced that an active government and a zealous missionary may do wonders among them.

" Of our progress at Bencoolen I can now speak with more confidence than when I last wrote to you. The native school has fully answered my expectation, and upwards of seventy children distinguished themselves at the last annual examination. I am now extending the plan so as to include a school of industry, in which the children will be instructed in the useful arts. The arrival of the missionaries is most fortunate, and I hope they will in time complete what we have so successfully begun—the progress, however, must necessarily be slow.

" I have lately made a very long stride towards the general civilization of the country, by the establishment of a property in the land, and the introduction of order and regulation on the principles of a fixed and steady government. You would I am sure be gratified with the details had I time to send them, but my health has not been very good for some weeks, and I dare not write much. Hereafter you shall have all the particulars, and it is not improbable some of them will find their way to the press. My attention is chiefly directed to agriculture, and I am endeavouring to improve the grain produce of the country. This is the basis of all national prosperity, and in countries like Sumatra constitutes and comprises all that is important. We have an agricultural Society, of which I am President, in which we discuss, without restraint or reserve, all questions concerning the produce of the land and the condition of society. The latter is most peculiar, and not to be explained in few words. You have probably read Bowditch's Mission to Ashantee, I think I could give you a picture as striking, novel, and interesting; but this must be reserved for a future period.

" My settlement (Singapore) continues to thrive most wonderfully; it is all and every thing I could wish, and if no untimely fate awaits it, promises to become the emporium and the pride of the East. I learn with much regret the prejudice and malignity by which I am attacked at home, for the desperate struggle I have maintained against the Dutch. Instead of being supported by my own Government, I find them deserting me, and giving way in every instance to the unscrupulous and enormous assertions of the Dutch. All however is safe so far, and if matters are only allowed to remain as they are all will go well. The great blow has been struck, and though I may personally suffer in the scuffle the nation must be benefited—and I should not be surprised were the ministers to recall me, though I should on many accounts regret it at the present moment.

" Were the value of Singapore properly appreciated, I am confident that all England would be in its favour; it positively takes nothing from the Dutch and is to us every thing; it gives us the command of China and Japan, with Siam and Cambodia, Cochin China, &c. to say nothing of the Islands themselves. What you observe with regard to British cottons through this port to China is a most import-

ant question—the affair is perfectly practicable and nothing more easy. I had framed a plan and am still bent upon the object, but until I know from England how I am to be supported in what I have so far done, it would be premature to suggest any speculation—confirm Singapore, and establish my authority in the Archipelago on the principle I have suggested, and it will not be long before there is abundant demand for this description of our manufactures at least. Upwards of ten thousand tons of raw cotton are annually sent to China from our territories in India—why should we send our raw produce to encourage the industry of a foreign nation, at the expense of our own manufactures? If India cannot manufacture sufficiently cheap, England can; and it is idle to talk of the cheapness of our goods unless we can bring them into fair competition. I see no reason why China may not be, in a great measure, clothed from England—no people study cheapness so much; and if we can undersell them we have only to find the way of introducing the article. The monopoly of the East India Company in England, and of the Hong merchants in China, precludes the idea of any thing like fair competition in our own ships, or at the port of Canton—not but the East India Company can and perhaps will assist as far as in them lies; but their ships are too expensive—the articles would also pass through the Hong merchants before they reached the general trade and commerce; and their intermediate profits would form another barrier.

"At Singapore, however, every object may be obtained. Let the commercial interests for the present drop every idea of a direct trade to China, and let them concentrate their influence in supporting Singapore, and they will do ten times better. As a free port, it is as much to them as the possession of Macao; and it is here their voyages should finish. The Chinese themselves coming to Singapore and purchasing, they have the means of importing into the different ports of Canton, without the restraints and peculations of the Hong merchants. Many of the Chinese viceroys are themselves engaged clandestinely in extensive trade; and Singapore may, as a free port, thus become the connecting link and grand entrepôt between Europe, Asia, and China; it is, in fact, fast becoming so. Vessels come from China to Singapore in five days. All will, however, depend on its remaining under good government, and the port being regulated on the principles I have laid down; what these are, you may learn from * * * * *, who is fully apprised of all my views and plans. These once confirmed from home, I shall lose no time in forwarding musters of the cloths required, and the most detailed information as to the extent and nature of the speculation.

"You ask again respecting the Brata Yudha, and I must return you the same answer as before. I have as little to do with Java now as you have; and were I to communicate with any one on that Island, it would be considered as treason: such is the hatred or dread which the present rulers of that country feel towards me.

"God knows they treat me unjustly; for although I have disputed and opposed

their enormous designs in the Archipelago generally, I have never interfered with Java, or any of their lawful possessions; but their fears magnify the danger."

* * * * *

"Believe me, &c."

To ————————.

"*Bencoolen, July 26th*, 1820.

"I have just received from Bengal some of your letters, down to the 23d of January; this last informs me of the appointment of a deputation from Holland, and a committee from the Court, to discuss all points respecting the Eastern Islands. This is as it should be, and augurs well: it looks as if, at last, the subject were about to be taken up seriously and comprehensively. I feel that I have done all and every thing in my power to enable the authorities at home to act with justice, advantage, and decision.

"From Bengal my accounts, as late as June, are favourable. At Bencoolen I have not been inactive; all my energies are now centred in this little spot, and I am improving it rapidly; much can never be made of it, but it may, and ought to be better. Agriculture is what I most attend to, and no stone is left unturned to advance it.

"Sophia and my dear children are all well and happy."

To Mr. Thomas Murdoch.

"*Bencoolen, July 22*, 1820.

"My Dear Sir,

"I have been so bad a correspondent, that I fear it is too late to make apologies for my silence: the truth is, so few opportunities offer of writing direct to Europe, and so many urgent calls always press on my time at the moment of a despatch, that I am too apt to defer, *sine die*, what may be put off till the morrow.

"You will, I am sure, be happy to hear that we continue in excellent health, and as yet unaffected by climate, and other drawbacks. Lady Raffles looks better at present than I ever knew her, and my *three* children are every thing that the fondest parent could wish. Charlotte and Leopold (your god-son) are both running about, and are as blessed in intelligence as disposition. Charlotte is all mildness, *Leo* all boldness; the youngest, who is usually called Marco Polo, after his god-father, Marsden, bids fair to follow in the same steps; and we are as happy a family as you can well conceive. One of Lady Raffles' brothers, from the Bengal army, is now with us on a visit, and we are daily expecting another to remain with us permanently. My sister and her little boy also form part of our family at present.

"Having, by the establishment of Singapore, done all that rested with me for

the protection of our interests in the Archipelago, I have long given over all discussions with the Dutch authorities, and have now been for several months enjoying the quiet of home; so comfortable, indeed, have we managed to make ourselves, that we shall feel regret whenever the day comes that we are to leave Bencoolen, whether for better or worse. I know not how it is, but I have latterly become so much attached to the place, that it is daily becoming more interesting. The changes which I have been able to work have been so satisfactory, and the attachment of the people is so great, that I have determined to make a strong effort for the improvement of the place. My early measures will, I fear, have hardly met the approval of our friend Marsden, as the principles on which I proceeded were different to those supported by him in his history; but, I think, were he to see the different face which the country has since put on, that he would be more inclined to admit their propriety. He reasons upon the state of the country before the destructive effects which have followed since the abolition of the Government; I put the state of things as I found them. However bad in principle the old system may have been, I am ready to admit that its effects were good, when contrasted with those which ensued from the introduction of what is generally considered to have been a more pure system. The fact is, the country has gone rapidly to ruin ever since it has been under the Bengal Government, and that from the most obvious causes of misgovernment and neglect; the affection of the people has been alienated, and the contempt with which they have been treated has produced its natural effects. I have had the task of restoring confidence, and recovering the country from a state of wilderness and disorder into which it had run, to one of agricultural industry and subordination; the task has been difficult, and in some respects hazardous; but I have, at all events, carried the hearts of the people along with me, and, in directing their energies into proper channels, I find enough to occupy and amuse me. I have assumed a new character among them, that of lord paramount: the Chiefs are my barons bold, and the people their vassals. Under this constitution, and by the establishment of a right of property in the soil, I am enabled to do wonders, and if time is only given to persevere in the same course for a few years, I think I shall be able to lay the foundation of a new order of things on a basis that shall not easily be shaken. My attention is, at present, principally directed to agriculture: an agricultural society has been established, of which I am President, in which we discuss, without reserve, all questions which relate to the produce of the soil and the people who cultivate it. Agriculture is every where the only solid basis of national prosperity; and in countries like Sumatra, it constitutes and comprises nearly all that is valuable and interesting.

"We are very anxiously awaiting the decision of the higher powers on the numerous questions referred to them. It appears to me impossible that Singapore should be given up, and yet the indecisive manner in which the ministers express themselves, and the unjust and harsh terms they use towards me, render it doubtful

what course they will adopt. If they do not appoint me to Penang, it is probable that they will confine me to Bencoolen as a place of punishment—banishment it certainly is: but if even here they will leave me alone, I will make a paradise for myself.

" Bencoolen is certainly the very worst selection that could have been made for a settlement; it is completely shut out of doors; the soil is, comparatively with the other Malay countries, inferior, the population scanty; neighbourhood, or passing trade, it has none; and, further, it wants a harbour, to say nothing of its long reputed unhealthiness, and the miserable state of ruin into which it has latterly been allowed to run. Against all these drawbacks I yet think something can be done, and I am attempting it; the greater the difficulties to be encountered, and the greater the exertion required, the greater is the satisfaction to be obtained. I have never yet found any which repressed my energies; on the contrary, they have always increased in proportion to the occasion.

" I have found in the Sumatrans a very different people to the inhabitants of Java: they are, perhaps, a thousand years behind them in civilization, and, consequently, require a very different kind of government. In Java I advocated the doctrine of the liberty of the subject, and the individual rights of man—here I am the advocate for despotism. The strong arm of power is necessary to bring men together, and to concentrate them in societies, and there is a certain stage in which despotic authority seems the only means of promoting civilization. Sumatra is, in a great measure, peopled by innumerable petty tribes, subject to no general government, having little or no intercourse with each other, and man still remains inactive, sullen, and partaking of the gloom which pervades the forests by which he is surrounded. No European power seems to think it worth its while to subdue the country by conquest, the shortest and best way of civilizing it, and, therefore, all that can be done is, to raise the importance of the Chiefs, and to assist in promoting the advance of feudal authority; this once established, and government being once firmly introduced, let the people be enlightened, and the energies which will be then called forth in regaining a portion of their liberties, will be the best pledge of their future character as a nation. At present the people are as wandering in their habits as the birds of the air, and until they are congregated and organized under something like authority, nothing can be done with them. I have, fortunately, become very popular among them; all classes seem persuaded that I want to *make* a *country*, and there is nothing which I wish or suggest which they are not anxious to do; they have already submitted to alterations and innovations which, in former times, it would have been dangerous to mention, and if ever any thing is to be made of them, this is the time for the effort—the opportunity neglected will never recur.

" I fear I have troubled you with a very dull discussion on a very uninteresting

subject, but I am anxious to prove to you that, however limited my field of action, I still contrive to find something within it worthy of my attention. Bencoolen will never become a place of great commercial or political importance, but it is the place where, at present, I can be most practically useful, and instead of repining and resenting the slights and injuries of the higher powers, I shall, for the next few years, content myself, if fixed here, with leaving a garden where I have found a wilderness.

" Lady Raffles unites with me in kindest regards to Mrs. Murdoch, and all the members of your family. I need not tell you of the esteem in which we hold you, and how often we anticipate the pleasure of once more meeting under the same roof, and in that same country where, spite of all its faults, the best of enjoyments are to be found.

" Politically, I have done all that could be expected from me in this country. If the authorities at home still demur, and are not only opposed to my plans but to my personal interests, it is clear that I can do no good to the cause here. I am at present bound and chained to Bencoolen, almost as closely as Napoleon is to Saint Helena.

* * * * * *

" I have now the satisfaction to state that Bencoolen and Singapore together, are not as expensive as Bencoolen was before the change."

To the Duke of Somerset.

" *Bencoolen, August* 20, 1820.

" The best excuse I can offer for having allowed your letters to remain so long without acknowledgment, is that I have had nothing to communicate in reply, to justify the intrusion on your time and notice, and I have been ashamed to dwell on the never-failing subject of self, after troubling the Duchess with so many uninteresting details on this particular.

* * * * *

" In the present alarming and important crisis, I fear the public attention will be too much occupied with affairs nearer home, to trouble itself much with what is going on in this part of the world; and yet I cannot help thinking that more extensive views, and a more enlarged policy with regard to the colonies, particularly in the East, would tend greatly to remove some of the burdens by which England seems to be at present overwhelmed.

" I am at present awaiting with much anxiety the result of the deliberations at home regarding the Eastern Islands. By the last accounts, commissioners had been appointed to adjust the differences with the Dutch Government, and a few months must decide whether we succumb to the daring and unqualified pretensions of our rivals, and hide our diminished heads, or still preserve our footing in the Islands.

" It is not necessary for me to detail to your Grace the dangers to which our commerce was exposed, or the disabilities under which it laboured previously to the occupation of Singapore. The Dutch, by reviving the principle on which their establishments in the East were originally founded, and acting upon the same with the increased power and means which their improved condition and rank among the nations of Europe gave them, had nearly succeeded in bringing under their control every native state within the Archipelago, and in excluding the British Indian trader from every port eastward of the Straits of Malacca and Sunda, while they secured to themselves the commerce of those important passes, through which the trade to and from China must necessarily be carried on. It is not a little remarkable, that the establishment of this system of exclusion on the part of the Dutch was much facilitated by the improved local resources of the colonies actually restored to them; and that it is to our having conquered and occupied Java, that they are mainly indebted for the means of obstructing and destroying our commerce, for had not that event taken place, they would not have had the pretext or the means of establishing anew an empire and system so diametrically opposed to our commercial interests, and which the policy of our Government, and the enterprize of our merchants, had so successfully combated and destroyed in the preceding century.

" The commerce, therefore, for which I have been *again* contending, and which I have endeavoured to secure by the occupation of Singapore, is no less important to us than it is our legitimate right. Within its narrowest limits, it embraces a fair participation in the general trade of the Archipelago and Siam, and in a more extensive view, is intimately connected with that of China and Japan. We should not forget that it was to the Eastern Islands that the attention of Europeans was first directed, and that it was in these seas the contest for the commerce of the East was carried on and decided—that it was this trade which contributed to the power and splendour of Portugal, and at a later date raised Holland from insignificance and obscurity to power and rank among the nations of Europe.

" The occupation of Singapore involves an expense of about £20,000 per annum, which sum covers all the expense of its establishment—and if permanently retained, this amount will of course be paid out of a local revenue. So that the possession of this important station cannot be considered as adding one fraction to our pecuniary burdens, while it secures to us all the objects, both political and commercial, which we can require in these seas.

" Notwithstanding the uncertainty which must prevail pending the decision of the higher powers in Europe, and the circumstances of its being still held solely on my personal responsibility, against all the efforts of our own government as well as that of the Dutch, the settlement has advanced in the most rapid manner. From an insignificant fishing village, the port is now surrounded by an extensive town, and the population does not fall short of ten or twelve thousand souls, principally

Chinese. The number is daily increasing, and the trade of the place has already induced the establishment of several mercantile houses of respectability.

" Should the decision from home prove favourable, I hope to proceed there in the course of next year, for the purpose of establishing such municipal and port regulations as may provide for the increasing population and trade. Should it be otherwise, I shall probably remain quietly at Bencoolen, where I am not without employment, and where, though the field will be less extensive, and the immediate object somewhat different, there is much to be done. Bencoolen being in a great measure shut out from the general trade of the Eastern Islands, and having no trade of its own, the first and main point to be attended to is its agriculture; and I am now busily engaged in clearing forests, draining morasses, and cultivating the soil.

" I hope the present year the grain produce will be increased at least two-fold, and go on in a geometrical proportion for many years to come, until we become an exporting rather than an importing country. Every man is obliged to cultivate sufficient grain for his own subsistence, either with his own hands or his proper funds, and I have already had the satisfaction of seeing a large portion of the people turn from habits of idleness to those of industry and activity. By establishing a right of property in the soil, and giving the preference to the actual cultivator, an extraordinary competition has been excited, and my time is now engaged for many hours in the day, in settling boundaries and claims to land, which a year ago may be said to have been without owner or claimant.

" But it is not to the grain cultivation alone that I am directing my attention; I am attempting to introduce the cultivation and manufacture of sugar on the same principle as in the West Indies, and to extend the coffee, pepper, and other plantations.

" I find that a sugar-work may be established here at less than one-sixth of the expense which must be incurred at Jamaica; that our soil is superior, our climate better, and, as we are neither troubled with hurricanes nor yellow fever, that our advantages are almost beyond comparison greater. For instance, in an estate calculated to afford two hundred or two hundred and fifty tons of sugar annually, the land alone would cost eight thousand or ten thousand pounds in Jamaica, while here it may be had for nothing. The negroes would there cost ten or twelve thousand pounds more, while here labourers may be obtained on contract, or by the month, with a very moderate advance, at wages not higher than necessary for their subsistence. The other expenses of a West India plantation are estimated at ten thousand pounds more; so that before any return can be received, an outlay of at least thirty thousand pounds must be made. Here about five thousand pounds may be considered to cover every expense, including thirteen hundred pounds for machinery from England, and every outlay before the sugar is made. A gentleman has come over from Jamaica, and is establishing a very extensive plantation. He is

now engaged in planting the cane, and, in about a year hence, he will commence his sugar. Water-mills, &c. have been applied for from Liverpool, and if the undertaking should turn out favourably, as I have no doubt it will, I trust it will not be long before his example is generally followed. Coffee and other tropical productions may of course be cultivated here with equal advantages; and, considering the present state of capital and labour in England, I cannot help regretting that the public attention is not turned to the advantages which might result from colonizing this part of Sumatra. Our advantages over the West Indies are not only in soil, climate, and labour, but also in constant markets. The West Indies always look to the European market, and that alone: here we have the India and China markets, besides an extensive local demand. The only thing against us is the freight, which is of course somewhat higher, on account of the greater distance; but if from the West Indies the planter could afford to send his sugar home at ten pounds per ton, war-freight, he may surely pay five pounds per ton, peace-freight, which is the present rate. In consequence of the advantages of this Island being unknown, many British subjects have established sugar and coffee plantations in Java, and are, in consequence, now enriching a foreign colony by their labour and capital, while we are suffering from the want of both.

" The present regulations of the East India Company are adverse to colonization; but under the existing circumstances of the country, I should think that body would not oppose any feasible plan which could be devised for affording relief. The Eastern Islands are so differently circumstanced to the continent of India, that the principle which is considered to apply against colonization in the latter, does not hold good in the former. It is here by colonization, by European talents and Chinese labour alone, that the resources of the country can be brought forward, whereas in India the country is for the most part cultivated to the highest pitch, and occupied by an industrious race of inhabitants.

" I much fear the expectations of advantageous colonization at the Cape will be disappointed. It is sending poverty to feed on poverty; and the most that can be expected by the settlers, after a life of toil and misery, is a bare subsistence. The climate, it is true, is more congenial to an European constitution, but this is all; in every other respect we have the advantage not only over the Cape, but over the West Indies, America, New Holland, or any other place that could be named—Java always excepted. The climate is certainly warm and unfavourable to Europeans, but I believe I may safely affirm, that it is the most pleasant, if not the most healthy within the tropics. In the mountainous districts the heat is by no means great, and I have already established a regular supply of potatoes, which are extensively cultivated in the interior district, and which previous to our arrival were always imported. Wheat also grows, and Indian corn may be cultivated with great advantage: our cattle may

easily be increased, and the breed improved; and water-carriage is to be found in almost every direction, in the numerous rivers which descend from the central mountains to the sea.

" The principle, however, on which colonists settle here must be very different to what it appears to be at the Cape; here nothing can be done without capital, every thing with it. Capitalists in England must either send out their relatives, or lend their money on mortgage to some active and intelligent planter. Any young man of steady habits and common sense, whose father cannot obtain employment for him at home, but who can advance him from four to five thousand pounds, may thus establish himself, and create an estate of three or four thousand pounds a year for his descendants. These principals in the concern would require under-surveyors, coopers, distillers, writers, &c., and each estate would give employment to several Europeans. The Chinese and natives would be the manual labourers, as the negroes are in the West Indies.

" Politically, the colonization of that part of Sumatra which belongs to the British Government would be very important, as it would enable us to make a stand against the Dutch encroachments. They are colonizing Java very fast; and, notwithstanding our power on the continent of India, they might easily overrun and occupy, to our exclusion, every possession between the Straits of Sunda and China.

" I have to apologize to your Grace for these hasty remarks, but they are drawn forth by the regret that the forty thousand paupers sent to the Cape had not, on a different principle and more enlightened plan, found their way here, where, independent of the advantages I have already pointed out, they might have assisted in extending our spice gardens, and dragging the golden ore from our mines.

" Whatever may be done towards paying off the national debt, or reducing the interest, we must still have recourse to extensive emigration, and the sooner we open our colonies to the settler the better. If we delay too long, much of the capital and industry will have found their way into foreign countries, and, by assisting our rivals, check our own speculations.

" The West India merchants and proprietors might at one time have inveighed against colonization in the East, and I know they were decidedly opposed to the retention of Java on this account: but the progress in Sumatra will be slow, and the abolition of the slave trade has so effectually destroyed their prospects, that they must necessarily retrograde, so that their opposition will be of less weight. At all events, what is done in Sumatra will take nothing from them direct; and, as far as I can judge, they would find it more to their advantage to embark themselves and their machinery, and change their residence to the East. The superior advantages there would soon repay the expenses of transport."

To W. Marsden, Esq.

" *Bencoolen, August 27th,* 1820.

" We are now thinking of delaying the publication of the plants until a more general view of the natural history of these Islands can be taken, and we think they might form an advantageous appendix to a work which we purpose to entitle ' An Introduction to the Natural History of the Eastern Islands ; ' the frame-work of which has been completed, but which will require perhaps a year or two for the details.

" I have just been closing a large consignment of subjects in spirits and skeletons.

" You will have learned that the cassowary is not a native of Java ; it is not found west of the Moluccas, and in them I believe is confined exclusively to one of the large Islands, either Halhambipa or Ceram, I forget which.

" I have written to you so fully lately, that I am not aware that I have any thing of moment left to communicate, except the discovery of the lake in the Lampung country, at the back of Croee, which has been visited and examined in the last four months. The length of the lake is about twelve miles, the breadth eight ; the population is thin upon its banks, and but few boats. None of these carry sails : the people have a superstitious aversion to hoisting them, under an apprehension that the sails will invite the wind, upset the boat, or in other words, that they will raise the devil by it.

" I have made a sketch of the shape and position of this lake, and have sent another party with compasses, &c. to correct our former observations, and also to collect minerals in its vicinity, and the best information attainable of the country beyond it.

" I have had an opportunity of examining the third lake, namely, that of Korintki.

" The only important lake not yet ascertained is that of Toba, in the Batta country. The moment I can well leave Marlborough, I purpose making an incursion into the Batta country to ascertain this and many other interesting points, and if I am not eaten on the journey I have no doubt the results will repay the labour. I am at present confined to Marlborough, on account of the positive orders of the Court of Directors, who would seem inclined to limit my perambulations as much as possible, lest they should excite the jealousy of our friendly allies the Dutch : but for this, you should long before this time have had an account of the sources of most of the principal rivers. I do not think the source of the Siak river can be correctly laid down, and with respect to the Tulang Bawang river I am still more puzzled, and am much in want of scientific and even practical assistance.

" I have applied to the Bengal government respecting the want of surveys on

this coast above Tappanooly, and I hope that authority will be inclined to attend to the subject. In the mean time I am collecting all the information I can.

" I am at present deeply engaged in the details of Bencoolen, taking statistical accounts of our population, &c. I propose printing them, as the only means of securing the safety of the record, and turning the public attention of the place to the further prosecution of similar inquiries hereafter. They will furnish excellent data a hundred years hence to judge of the advance or decline of the place. Our first agricultural report is finished, and I think you will not only admit the facts but concur in the reasoning.

" Lady Raffles and the children continue to enjoy excellent health. She desires to be most kindly remembered to Mrs. Marsden. I am obliged to insist on her avoiding writing. Your godson is now three months old, and does credit to Bencoolen.

" I fear I shall have often been very tedious in my repetitions; the fact is, that I have always so much public business in hand on the departure of a ship, and the notice is generally so short, that I have no time to write a connected letter, or keep copies of what I do write.

" The population of the Batta country far surpasses my expectation; it can hardly be less than a million and a half.

" The progress of the Padries, as they are called, has been surprising, and the countries they have ravaged will excite your astonishment. I am collecting details for a full account of their progress.

" The population of the town of Marlborough, including Old Bencoolen and Tengha Padang, is nearly 10,000 souls; more than one-half more than I was led to expect, when first I arrived here; and there may be 5000 more in the Duablas and Selapan districts, and the same in Soongy Lamou. The quantity of rice yet cultivated bears a very small proportion to the consumption. I have imported paddy and other seed from Java, and I trust a few years will make a change in the face of the country. I have induced a private individual to re-establish the sugar-works at Benterin, and I am in hopes my labours will not be thrown away.

" The spice plantations have done wonders.

" The statistical returns confirm your opinion of the infecundity of the people, as they shew an uncommon dearth of children; but they, at the same time, attest the healthiness of the country by the very small number of deaths.

" I have not been very well lately, and am rather apprehensive I am not doomed to last much longer in a tropical climate. Unless, therefore, the public authorities at home turn a more favourable eye towards me, I shall think of returning at the close of my five years."

To ———.

" *August* 28, 1820.

" The total population here being 15,000, and the total quantity of rice raised in the year only two months' consumption, you are already informed of the measures in progress for extending the rice-cultivation. Every man must now have his sawah, and I make a point to set a good example, by raising fully sufficient for all my personal establishment.

" The statistical returns have been taken with great accuracy; every village has been visited, &c.

" Out of the number of 100,000 nutmeg-trees, one-fourth are in full bearing; and although their culture may be more expensive, their luxuriance and produce are considered fully equal to those of the Moluccas. Captain Mackenzie, my second assistant, having been seven years Resident in the Moluccas, we are able to form a very fair comparative estimate. As you may wish to know the sort of arguments which I use in inducing an agricultural spirit, I shall conclude this letter with the concluding part of my address on the establishment of an agricultural society.

" ' The first point for consideration is the limits we should prescribe to ourselves for future operations; on this I would recommend that we should on no account extend them beyond the immediate vicinity of Bencoolen, or beyond the reach of our personal observation. However ill-judged may have been the selection of Bencoolen for our principal settlement, let us recollect that it is the place where we can be most practically useful, and that the greater the difficulties, the greater will be the merit of overcoming them.

" ' The spice cultivation has been established against almost every possible obstacle. This will be sufficient to prove what can be done by the zeal and perseverance of a few individuals, and should encourage your future exertions.

" ' I think there is much to condemn in the choice you have made of the soil, and in the mode of manuring; but I trust your intelligence, when concentrated by the means of this society, will lead to the correction of these errors, and render the returns of the gardens more commensurate with the zeal and industry bestowed upon them. I cannot help thinking that, had you selected an alluvial soil instead of the barren and unproductive hills on which your plantations now stand, you would have saved yourself much unnecessary expense and labour, and succeeded more effectually in spreading the plants over the country.

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" ' The recent orders of government will go far towards the improvement of your plantations, by directing your attention to the necessity of supplying your people and cattle with food, and I should hope it would not be long before each plantation has its farm, and raises its supplies within itself.

"'I am more anxious however to impress on your minds the greater importance of the grain cultivation of the country, as generally carried on by the native inhabitants. It is on this that every thing must depend, for until a sufficient quantity of rice is raised for the consumption of the country, it would be wild to talk of prosperity. All our efforts must be directed to the attainment of this one great object, and this once attained, all others will I trust follow easily. We must quit the high lands, and abandon the forest cultivation. We must descend into the plain, and form sawahs or irrigated rice-fields. We must assist the population by our superior intelligence, and endeavour to prove to them their true interests. We must make ourselves more intimately acquainted with their character and feelings, rouse them to exertion, and point out the means by which their happiness and prosperity may be best augmented. We must go hand-in-hand with government in the introduction of order and regulation, as far as our influence extends, and finally determine on success, and persevere in our exertions until we attain it.

"'I recommend you to abandon all former opinions on the incorrigible laziness of the people and unproductiveness of the soil, and to allow time for the complete operation of the change of system which has taken place, before you form a judgment on these important points.'

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"One word more before I say farewell. That you may not misunderstand me as to my opinion with regard to the changes which have taken place since the reduction of the establishment in 1801, and the good old system which previously prevailed, the following extracts from our first agricultural report will be the best elucidation of my sentiments on the subject; and I think we shall in the end come to pretty nearly the same point, though we may have gone a different way about.

"'There appears little doubt that the population in the neighbourhood has greatly decreased, and that the country was once in a more flourishing condition. The diminution of the population has been estimated by some at fully one-half: the extensive tracts of now abandoned lands to be seen in various places, particularly in the neighbourhood of the Sellibar River, attest the fact of the deterioration. This unfavourable alteration is unanimously dated from the period of the change of government and system in 1801; and it deserves inquiry, how the introduction of an administration acknowledgedly purer and more enlightened, operated to produce this effect. It will be particularly interesting at the present moment, in order that by observing the errors of the past we may learn how to avoid the same dangers for the future * * * * * * *

"'Previously to that time affairs were conducted by a Governor and Council, who were in fact the chief managers of a great mercantile concern, and held in their hands the whole trade of the country. Being merchants on private account as well as agents of the Company, their own interests were intimately connected with its

prosperity; and though they exercised the monopoly, and required the services of the people in the cultivation of the pepper, they could not but see their own advantage in promoting their industry. In supplying them with every article of import a mutual intercourse of good offices took place, and a close connexion was maintained between the Government and the people. An order then existed that every individual should sow not less than five bamboos of rice, and that article was consequently but little imported from abroad. Foreign settlers, both Chinese and European, were encouraged and protected. Sixty Germans were at one time sent from Europe, and settled in the neighbourhood of Bencoolen. Sugar was extensively cultivated, and a considerable trade centred in the port. A commercial government might not in principle have been a very pure one, or very conducive to the ultimate interests of the people, but the mutual dependence on each other engendered a kind of parental consideration on the one hand, and respect on the other, that gave it somewhat of an amiable character. The connection which subsisted between them bore some resemblance to that which prevailed in the times of feudalism. Whatever was the distance between the vassal and his lord, whatever might be the poverty of the former, and the arbitrary disposition of the latter, there was a species of mutual dependence, a reciprocity of services, that softened its darker features, and almost atoned for its evil.'

" This, you will admit, is saying enough on one side of the question; now for the other.

" ' From the period above mentioned, when Bencoolen became a dependency on Bengal, these men were succeeded by others, who had acquired their ideas of native character among a very different race of people; and who, considering this as a temporary residence, and entering into no commercial speculations, had little inducement to become acquainted with the language and people, and but little sympathy with their local interests. Many of the subsequent measures have been already noticed.

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" ' The mutual distrust to which these occurrences gave rise, had gone on increasing of late years, and contributed to the further deterioration of the country. Little intercourse was held with the Chiefs, and scarcely any communication with the interior or with the people. Neither Chiefs nor people could place confidence in an authority to which they were, in a great measure, denied access; nor could that authority place confidence in men, with whose character and sentiments it was, from want of communication, necessarily unacquainted. It appears latterly to have been the object of Government to make this settlement dependent in every thing upon Bengal, and to keep as distinct and remote as possible from the natives of the country.

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" ' In reviewing the train of circumstances that have conducted to the present state of the country and people, we are forced to admit there has been much misgovernment; and if we now find the people poor, lazy, avaricious, and intractable, we must pause to consider how much of those vices may not be owing to the circumstances in which they have been placed, and the treatment they have experienced. We have seen, on the one hand, inattention to the character and habits of the people, and an arbitrary tone of proceeding lead to serious and fatal errors; and, on the other, we have seen contracted and partial views, and the bias communicated to the mind by local habits and prejudices, prove still more certainly ruinous and destructive. The one brought destruction on the individual (Mr. Parr), the other brought ruin on the settlement. Temper and address may be requisite to effect improvement with safety and success, but temporizing measures can only perpetuate misery and desolation.

" ' I will not detain you with the catalogue of causes which have contributed, since 1801, to the ruin and declension of the settlement; you know them generally.'

" The following conclusion to the Report will, I doubt not, be satisfactory to you :—

" ' In the view now taken of the condition of this settlement, if the picture of the past and present is not very bright and flattering, it will be admitted that there is nothing discouraging in the prospect before us. Much remains to be done, and success will not be attained without exertion; but of the ultimate result there seems no reason to despair. In the consideration of the past, we think there is sufficient evidence of mismanagement fully to account for the settlement having not only failed to advance, but having actually retrograded. The experience of all ages and times has shown that monopoly and slavery are utterly inconsistent with the prosperity of a country. Under both these evils has Bencoolen laboured. Under the old government there were concomitant circumstances that softened many of the harsher features of the system, and counteracted some of its ruinous tendencies. On the change in 1801, though a considerable reform was effected, enough of the old leaven remained to vitiate and taint the whole. The former fabric was overthrown, but the new one was erected on the same foundations of monopoly and forced services. It was purer, perhaps, in as far as regards the Company; but to the people it brought no benefit whatever, while it took away all that reconciled them to the former government.

* * * * * *

" ' Our interests are inseparably connected with those of the native inhabitants, and there cannot be a greater error than to suppose them distinct or opposed to each other * * * * We therefore look forward with confidence to brighter prospects and to happier times, when industry shall

revive, agriculture flourish, and Bencoolen, no longer a blot in our Indian history, shall rise to more than pristine prosperity.'

" I am afraid, my dear Sir, you will long ere this have been tired with this old and long story; at all events, I hope you will consider it an earnest of my desire to prove to you that I am not inattentive to the real interests of the place entrusted to my immediate charge.

" Lady Raffles and my dear children continue to enjoy excellent health. Marco Polo thrives apace, and is every thing you could wish."

The spice gardens, of which there were now many in the neighbourhood of Bencoolen, added greatly to its interest and beauty; Sir Stamford's residence in the country was twelve miles from the town, and though on first making the attempt to persuade people to live out of the settlement, no servant even could be induced to venture three miles after sunset, at this time (1823) there were various country-houses on the road to Permattam Ballam, (his country-house,) all of them surrounded by plantations. The clove trees as an avenue to a residence are perhaps unrivalled, their noble height, the beauty of their form, the luxuriance of their foliage, and above all the spicy fragrance with which they perfume the air, produce, in driving through a long line of them, a degree of exquisite pleasure only to be enjoyed in the clear light atmosphere of these latitudes.

" *Bencoolen, September 23d*, 1820.

" I am doing more good here and at Singapore, at Nattal Tappanooly, and Nias. I am making a country and a garden out of a wilderness, and I trust I am laying the foundation of the future civilization of Sumatra: the independence of the Eastern commerce I have already established. My letters from Bengal say that all my plans are *lauded* at home, but others are *larded* for them, and that it is feared I must limit my recompense to the gratifying sense of my public services. My friends say, ' Do not, however, allow any penury in your superiors to damp your zeal; for you can at all times shew to whose intelligence we are indebted for the civilization and independence of the Eastern countries.' Are they right?

" My attention is at this moment directed to the Island of Nias, lying off Nattal, a little to the north of Padang: it contains a population of from one to two hundred thousand active, intelligent, and industrious people, and is the granary of this coast. The people are heathens, and in great want of civilization and improvement, and I contemplate a fine field for philanthropic exertions.

" Sophia will write you all domestic news. For myself I do not feel my health so good as it was, and I fear I cannot at the outside remain with any comfort above a year or two longer in India: I therefore think you will see us in 1823 or 1824 at farthest.

To the Duchess of Somerset.

" *Bencoolen, October 9*, 1820.

" We are still remaining very quietly at Bencoolen, and I fear the detail of an agricultural life, which mine is at present, is too monotonous to afford many incidents to interest you at such a distance, were I to attempt any description of my present occupations. After having drawn together all the wild animals of the forests, and collected the rich plants of the mountains, I am now endeavouring to tame the one and cultivate the other, and have undertaken the arduous task of converting a wilderness into a garden. I have established a law, that every man shall sow grain enough for the consumption of himself and family. I am making new roads and water-courses, regulating the police of my villages, abolishing slavery and bond-service, forcing the idle to be industrious and the rogues to be honest. But all this would not be half so interesting in description as a Batta feast, or the discovery of some new and wild race.

* * * * * *

" In my last letter I intimated to your Grace that I am now turning my thoughts homewards; one-half of my period of banishment has certainly passed over, and in 1823, or the beginning of 1824, you will certainly see us. I know of nothing that would induce me to remain longer. My health, I am sorry to say, is not so good as it was. I feel the effects of climate very seriously, and on this account, if I had no other inducement, I should hasten home. In a public point of view, all I wish is, to remain long enough to see my settlement at Singapore firmly established, and lay something like a substantial foundation for the future civilization of Sumatra: two or three years will be sufficient for this, and then I shall have an object at home in endeavouring to uphold and further what will have been so far proceeded on. My great object, the independence of the Eastern Islands, has been attained.

" Lady Raffles and my dear children continue to enjoy excellent health. Leopold is the wonder of all who see him. Charlotte speaks English very distinctly, and finds no difficulty in Malay and Hindostanee, and it is curious to observe how she selects her language to the different natives. To us or her nurse she always speaks English; to a Malay she is fluent in his language, and in an instant begins Hindostanee to a Bengalee: if she is sent with a message, she translates it at once into the language of the servant she meets with. She is only two years and a half old; such is the tact of children for acquiring languages. She always dines with us when we are alone, and the cloth is no sooner removed, than in bounces Master Leopold, singing and laughing, and occupying his place. Mr. Silvio, the *Siamang*, is then introduced, and I am often accused of paying more attention to the

monkey than the children. This last gentleman is so great a favourite, and in such high spirits, that I hope to take him to England with the family, and introduce him to my little friend Anna Maria."

To Mr. Marsden.

"*Bencoolen, October* 9, 1820.

"I have now the pleasure to send you the third paper on our Malayan plants. These are only to be considered notices made at the moment, where we have not the advantage of reference to late publications, or communication with scientific friends. The paper contains an account of the nepenthes, sago, camphor, several new mangifera, many ligna vitæ, the melastomas, &c. You will recognize many of your old friends, particularly the kayu gadis, or virgin tree.

"Under Styphelia you will find an interesting observation respecting Singapore. We have not half gathered the rich harvest which surrounds our settlement, but I think you will give me credit for what has been done. I am now expecting an abundant supply of new matter from Pulo Nias and the northern parts of Sumatra; and I hope, in the course of next year, again to visit Singapore, and pick up something on the Eastern coast in addition to our present botanical stores."

To Thomas Murdoch, Esq.

"*Bencoolen, October* 9, 1820.

"As my letter of July 22d was written at a time when I was very much hurried, I am anxious to correct any hasty expression I may have used, and to explain more fully my reasons for now becoming so strong an advocate for despotic authority. There appear to be certain stages and gradations through which society must run its course to civilization, and which can no more be overleaped or omitted, than men can arrive at maturity without passing through the gradations of infancy and youth. Independence is the characteristic of the savage state; but while men continue disinterested, and with little mutual dependence on each other, they can never become civilized.

"The acquisition of power is necessary to unite them and to organize society, and it would perhaps be difficult to instance a nation which has arisen from barbarism without having been subjected to despotic authority in some shape or other. The most rapid advances have probably been made, when great power has fallen into enlightened and able hands; in such circumstances nations become wealthy and powerful, refinement and knowledge are diffused, and the seeds of internal freedom are sown in due time, to rise and set limits to that power whenever it may engender abuse. Freedom thus founded on knowledge and a consideration of reciprocal rights, is the only species that deserves the name, and it would be folly to conceive

the careless independence of the savage as deserving of equal respect. In order to render an uncivilized people capable of enjoying true liberty, they must first feel the weight of authority, and must become acquainted with the mutual relations of society.

" Whether the power to which they bow be the despotism of force, or the despotism of superior intellect, it is a step in their progress which cannot be passed over. Knowledge is power, and in the intercourse between enlightened and ignorant nations, the former must and will be the rulers. Instead, therefore, out of an affected respect for the customs of savages, of abstaining from all interference, and endeavouring to perpetuate the institutions of barbarism, ought it not rather to be our study to direct to the advancement and improvement of the people, that power and influence with which our situation and character necessarily invests us ?

" Power we do and have possessed ; we have employed it in the most arbitrary of all modes, in the exaction of forced services and in the monopoly of the produce of the country. While, as if in mockery, we have professed to exercise no interference with the native administration of the country, we have made ourselves the task-masters of the people, and with a false humility have refused to be their governors. Ought we not to discard this empty pretence ? The people are now living without a head to direct them, for we have destroyed the power of the native Chiefs; both reason and humanity would urge us to take the management into our own hands, and to repair the mischief of a hundred years, by affording them a regular and organised government. Instead of compelling their services for our own commercial monopoly, while we leave them in their original ignorance and barbarism, and by reducing them to the condition of slaves, shut the door of improvement against them, ought we not to endeavour to direct their industry to objects beneficial to themselves, and by securing to them the benefits of their labour, raise them by degrees in the scale of civilization ?

" The case at Bencoolen is altogether different from what it was in Java at the time of our occupation of it, arising entirely from the comparatively higher state of civilization to which the inhabitants of that Island had attained : and even then, in some of the mountainous and less civilized districts, it was questionable whether the period had yet arrived when the people were competent to advance by their own unaided efforts, and they were therefore still left in some measure under the immediate sway of their Chiefs. By far the larger portion of the inhabitants of Java had already passed that stage, and were thereby prepared for entering on the enjoyment of a higher and improved condition.

" I have troubled you with the above observations, that you may be prepared for the arguments in which I found my assumption of sovereign power. Tyrants seldom want an excuse, and in becoming a despot, I am desirous to give you mine. Hereafter, when I have an opportunity of explaining to you more fully the real

state of the country, I shall easily convince you that my premises are correct. Our friend Marsden will, I think, admit at once that they are so; but the course I am pursuing is so opposite to his notions, as expressed in his History, that I despair of carrying him along with me without a struggle. I know he is kind enough to place great confidence in me, and to be fully satisfied with my motives; but I fear that he looks upon some of my plans as visionary and speculative. They may be so, and I am willing to admit that they are not without the latter quality, but I cannot be one of your tacit spectators of barbarism. It is well to say, let things remain as they are—they have gone on well enough heretofore, why introduce new speculations of improvement while the people are content? This might perhaps have been said, if not acted upon, if the thing had been possible. Some few years since, in England, when the people were in the enjoyment of more substantial happiness than recent reforms, or attempts to introduce them, are likely to prove, England may have been said, if not to have reached the summit, at all events, to have attained an eminence above all other nations; and, in all further attempts, we were necessarily without the aid of experience. But can this be said of Sumatra, or more particularly of Bencoolen, where the people are at least a thousand years behind their neighbours the Javanese? Surely not.

"If you would know the extent of my speculations, I would be you to contrast the present conditions of Java and Sumatra. From the hand of God, Sumatra has perhaps received higher advantages and capabilities than Java, but no two countries form a more decided contrast in the use which has been made of them by man. While Sumatra remains in a great part covered with its primeval forests, and exhibiting but scattered traces of human industry, Java has become the granary and the garden of the East. In the former, we find man inactive, sullen, and partaking of the gloom of the forests; while in the latter he is active and cheerful. They are considered to have sprung from the same general stock, and the Strait which separates them is not twenty miles across. How are we to account for the difference?

"It is not likely that I shall give the Dutch credit for having had much share in the improvement of Java, but they are not without some claims in this respect. We must seek the causes elsewhere. I shall not now attempt to enter into them, but I wish much to remove the idea that Sumatra is by nature less fertile than Java. Wretched as our west coast districts may be, I can affirm that the soil of the interior is for the most part rich and productive. No country is better watered; its navigable rivers afford a striking contrast to the want of them in Java; the population cannot well fall short of three millions, and in some parts agriculture is equally advanced with Java. We have, unfortunately, selected the very worst spots, and adopted the very worst system of government—and to this alone should be attributed our failure.

"Now for my speculation. Palembang still remains independent, though the

Dutch blockade the river's mouth *. Let the independance of this state be established: we want no more. Palembang is able to govern itself—the people are nearly as far advanced as those in Java, and recent events are fast consolidating them into a great and powerful nation. Let the Dutch resign Padang, as not strictly coming within the terms of the convention which should refer to the *status quo ante bellum* of 1801, and not of 1795, and I ask no more than a *carte blanche* for five years to make Sumatra more important—more valuable to England, than even Java would have been. I would spend no more money in effecting this than is now annually thrown away at Bencoolen, and I would lay the foundation of a colony which, to a commercial nation like England, should eventually surpass all others.

" By opening the communication between Bencoolen and Palembang, the grand navigable river of the latter place would be the outlet for all the rich produce of the interior, including the spices of Bencoolen. The Jambi, Siak, and other rivers to the northward would again be opened as the great channels of trade, while our stations on the west coast, which I would still maintain, would be our military posts, whence all the rivers and all the interior of the country would be commanded. I would open a high road along the centre of the Island, from one end to the other, and the rivers should be my transverse pathways. I would assume supremacy without interfering with the just independence of other states. I would be the protector of the native states. I would, in fact, re-establish the ancient authority of Menangkabu, and be the great Mogul of the Island. I would, without much expence, afford employment for twenty or thirty thousand English colonists, and I would soon give employment to as much British tonnage, and as many British seamen as are now engaged in the West India trade.

" In short, what would I not, and indeed what could I not do, were I free to act, and encouraged rather than abused?

* On Sir Stamford's going to Bencoolen, the Sultan of Palembang appealed to him against the conduct of the Dutch, who claimed to exercise their former power over the Sultan, and were determined to re-establish it by force. It may be proper to explain, that the territories of Palembang and Bencoolen join, and that whatever affected the former state, had an immediate influence on the other. The Sultan, as might be expected, appealed to the nearest British authority to protect him. The treaty by which the Island of Banca was ceded to the English Government in 1812, stipulated that they should maintain the Sultan on his throne. By the convention of 1814 they ceded Banca to the Dutch. The only right to make such cession was in virtue of the treaty of 1812: it was therefore not possible to hesitate in the line of conduct necessary to pursue. There was no other resident British power nearer than Prince of Wales' Island; and the fact of a Dutch line-of-battle ship lying opposite Palembang, clearly evinced the impossibility which existed of the Sultan's holding any communication with the government on that Island.

Under these circumstances Sir Stamford felt bound to enter a protest against the proceedings of the Netherlands' Government at Batavia, and to send home direct to the Court of Directors a statement of their conduct. But the Court of Directors strongly disapproved of his having interfered in any way, and condemned this effort to uphold the honour and credit of the British Government.

" This, I am willing to admit, is all very speculative, and I am sorry to be obliged to add, also very visionary, for there is no chance of my ever attempting any thing of the kind—the time has gone by when I had the spirit for it. I have met with so much injustice and ill-usage on the part of the authorities at home, that the charm is gone, my confidence is lost, and I only think of these changes as what might have been, had circumstances been more favourable.

" I am now confining myself strictly to our own petty states on the coast, and surely what I am doing in them is rather practical than speculative. What I am doing, will not only benefit these districts immediately, but may enable some subsequent authority, less harassed by an unconfiding government at home, to enlarge the sphere for the extension of British principles: I shall be content with what is immediate and practical.

" I am afraid, after all, that I shall have failed to prove to you, that in advocating despotism, I am the true and steady friend of national freedom. If so, I must rely on your friendship to be satisfied with my assertion; if, on the contrary, you admit my arguments, pray enforce them with Mr. Marsden, as I would rather have his concurrence than the first authority the British legislature could give: he will not approve without being convinced; but if he still thinks me speculative, it may be sufficient to say that I have relinquished the only speculation which deserved the name of one, and am now a plain practical man.

" Pray make our united regards, &c.

" To prove to you that when I assume and advocate despotic authority, I do not forget that men have rights, it may be sufficient to observe that I have abolished the whole system of slaves and slave-debtors, so intimately interwoven with what are called the native institutions of the country; that a time has been fixed at which the condition of actual slavery shall cease to exist; and that for the system of slave-debtors, I have substituted one of free contract, and this with the full and hearty concurrence of the native Chiefs and the European population."

To ———.

" *Bencoolen, October* 27, 1820.

" The enclosed letters are to convey most melancholy tidings.

* * * * *

" The affliction they announce is a most severe one; we have lost poor Robert Hull, and now mourn his death in all the agony of grief and wretchedness. He died on the 24th instant, after a severe illness of five days, which he bore with exemplary fortitude and resignation. The immediate cause of his death was inflammation of the bowels; but he never recovered from the illness occasioned by the fatigue and exposure of the last campaign, and on account of which he was absent from his station. Poor Sophia and Nilson attended him day and night during his illness and last

moments, and have suffered a severe shock; but the first and most violent effects are now subsiding, and I hope in a short time they will gain strength and spirits by quiet and resignation.

" Every thing here is going on very quietly, the place manifestly improving fast, and a spirit of industry and activity beginning to supersede the dull lethargic torpor which so lately prevailed.

" The attention of every one is directed to agriculture, and I find my little experience in Java of some importance in directing the labours of the people of this coast, who have still so much to learn from their neighbours."

CHAPTER XVII.

Sir Stamford forms an establishment on the Island of Nias for the suppression of slavery—Sufficient spices raised at Bencoolen for the supply of Great Britain—Description of the Island of Nias—Its population, Exports, Slaves—Period of proposed return to England—Poggie Islands—Description of the people—Death of Sir Stamford's eldest boy—Death of Captain Auber—Missionaries engaged in printing Malay Bible—Illness of another child—Intended publication on commercial prospects—Deaths of two children—Youngest child sent to England—Retired life—Expectation of Mr. Canning as Governor General—Sir Stamford's opinion of the state of England—Arrival of a party for the measurement of the pendulum at the Equator—Death of Dr. Jack—Voyage to Singapore.

The suppression of slavery was never lost sight of by Sir Stamford Raffles; it was connected with all his views, political or commercial; and when he found it prevailed to a serious extent in an Island (Pulo Nias) in the immediate neighbourhood of the British power, he was anxious to make some effort to relieve the inhabitants from this oppression; and as the English Resident at Tappanooly and Nattal had always maintained a small establishment in the Island, it appeared an object of easy attainment. The following letters contain references to this subject:

To Mr. Marsden.

"*Bencoolen, January* 19, 1821.

"I have much satisfaction in reporting that the Chiefs of Pulo Nias have ceded the sovereignty of that Island to the Company. Our principal station is at Tello Dalum, near the southern extremity, and in a fine harbour, affording good and safe shelter and accommodation for ships of any size, at all seasons of the year. The extent of population and cultivation, and the general state of civilization, have far exceeded my most sanguine expectations. The population is certainly not less than 230,000 souls. Not a vestige of primeval forest is to be found on the Island; the whole has disappeared before the force of industry; the whole Island is a sheet of the richest cultivation that can be imagined, and the interior surpasses in beauty and fertility the richest parts of continental India, if not of Java.

"The people, and in particular the Chiefs, are active and intelligent, rich and powerful, and, as far as we can judge of their character, are the very reverse of those

we find on this coast. The exportation of rice annually is not less than twelve thousand bags, of two maunds each. They have cheerfully entered into our views for abolishing the slave-trade, and the people, and the country in general, promise much.

" I have only a few minutes to give you this information; by the next conveyance you shall have all particulars.

" My friends Dr. Jack and Mr. Prince have been in Nias for six weeks, and have just returned, astonished and delighted with the people and the country. The Island appears throughout to have been a base of lime, probably of coral origin, and this will account for its fertility: not a particle of our brick-like earth is to be seen there; deep black mould throughout.

" I enclose you, under separate covers, two or three papers, which will form part of our first agricultural volume; and I shall be extremely gratified to find that you admit the correctness and justness of the views.

" We are still without any accounts regarding Singapore, or the decision of the commissioners in Europe. I hear the Dutch are following my steps at Padang, and are about to build a fort at Surawasa. You will be surprised to hear that the exportation of coffee from Padang, during the last year, exceeded 15,000 peculs, and that it is expected to exceed 20,000 during the present. No less than four ships are now there, taking in cargoes for Europe. Our coffee cultivation is also rapidly extending; but our means are small, and the unwise policy which restrains Americans from trading at our port, is a sad check to our agricultural industry.

" The Americans always carried dollars to exchange for produce, which made them well-adapted to trade with a people whose wants were so few and confined as the natives of Sumatra.

" In a former letter, I stated the great improvement which had taken place in our rice cultivation, the quantity of seed being quadruple what it has been in any former year.

" The value of the landed-property belonging to Europeans and their descendants, is estimated at 379,031 dollars, or, including stock, at 445,437 dollars, and the spice plantations belonging to natives at 75,445 dollars; the average increase of value in the last four years being above fifty per cent.

" If Crawfurd's statements are correct, our produce of nutmegs already exceeds the average consumption of Great Britain; and as the quality is fully equal, if not superior, and the cultivators make no question as to price, Bencoolen has certainly attained a point of prosperity which deserves attention.

" It is hardly possible to conceive the numerous difficulties the planters have hitherto had to contend with. The natural obstacles arising from the soil, and peculiar condition of native society, have not been greater than those thrown in the way by Government. At one time, an order was issued that no new plantations should

be formed; at another, a heavy export-duty was established; and down to the last peace, we find a bounty granted in England to the cloves, &c. of Cayenne and Bourbon, two war-possessions, while the spices of Bencoolen were subjected to the same heavy duties as those of the Moluccas. The late act of Parliament, equalizing the duties, gives the spices of Bencoolen, as far as the consumption of England goes, an advantage of one shilling per pound over foreign spices; and if there were opportunities of sending them home direct, the London market would now be the most favourable, and amply repay the planters, notwithstanding the general depression of prices. Were the Americans allowed to touch at Bencoolen, they would, by occasioning a constant demand, act as a very powerful stimulus to our agriculture. At Padang there are now four Americans taking in coffee. Here the Company's restrictions, &c. are such, that only one ship has sailed from hence for Europe within the last three years. Our territorial books still show a dead loss of about £80,000 a year. I shall probably take an opportunity of addressing you more fully on this subject, and in the meantime it may be satisfactory to you to know, that my labours, though confined to a very unpromising and limited policy, have not been entirely useless.

"Our dear little children enjoy excellent health, and are advancing most rapidly; Marco Polo is a fine intelligent boy."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*Bencoolen, June 22*, 1821.

"We have an ugly report by the way of Batavia, that poor Sir Joseph Banks is no more! I fear it is too true, as by our last accounts he appeared nearly exhausted. It was an event for which I ought to have been prepared; but, notwithstanding this, his death has been a severe shock to me, as it must have been to all who knew him, and could appreciate his inestimable value. When shall we meet his like again, and by whom will his place be supplied? He has left a sad blank. To fill his place as he filled it is impossible. A successor, however, must be appointed; and if talents, fortune, and entire devotion to the object cannot be found united in one individual, rank must supply the deficiency.

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"I am very much afraid that the death of Sir Joseph will go far to break the heart of the Society. Many of the old and sterling members will, I am sure, feel the loss most deeply, and want heart to attend the future meetings. Much, however, nay every thing, will depend on the character of the new President.

"I have a long account to send your Grace of my discoveries in Pulo Nias. I believe I formerly told you that I was engaged in some arrangements for bringing that Island under British authority. I am now happy to say that I have succeeded; the people have unreservedly become the subjects of Great Britain. As this is an

Island almost unknown, and I may at least claim the merit of first visiting and exploring its interior, some particulars may not be uninteresting, though I have not time to say many words on them at present.

" The Island is in sight of Sumatra, and seen by most ships passing. I find the population to exceed 230,000 souls, on a surface of about 1500 square miles, which gives a population of about 153 to the square mile; the country most highly cultivated, the soil rich, and the people the finest people, without exception, that I have yet met with in the East. They are fair, and a strong, athletic, active race; industrious, ingenious, and intelligent, and forming a striking contrast to their neighbours on the opposite coast of Sumatra. What has most astonished me is, the high degree (comparatively) of civilization to which they have attained, without communication from without. We have no trace, no idea whence or how the Island became peopled; the people themselves say, a man and woman were first sent from heaven, from whom they are all descended. Their language, their habits, their character, and institutions, are strikingly different from all others with which we are acquainted. Hinduism never found its way to their shores, and only a few Mahomedans, traders, are here and there to be found on the coast, but the religion itself has made no way.

" They dwell in excellent and commodious houses, the interior of which are laid out with neatness, not devoid of elegance; streets are regularly formed and paved, with avenues of trees, and stone stairs to the pinnacles of the different hills, on which their villages are mostly situated, embosomed in the richest foliage imaginable. The slopes of the hills and the valleys are covered with one continued sheet of the richest cultivation, and there is not a forest tree standing in the Island; all have disappeared before the force of industry. To each village are attached stone baths, appropriated to the different sexes, which remind us of Roman luxuries. They wear a profusion of gold and other ornaments, than which nothing can be conceived more original. I have a large collection now before me, and only wish I could at once transfer them to Park-lane.

" We have discovered an excellent harbour, and made two military stations merely on account of the flag; and hereafter I hope to have much satisfactory employment.

" I am at this moment called away on particular business."

To ————.

" I believe I may now affirm with safety, that Bencoolen alone will be able to supply Great Britain with all the spices she requires. You may judge of the interest of this kind of cultivation, when I inform you that the annual clear produce or profit of an acre of nutmeg-trees is not less than ten pounds sterling, and that we

are covering the whole land with our parks of them. Nothing can be more beautiful than an avenue of clove-trees; the luxuriant foliage and the fragrance of the air make it charming.

" My attention has been drawn to the Island of Nias, which is situated opposite the settlement of Tappanooly and Nattal, and on which the Resident has always maintained a small establishment.

" Frequent representations had reached me from the Resident at Nattal, of the dreadful ravages to which the country was exposed, from the operation of an active slave trade, which was carried on at Nias: it was at the same time stated, that considerable supplies of rice might be obtained for our population on the coast; and as the natives were tractable, faithful, and industrious, the prospect of inducing some to emigrate, and assist in improving our possessions in Sumatra, formed additional reasons for deputing a commission to that Island, for the purpose of collecting information on the above points.

" Under the sanction of the Supreme Government, I appointed Mr. Christie to proceed to Pulo Nias in the month of July, 1820. That gentleman was obliged to return on account of ill health, after having visited only one of the ports. Captain Salmond, on his return from Tappanooly, surveyed some of its coasts. The joint information which they afforded was sufficient to invite further research, and I accordingly nominated a commission of two gentlemen to proceed for the purpose of adjusting the differences which then existed, and to provide for the tranquillity of the country; to obtain the most accurate information of its population and resources, and to place the natives so far under the direct authority of the Company's Government, as to leave the question as to the future management of the Island entirely to the judgment of the Governor General.

" It is quite unnecessary for me to enlarge on the result of the mission, from which we learnt that the population consisted of not less than 230,000 souls; that the state of cultivation was such as to furnish an export of 12,000 bags of rice annually; and that the number of slaves taken from Nias in each year exceeded 1500!

" The circumstances that attended the latter inhuman traffic were of the most appalling nature, and no less revolting than those which attached to the same abominable commerce on the coast of Africa.

" The unhappy victims, torn by violence from their friends and country, are delivered, pinioned hand and foot, to the dealers in human flesh, and kept bound during the whole course of the voyage. Instances have occurred, where the captives have seized a moment of liberty to snatch up the first weapon within their reach, stab all whom they encountered, and conclude the scene by leaping overboard, and seeking deliverance from their persecutors in a watery grave!

" I have in another paper taken notice of the connexion which existed between

Nias, Nattal, and the Menangkabu country, and have ventured to point out the advantages which might, in all probability, be derived by the natives of the several countries, as well as by the Company, from encouraging and prosecuting such an intercourse."

Frequent appeals made from the Chiefs of Pulo Nias, and the peculiar connection which had always subsisted between that Island and the districts in the west of Sumatra, induced Sir Stamford to appoint Mr. Prince and Dr. Jack to enquire into the real circumstances of the case, in the hope of adjusting existing differences, and providing for the immediate tranquillity of the country, and at the same time to collect such information as would enable the higher authorities to decide on the future course proper to be pursued. It was impossible to witness the constant scenes of rapine and plunder, to which the coast of the Island had so long been a prey, from the inroads of pirates and slave dealers, after the express injunctions of the legislature, and the principle so universally declared to actuate the civilized nations of the world. It was notorious that Pulo Nias, although for a long period of years nominally enjoying the protection of the English flag, was still the most abundant, and almost the only source of the supply of slaves on the coast, and that notwithstanding the prohibition against importation at Bencoolen and elsewhere, it was impossible to prevent it entirely. It was also well known that Pulo Nias was the principal resort of the French cruisers for refreshment and refitment, and whence they commanded the whole coast of Sumatra during many periods of the late war. An undisputed supremacy of the Island was important in a political point of view, as it may be considered to complete the command of the coast from Acheen to Nattal. Another subject for consideration was the probability of the natives being easily converted to the Christian religion, and that if the favourable opportunity were neglected, they would be likely to fall into all the superstitions of the Mahomedans."

The following is from an account of this Island furnished to Sir Stamford Raffles by Dr. Jack and Mr. Prince.

" Pulo Nias is situated under the 1st degree of north latitude, and runs in a north-west and south-east direction, throughout 5° of latitude and 48° of longitude. The villages are mostly situated on the very pinnacle of the hills, yet they are always embosomed in cocoa-nut and fruit trees of the greatest luxuriance, while the land beneath them is devoted to rice, sweet potatoes, and other articles of supply.

" The cultivation of rice is carried on both in sawahs and ladangs, according to the nature of the ground, the latter prevailing in the more hilly parts, and the former along the course of the principal rivers. The returns from sawahs are stated to be above a hundred-fold; from ladangs the returns are about forty-fold; and such is the singular fertility of the soil, that they are again fit for clearing in from five to ten years. The greater part of the rice is raised for exportation, the inhabitants

raising but little for themselves, and preferring sweet potatoes, yams, plantains, &c. for their own consumption. They breed great numbers of fowls and hogs, which are chiefly fed on cocoa-nuts; cattle and buffaloes are not indigenous, but have been introduced at some of the Malay settlements; cocoa-nut trees abound along all the shores; pepper has only lately become an article of cultivation among the Achenese settlers, but it promises to extend rapidly: samples of coffee appear also of very good quality.

"The principal exports of Pulo Nias (exclusive of slaves) are, rice to the extent of about 12,000 bags per annum; oil, about 7000 or 8000 bamboos; cocoa-nuts in great quantities; pepper at present about 800 peculs, but the quantity increasing; with some minor articles, the total value of which may be about 45,000 rupees. The payments on account of slaves have not fallen short of from 70 to 80,000 rupees a year; making the total value of the exports about 120,000 rupees. The returns for this are almost entirely in the following articles of merchandize:— blue salampores, white mamoodies and gurrahs, kerwahs, iron, brass ware, steel, gold-dust, coarse china-ware, &c. &c. Salt is manufactured in small quantities on various parts of the coast, by the method of pouring salt water on burning wood, and is sold at the rate of three bamboos for a dollar. It is very sparingly used by the Nias people, probably on account of the enormous price; but it is not unlikely that it would come into more general use, were they supplied at a cheaper rate by importation.

"In the northern division of the Island, the trade has been principally in the hands of the Malays and Achenese who have settled at the various ports, and formed alliances and connexions with the Nias Chiefs. This connexion has subsisted for a considerable length of time, some of the early settlements having been formed about sixty or eighty years ago; and frequent intermarriages have so united their interests, that the Nias Chiefs are generally guided by their Malay friends in all their intercourse with foreigners: they have never, however, yielded any part of their territorial rights, or admitted their interference in their internal affairs. The efforts of the Malays have been solely directed to engrossing the commerce, which they have in a great measure effected, and the Nias people rarely attempt to dispose of their produce at first hand. The kind of monopoly they have thus succeeded in establishing, diminishes the profit to the grower, on the one hand, at the same time that it enhances the price to the buyer.

"In the southern districts, on the contrary, there are no foreign settlers, and the Nias people themselves carry on a direct traffic with boats and vessels from all parts of the Sumatran coast. The consequence is, there is more wealth, and the people appear to have made a greater advance in the arts of life.

"The Achenese have generally been found the most troublesome intruders; wherever they have been allowed to settle, their aim has been to foment dissensions

and troubles, with a view to their own independence, and the more easily gratifying their rapacity. They are the principal agents in the slave-trade, and are not very scrupulous in the means they resort to for procuring them.

" The Nias slaves are highly valued throughout the East, for their industry, ingenuity, and fidelity; and observation has shewn, that these are no less the characteristics of the people in their native country. The intercourse with them has given us a most favourable impression of their native character, and of their capabilities of improvement. Notwithstanding the disadvantages of a secluded situation, the absence of all instruction and example, and the insecurity arising from a state of internal division, they have drawn forth, by their industry, the resources of their fertile country to a greater degree than has yet been effected by any of their neighbours on the coast of Sumatra.

" The extent of their grain export would alone be sufficient evidence of their industry; but the same spirit pervades their whole economy. Their towns and villages, though placed on elevated situations, with a view to defence, are clean and neat; the ascent is facilitated by a long stair or causeway, regularly built of stones, and shaded by a row of fruit-trees on each side; and the principal street itself is often paved in a manner that would do credit to European skill. Their houses are built of wood in the most substantial manner, raised upon strong posts, and their interior is arranged with a neatness not devoid of elegance. Attached to every village are two inclosed baths, built of stones, appropriated to the different sexes; any trespass by a man on that belonging to the females subjects the offender to a heavy fine. In the manufacture of their arms, cloathing, and gold ornaments, (of which they wear a great many,) they display great ingenuity and considerable taste. In their persons they are a handsome, athletic race; their warlike habits, and perhaps the nature of their country, give them an activity and vigour of frame unusual to the inhabitants of tropical countries. They are not addicted to any practice of intoxication or gambling. Their address is frank and open; they are keen in their commercial dealings, fond of gain, but scrupulously exact in the fulfilment of their engagements.

" The country is divided into a number of tribes and districts, whose Chiefs maintain a perfect independence of each other, and between many of whom ancient feuds and perpetual enmity subsist. In his own district the Rajah possesses considerable power, and is considered lord of the soil, though he derives no direct revenue therefrom. In the exercise of his judicial authority he is assisted by the Pamunchu, which office is always held by one of his relations, and their decisions are guided by the traditional usages or customs of the country. Their laws are remarkable for severity; offences are probably rare. Murder, adultery, and robbery, are punished with death, and the slavery of the offender's family; theft, and minor offences, by heavy fines.

" In cases of debt, on failure of payment at the regular time, the amount is doubled; on a second failure it is doubled again, and so on until it amounts to a certain sum, when the creditor is considered entitled to the person of his debtor as a slave. Should the debtor avoid compliance, which is often the case, the creditor may seize on any member of his family; and when they belong to different districts, the first straggler of the tribe is sometimes made responsible. This practice produces much distrust, as no man is secure from seizure on some pretence or other; and the consequence is, they are always on their guard, and never move any where unarmed. All marriages are by jujur (or purchase), and the amount is very high. It is probable that a great part of the debts are incurred on this account.

" All the evils arising from the imperfections of their civil institutions have been aggravated and increased by the odious traffic in slaves; and as this subject is one of peculiar interest, we have been particular in obtaining the most minute information concerning its extent, causes, and origin.

" The greatest number of slaves has hitherto been exported from Sumanbawa and Sello Dalum; those from the northern parts have been much fewer. It is by no means easy to get an exact account of their numbers, some endeavouring to extenuate and diminish it, and others equally desirous of magnifying it, according as they wished to give a favourable impression of their conduct, or a high idea of their wealth; and the very nature of the trade in some measure precludes exactness. From a comparison, however, of these different accounts, checked by an estimate of the number of vessels resorting thither, and the value of their imports, we are satisfied that the annual number exported has not fallen short of fifteen hundred. According to some accounts, more than this had been carried from Sumanbawa alone. They are purchased chiefly by Achenese and Chinese vessels, the latter of whom carry them to Padang and Batavia.

" The circumstances that attend the traffic are no less revolting to humanity than those which marked it on the coasts of Africa. The unhappy victims, torn by violence from their friends and country, are delivered pinioned hand and foot to the dealers in human flesh; they are kept bound during the whole course of the voyage, a precaution which is considered necessary to the safety of the crew. Instances have occurred where the captives have seized a moment of liberty to snatch up the first weapon within their reach, stab all whom they have encountered, and conclude the scene by leaping overboard, and voluntarily seeking a watery death. In their country, the Nias people rarely make use of rice as food, and are almost unacquainted with the use of salt. The sudden change of diet to which they are subjected on board ship, added to the confinement and dejection of mind, prove fatal to many: of a cargo of thirty slaves, twenty have been known to perish before the conclusion of the voyage; and, on a moderate calculation, it may be estimated, that of the total number purchased, one-fourth never reach their destinations, but fall victims to the various causes above mentioned.

" On the scenes of violence that take place in this country itself in the search of victims, it will be useless to dwell; they can be better imagined than described. We shall merely relate one well-authenticated instance, as given by an eye-witness. ' A plan had been laid to attack a single insulated house, inhabited by a man, his wife, and children, and to seize the whole family. At the appointed hour the house was surrounded, but the man no sooner discovered his situation, understood the purpose, and saw that there was no escape, than he locked himself into the inner apartment, drew his kris, killed first his wife and children, and then plunged it in his own breast, preferring death to a life of slavery.'

" Such are the circumstances that our inquiries have brought to light; it is impossible to contemplate such high qualities as we have described, subjected to such evils, without feeling the strongest interest in their favour. They have appealed to Britain for protection; they have placed themselves under her flag and dominion. We cannot forbear recording the remarkable expression of one of the Chiefs of Tellòdalam. He earnestly entreated us not to leave him: ' Have patience with us,' he said; ' we are ignorant uninstructed people, but we are desirous of obtaining the means of improvement; formerly we looked to the Malays and to the Achenese, but they deceived us; if you should now desert us, from whom can we entertain any hope ?' We trust the appeal will not be in vain.

" With a view to ascertain the best means of effecting the suppression of this nefarious commerce, we have been minute in our inquiries into the causes and origin of slavery on Pulo Nias, and the mode in which slaves are procured. Slavery is recognized by their laws and customs; it is the punishment ordained for certain crimes, and it is permitted as the ultimate resource in cases of debt. These customs have, no doubt, been much increased in severity by the temptation of an external demand, and are often employed on very slight pretences, but they are quite inadequate to account for the great number annually exported. We have abundant proof that the greater number are made slaves by open and actual violence. The Rajahs had little hesitation in admitting the fact, but said that the system originated with foreigners, and that the source of the evil was without. In fact, the temptation of exorbitant gain, and the persuasion of the dealers who resort to the ports, prove too much for their self-denial, and induce the most unprincipled among them to have recourse to every means of fraud, stratagem, or violence, to procure victims to their avarice.

" It must not be forgotten to record, that we have met with a few instances of Chiefs whose virtues have been proof against temptation; who had not only prohibited the traffic in their own districts, but even refused to permit the transit of slaves from the interior, or their disposal in any manner at their respective ports. We had still greater reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Rajah of Sumanbawa. On the subject being first opened to him, and our views and intentions explained, he expressed his own approbation, but wished to communicate with the

Chief of the interior, with whom he was connected, before entering into such important engagements; the answer proved unfavourable, and the Rajah was threatened with vengeance. After some consultation, however, he came on board and acquainted us that he was determined to disregard the threats of the interior Chief, and to enter into agreements with us. He professed himself ready to shut his ports against all exportation of slaves, on condition of our affording protection and encouragement to legitimate commerce. This was peculiarly gratifying, as Sumanbawa has hitherto been the greatest slave-port on the Island. Indeed it is but justice to all the Chiefs to say, that on a full discussion, they entered into our views with regard to the slave-trade, with more cordiality than could have been expected.

" The measures, therefore, to be adopted for its suppression appear to divide themselves into three branches. First, to check as much as possible the external demand; second, to endeavour to soften and modify the severity of the native customs; and third, to provide the means of relief to debtors, and such as by existing usages are liable to the condition of slavery.

" On inquiring of the different Rajahs the number of persons in a state of slavery on account of debt, whose redemption they wished to effect, the answer was uniformly ' we have none, but if you wish to purchase slaves, wait a few days and you may have a hundred.' On inquiring further how this was to be effected, we found that they had only to send notice to their agents among the interior Rajahs, and any number were forthwith brought down bound. They probably sent word to catch so many slaves, with as much indifference as they would have given an order to catch so many hogs for the same purpose. The fact is the arrival of the trading boats, which takes place at a certain season, is the signal for universal rapine and violence throughout the interior.

" On the subject of religion, the people of Pulo Nias have but few ideas; they acknowledge a Supreme Being, whom they call Sumban Quit or the Lord of Heaven, but they had no distinct notions respecting him. Wooden images are to be found in all their houses which are regarded as a kind of lares or protecting household gods, but no worship is addressed to them; they are rather considered as representatives or memorials of their ancestors, for whom they have a great reverence. A belief in charms is common, and every man carries a bundle of these attached to his kris—great occasions are celebrated by the slaughter of hogs and a great feast; and when a Chief commences any affair of consequence, as the building of a house, the head of an enemy is sometimes suspended in honour of the circumstance. Their form of oath is by cutting the throat of a hog, while the party invokes the vengeance of heaven that he may suffer the fate of the said animal if he prove unfaithful to his oath.

" In these rude notions we can trace little more than the unassisted efforts of the human mind in a low state of civilization, conscious of the limitation of its own powers, and impelled thereby to imagine a superior existence. It would be vain to

trace a connection between them and any of the forms of Pagan worship established in the East. The people of Nias had probably been separated at a very early period from their original stock, and have been exempted by their insular situation from the influence of the various religions that have at different times pervaded the greater islands. The settlement of Mahomedans have been of too recent a date to have much influence, and they have made but few converts; they have not, however, overlooked the object, but have generally defeated it by their rapacity and violence. By Europeans the Island has been almost entirely neglected. Thus abandoned to the ravages of pirates, and to all the evils of an active slave-trade, we cannot but estimate highly those native energies which have rendered their country populous and flourishing in spite of so many obstacles."

Sir Stamford was anxious to do the utmost possible good for such an Island and such a people. It has been stated that Pulo Nias is the granary of that side of Sumatra, and the extent of its grain produce only limited by the demand. The benefits arising from the suppression of the slave trade would not be confined to the relief of the unhappy victims alone, but would be the first step to the civilization of the country. Independent of the habits of cruelty and rapine which it tends to infuse, the exorbitant profit it holds out, like those of gambling, excites an aversion to the slower advantages of legitimate commerce and agricultural labour. It required no special interposition of foreign influence ; a few stations of police along the coast would have been sufficient evidence of protection, and this Sir Stamford warmly advocated, and hoped so great a benefit so easily obtained would meet with approbation from all the wise and good : but the Court of Directors "had no hesitation in declaring that his proceedings in regard to Pulo Nias were deserving of their decided reprehension." "And they were inclined to visit him with some severe mark of their displeasure for the steps he had taken," and threatened to remove him from his government.

After the transfer of Sumatra to the Dutch, the slave-trade was resumed with greater vigour than ever ; and numbers of these poor people have since been carried away to Batavia, and the French Island of Bourbon.

To ——— ———.

"*Bencoolen, Feb.* 1*st*, 1821.

"I am now engaged in drawing up a detailed report of the past, present, and anticipated circumstances of this settlement with reference to its finances in particular. This report will not be long, but it takes time to go through the books, and draw out abstract statements of the accounts.

"I have had a great deal of trouble in revising and reforming our general books and accounts, and it is only lately that I have received authority from Bengal to clear them of the rubbish and confusion which has been heaped upon them during the last twenty years of ruin and desolation.

"It was usual for the accounts of the different public offices to be invariably framed in the accountant's office some time after the receipts and disbursements were made, so as to throw into the accounts of each month all charges belonging to it, notwithstanding the actual disbursements so brought to account were made in another month; a practice which, however it may have tended to an apparent regularity in the form of the accounts, necessarily deprived them of all genuineness and honesty of character; they were in fact fabricated accounts.

"In the former accounts of the settlement, it was the practice to have all heavy charges, whether on account of buildings, repairs, &c. &c. or debts, as open accounts to the credit of the Company as stock. I have had them written off as charges of the year, and the revised accounts and balances at the beginning of the present year will shew you the extent to which this was carried, and the enormous amount of the really unavailable stock which I found standing on the books. The whole of this ought to have been written off in former years, and if the amount is divided on an average for the last twenty years, it will be found that not less than a lack of rupees annually should be added to the apparent charges."

To Mr. Marsden.

"*Bencoolen, May* 15, 1821.

"I have not much to communicate from hence. We have about half-a-dozen new animals to describe, and our collections of plants are rapidly increasing. What shall we do with them? If we do not clear off as we go, we shall find ourselves terribly clogged in our future exertions.

"Our agriculture is extending, and much of my time is spent in the country. I am now completing a very comfortable residence; the grounds are in one direction about four miles long, and towards the hills about three miles wide. We hope to raise all our supplies on them, as the sawah land is very extensive, and I have upwards of two hundred head of fine cattle. Our roads are excellent. The distance is about thirteen miles from Marlborough; but I think the communication is much quicker than between Aldenham and London, as our friends think nothing of driving out to breakfast, and returning before the heat of the day.

"I sincerely hope we shall carry you along with us in our progress of improvement. I need not tell you how anxious I am to know your sentiments on what we are doing; for you must be pretty well aware that in all such proceedings it is rather to good and sincere friends that I can look for advice and support, than to the higher official authorities with whom I am in communication. Neither the Court of Directors nor the Supreme Government seems inclined to enter into any improvements which do not decrease expenses, and raise immediate revenues; and I find that it is really lost labour to enter into long explanations, and furnish them with despatches which they never read. While I am conscious of taking the right path, I shall perse-

vere ; and I suppose that in the end, when we come to collect the fruits, we shall find all the authorities willing to gather them.

" Our climate is excellent and delightful, and the improvements which we see give an interest in the place which I never thought it capable of exciting.

" Lady Raffles bears up remarkably well. Marsden, your godson, I am happy to say, is getting on very fast. My other children are becoming quite companions, and often remind me of the necessity I shall be under of returning to England at no very distant date.

To ————.

" *Bencoolen, May 25*, 1821.

" You mention the Dutch treaty with Rachmet Shah of Lingin, and say it is more liberal than ours : either the Dutch have foisted upon you a false copy of the treaty, or you must have read strangely. I have, however, a copy of the true treaty, and the following observations will shew you my opinion upon the subject.

" This treaty (Para. 3) is also a daring violation of the very rights on which they claim respect from other powers to their treaties, inasmuch as with full knowledge of the commercial treaty, concluded by us with the same person on the 9th of August preceding, they seem to make no difficulty to stipulate for its violation in the sixteenth article of what they call their treaty, which excludes from the ports of Rhio and all other ports of Johore, the ships of every power, European or American, with the exception of those belonging to Holland.

" In conclusion, the terms of this treaty, and the circumstances under which it was made, are so extraordinary, and form such a combination as we could hardly have supposed to belong to the present age. They are briefly these :—

" A Dutch squadron enters the port of a power, which had but three months before concluded a commercial treaty with the British, and proposes to the Chief the terms of a treaty inconsistent with his previous engagements : on the refusal of the Chief his port is blockaded by a naval and military force, and he is at length compelled to become the commissioner of an absent prince, who did not possess the title or the authority which they gratuitously bestow on him, and who himself has disclaimed all right to their possession.

" One article of this treaty confers on this absent prince, as a sincere token of their good-will, the favour of becoming a vassal to the power with whom he is supposed to be treating as an independent prince. Another, ' as a token of their earnest desire to promote the welfare' of a trading people, excludes from the ports all shipping but their own. They next proceed to appropriate half of the revenues of the place to themselves, on the plea that their King is obliged to pay his own servants. They grant him a military force at his particular desire ; at length, on pretence of preventing piracy, they permit him to hoist their flag on pain of his vessels being fired

into if he does not do so; and, to complete the series, the witness in the beginning becomes a commissioner at the end. It is difficult to look seriously on such a document, and ridiculous to maintain the validity of an instrument which bears on its face so much inconsistency and absurdity.

"Such are the remarks I have to make on this celebrated treaty of 1819, and I would repeat as my present sentiments—such are the facts of the case.

"As to Sultan Rachmet Shah, I never considered him more than Rajah of Lingin. Rhio was always considered independent; it was not until Rachmet Shah declared he was not Sultan, that we inquired who really was and ought to be such."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*Bencoolen, May* 29, 1821.

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"God willing, we hope to embark from this for England, if not in 1823, certainly in 1824; I am not aware of any changes which are likely to protract my departure. On the contrary, every thing seems to concur in proving the necessity, to say nothing of the inclination to return: political events may hasten, but cannot well retard it; and my presence in England may soon become indispensable in support of what I have been trying to do in this part of the world. It is hardly possible for you to conceive how much I have suffered for opening so important a channel for trade as has been effected by the establishment of Singapore: every thing is condemned. But a truce to politics: I have other reasons to urge me home. Neither my health nor that of Lady Raffles is very good; I never was strong, and during my first residence in India, the climate made a considerable inroad on my constitution. I have had two or three severe attacks since my return, and am now under the necessity of being very careful. I really do not think I could last out above two or three years more; and certainly ambition shall not weigh with me one moment against life. Besides this, my dear little rogues will be rapidly expanding. Charlotte is already as advanced as most children of five years old: she takes an interest in every thing that is going forward, and is really becoming quite a companion. In two or three years both her mind and body will require a colder climate, and to send her home for her education, as people usually send their children from this country, is out of the question; we have determined to take her and all the children (for we have now four born within as many years) and to time our departure with reference to their health and happiness. Leopold also will, in two or three years, have grown beyond my management, and it will be time to commence upon the rudiments of a better education than I can give him. I believe people generally think I shall remain longer, as they hardly suppose in such times, and with an increasing family, a man will be inclined to forego the advantages of the field before me; but they know me not. I have seen enough of power and wealth to know that, however agreeable to

the propensities of our nature, there is more real happiness in domestic quiet and repose, when blessed with a competence, than in all the fancied enjoyments of the great and the rich.

" Of public news I have very little to communicate, and perhaps none that will be interesting. The Dutch, you know, are still at war with Palembang, and they have lately fitted out a *third* expedition, consisting of upwards of 3000 Europeans, fresh from Holland; poor fellows! They are determined on vengeance. No quarter is to be given, and dreadful will be the massacre if they succeed, which God forbid!

" Our establishment at Singapore is gaining ground so rapidly, that the Dutch are determined to risk every thing, sooner than allow us to remain; and, as far as I can judge of the proceedings between the Commissioners in England, there is reason to fear they will gain their point. It is the only chance our ministers have of making some amends for the manner in which they restored Java.

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" I am afraid you will find this a very long and selfish letter, and yet you beg of me to say more of me and mine. I have endeavoured to obey your commands."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

" *June* 12, 1821.

" In my last letter, I informed you I was much interested with the people of Pulo Nias; during the last month my attention has been entirely devoted to them, and I am half inclined to write a book in their favour, in order to prove that they are the happiest and the best people on earth. I had nearly made my mind up to this, when I made further discoveries in the neighbouring Islands, called the Nassau or Poggy Islands, where I found a people still more amiable, and, if possible, still more genuine. If I go on at this rate, I may expect to discover the garden of Eden, and the descendants of our first parents, enjoying all the simplicity of primeval times.

" It is very certain that on the first discovery of what we term savage nations, philosophers went beyond all reason and truth in favour of *uncivilized* happiness; but it is no less certain, that of late years, the tide of prejudice has run equally strong in the opposite direction; and it is now the fashion to consider all who have not received the impression of European arms and laws, and the lights of Revelation, as devoid of every feeling and principle which can constitute happiness, or produce moral good. The truth, most probably, as is generally the case, lies between the two extremes, and there is, no doubt, much difference, according to the circumstances under which the people may have been placed. We find, in some of the Islands of the South Seas, people who are habitually mischievous, given to thieving, lazy and intractable; in others, we find the very opposite qualities; and philosophers, speculating upon the first data that are afforded, without full and general information, are led into error.

" Various circumstances have hitherto prevented me from penetrating into the Batta country, but I lose no opportunity of collecting information, and your Grace will not perhaps be surprised to learn, that even among these cannibals, I find much to praise and admire. In one province I have ascertained, beyond doubt, that a considerable refinement has taken place in the mode of eating parents. Here, instead of the young people eating the old ones, when past work, they send them to their neighbours, who, in due time, return the compliment to them."

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To Mr. Marsden.

" *Bencoolen, July* 12, 1821.

" You must, during the last year, have been so much pestered with my letters, that a respite of a few months will be very acceptable. Your letters of the 21st November and 28th December have duly arrived; and I hardly know how to thank you for the zealous interest you have taken in all the questions I have so unmercifully troubled you with. You have done just as I could have wished in every thing, and, once for all, allow me to return my most sincere and grateful acknowledgements.

" I have obtained a great mathematical assistant, and hope to do something respecting the geography of the Island. Dr. Jack and a few friends have just ascended the sugar-loaf, and were the first Europeans who had reached the summit; they are still out in their rambles, and will, I hope, bring in an abundant collection in the botanical department. Of animals they have not yet obtained one that is new; and, indeed, they observe, with regard to the mountain, that it is in vain to look for them there, as none but monkeys can possibly climb the rocks.

" Java, I am concerned to say, is suffering under all the miseries of the exterminating cholera; the deaths average eight hundred a day, and from ten minutes to four hours is the usual period of illness. God grant it may not extend this way, although, as one of the Radins said on the occasion, if it did, it would leave us much as it found us, as the population could not be well more scanty than at present.

" Your god-son grows a fine boy, and runs about. Lady Raffles has since presented me with another girl."

Upwards of three years had passed in uninterrupted health and happiness, but a sad reverse took place at this period; the blessings most prized were withdrawn; the child most dear to the father's heart, whose brightness and beauty were his pride and happiness, expired in all the bloom of infancy, after a few hours' illness: and from this time until his return to England, sickness and death prevailed throughout the settlement and in his own family; but God's Holy Spirit enabled him to

receive these afflictions with meekness, and to feel that they were trials of faith not judgments of anger.

To ————————.

" *Bencoolen, July 12th,* 1821.

" I little thought a week ago, when overwhelmed with grief by the loss of our dear and eldest boy Leopold, who was snatched from us after a very short illness, that I should so soon have been called upon to report upon another, and to you, my dear friend, a still more severe loss. A vessel leaves this port immediately, and bad news flies fast. Cruel as must be the stroke, and ill qualified as I am at the present moment to break it to you with the tenderness and caution I could wish, I must perform the duty; I must rend your heart by telling you that our dear friend and your brother Harry is no more!

" He breathed his last yesterday, and was carried off in a few days by a series of apoplectic fits, which baffled all the powers of medicine. He has just been buried, and I snatch a moment from the time I am obliged to devote to Sophia to send you the melancholy intelligence.

* * * * *

" I shall not trouble you with our griefs, you will have enough of your own. Neither Sophia nor myself are well, and time and the influence of God's blessed Spirit can alone work any change. My resolution is taken to return home during the next or the following year.

" Neither my health nor spirits, nor indeed my time, if I had either, enable me to say more; in a few days we shall be more collected. God bless you! and believe that there are hearts here which sympathize with yours most deeply."

As an example of the character and feeling of the people, the following anecdote may be interesting. Whilst the Editor was almost overwhelmed with grief for the loss of this favourite child, unable to bear the sight of her other children—unable to bear even the light of day,—humbled upon her couch with a feeling of misery,—she was addressed by a poor, ignorant, uninstructed native woman of the lowest class, (who had been employed about the nursery), in terms of reproach not to be forgotten. " I am come because you have been here many days shut up in a dark room, and no one dares to come near you. Are you not ashamed to grieve in this manner, when you ought to be thanking God for having given you the most beautiful child that ever was seen? Were you not the envy of every body? Did any one ever see him, or speak of him, without admiring him; and instead of letting this child continue in this world till he should be worn out with trouble and sorrow, has not God taken him to heaven in all his beauty? What would you have more? for shame, leave off weeping and let me open a window."

To ————————.

"*Bencoolen, October 16th*, 1821.

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"So far from my administration being expensive, you will perceive that the nett charges are less than any former year, notwithstanding all the changes that have been worked, and that they are in a gradual course of reduction.

* * * * *

"My spirits are quite broken down, and I can write but little.

* * * * *

"I send by this conveyance my report on the past, present, and future, or rather prospective circumstances of Bencoolen. It is my last effort, and will prove that my finances will bear the test of examination. You will perceive how we are reducing the nett charges.

"I do not expect an unlimited surrender in favour of colonization, but it is a great point even to move the question. If we can go silently on, the end will be accomplished eventually; all we want is men and capital, and certainly you have abundance to spare.

"We are getting better, but Sophia is not competent to write."

To Mr. Marsden.

"*Bencoolen, November 9th*, 1821.

"My Dear Sir,

"I have before me your long and kind letters of the 11th, 19th, and 23d of March, the last which I have received, and I can hardly find words to express to you either my acknowledgments for the warm interest which you have taken in all that concerns me, or my regret and annoyance that I should have subjected you to so much trouble and inconvenience. For the latter I have no excuse to offer but the necessity which obliged me to call upon some friend on whom I knew I could rely; and in the hope that your kindness, like charity, will cover a multitude of sins, I will fain trust that I am already forgiven for the unreasonable intrusion on your time.

"I will write you more fully hereafter, at present I am hurried and I am sorry to say very far from well. The loss of our eldest boy has been a severe stroke to us, and followed as it has been by so many deaths among our relatives and connections, it has nearly proved fatal to our happiness. I thank God Lady Raffles is at last recovering, but we are neither of us what we were, and I fear we must soon think seriously of returning home.

"I have some anxiety about a successor for this place: unless it is some one

inclined to follow in the track I have marked out, I fear all I have done may be thrown away. We are certainly improving.

" I am planting coffee extensively at Permattam Ballam, and the country really begins to assume a new character. At present, my plan is to leave this the end of next year, about this time, for Singapore, and there to remain till I hear what are the arrangements at home. I have no idea of its being given up to the Dutch, but I fear its being put under Penang. Should every thing go on favourably, which is hardly to be expected, I should wish to remain at Singapore till the early part of 1824.

" My last letter will have informed you that our attention is now devoted to geographical and geological information. The result is contained in a paper forwarded to Mr. Colebrooke: for the correctness as far as it goes, I hold myself fully responsible. About January I expect a party will be here from the observatory at Madras, for the purpose of trying the vibration of the pendulum on the line: if we have good weather and zealous men we shall do much. We go on collecting the never-failing wonders of our extraordinary and abundant vegetation. I have lately thought it advisable to draw up a short review of the circumstances of Bencoolen, particularly with reference to its finances; should you be disposed to read it, it may perhaps serve to amuse an idle hour, and it will prove to you that I am leaving no stone unturned to make the most of this place before I leave it. I am working upon rather a stubborn soil, but I think I feel it give way before the exertions we are now making.

" Our little family are upon the whole very well; they have their share of trials but bear them pretty well, and at present are all in good health. Charlotte is every thing mamma could wish, and Marsden, now alas, the only son, is advancing rapidly. He has not the beauty and loveliness of poor Leopold, but he is a fine boy, and remarkably quiet and intelligent. Our last, Ella, is a great beauty.

" We live in the country quite retired, and when the sun admits, which is not for many hours in the day, we are always in the grounds superintending our improvements. We call our house Permattam Ballam—the abode of peace.

" Our missionaries are engaged in printing a new version of the gospel of St. John. Mr. Robinson, the author of the work on Malayan orthography, is a Baptist missionary, who settled under my administration in Java, and has since sought my protection here; he has been a close student of Malay literature and language for the last seven years, and has long been in the habit of preaching to the natives."

To the Duchess of ———.

" *November* 9, 1821.

" My heart has been nigh broken, and my spirit is gone: I have lost almost all that I prided myself upon in this world, and the affliction came upon us at a moment

when we least expected such a calamity. Had this dear boy been such as we usually meet with in this world, time would ere this have reconciled us to the loss—but such a child! Had you but seen him and known him you must have doated—his beauty and intelligence were so far above those of other children of the same age, that he shone among them as a sun, enlivening and enlightening every thing around him. I had vainly formed such notions of future happiness when he should have become a man, and be all his father wished him, that I find nothing left but what is stale, flat, and unprofitable. My remaining children are, I thank God, rather superior to the ordinary run, and Charlotte is every thing we could wish her. How is it that I feel less interest in them than in the one that is gone?—perhaps it is in our nature.

"But I must leave this subject or you will have cause to regret my correspondence. You will be sorry to hear that Lady Raffles and myself have been seriously ill, and that I am still so far complaining that I hardly know whether I shall live or die. At one time I am sorry to say I cared but little which way my fate turned; but I now begin to think of the necessity of exertion for those about me, and sometimes venture to look forward; but I am too low and wretched to write much more even if my paper allowed."

To ——— ———.

"*Bencoolen, Novcmber 10th*, 1821.

"Sophia has at last undertaken to write to her mother. She is getting better, and I am happy to say the children are well; for myself I am at this moment under the operation of mercury, and maintain but a crazy kind of existence. I sometimes think it very doubtful that I shall ever reach England again: at other times, I rally a little; but, upon the whole, I begin to be more indifferent as to the result than I used to be.

"My present plan is to leave Bencoolen about this time next year for Singapore, and to remain there till I go home.

* * * * * * *

"As far as comfort and accommodation go, I think we might more advantageously remain all our time at Bencoolen, but we want a *change*, and I dread the chance of two years' idleness."

To the same.

"*Bencoolen, December 6th*, 1821.

"Our health has upon the whole improved, but we have still a sick house; nothing however serious. I calculate that by the next China ship we shall be able to see our way clear. If it is certain that I am not to administer Singapore on my own principles, then I shall feel little interest in going round as I at first proposed. If I do not go the end of next year it will probably be March, 1823, before I move

from hence to Singapore, my object being to remain there till I start for England. This event will, I hope, take place in January, 1824, at furthest; my health and constitution will not stand longer.

" I observe what you say regarding trade and the opening which now offers by the late act. I fear trade any where just now is a bad concern. At any rate it is not likely to be much improved in India by this *unimportant* act—it merely grants to English ships indulgences which they formerly took upon themselves to enjoy.

" We have thousands of ships carrying on the port to port trade, including China, and the only advantage now gained by the English shipping is that they are allowed to compete with those of India on pretty nearly fair terms. It may possibly raise the value of English ships, and will in proportion depress those of India, and it may be the means of satisfying John Bull for a year or two, when he will find that he has not gained much by it: you see, therefore, that we view this subject in India somewhat differently to what you do in England."

* * * * *

To ——— ———.

" *Bencoolen, December* 10*th*, 1821.

" We are at this moment in great alarm for our dear Charlotte, who labours under a violent dysentery—Sophia has not left her for three days and nights, and our almost only hope is now in effecting a salivation with mercury. So severe has been our affliction in the loss of poor Leopold, that we are hardly capable of sustaining a second shock of the kind just now. The younger children have also been seriously ill, but are getting better. We have at any rate resolved to send home all we have left as soon as a ship going direct can be procured: I have half made an agreement with the Captain of the Borneo for the purpose, and they will probably sail in February.

" What a sad reverse is this! but the other day we were alarmed lest we should have too many, now all our anxiety is to preserve some even of those we have. The change of climate may do wonders, and we shall hope to follow them in a year or eighteen months.

" I keep to my resolution of going to Singapore in the course of the present year; some change will be necessary for Sophia."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

" *Bencoolen, December* 16, 1821.

" My last letter will have informed you of our sad affliction in the loss of my dear boy Leopold. I cannot yet reflect on the event with any degree of calmness. Charlotte has also nearly fallen a sacrifice to the climate, and is at this moment far

from being out of danger. Our house for the last six months has been a complete hospital. This change has within a few days induced us to resolve upon sending all the children we may have left to England without loss of time, and we propose embarking them on the Borneo, to touch here for them in February next. If our dear Charlotte lives to embark I shall write you more particularly, if not I shall want spirits to address you.

" My own health still continues most seriously affected. I am seldom well for twelve hours, and always laid up for several days in the month. Nothing but a sense of public duty would weigh with me, under these circumstances, to stay a day longer; but I cannot leave my post without previous notice, and completing some arrangements which are in progress. I shall, however, be at liberty to move where I please, by the time our answer can be received from England to letters written by the present opportunity. Lady Raffles is almost exhausted with continual watching, night and day."

To ————————.

" *Bencoolen, December 26th*, 1821.

" My former letters will apprise you that we send our dear children home by the first of March, so that you may expect them in June. Charlotte is improving, though very slowly.

" With regard to the increased facilities in trade to arise from the new act, you will see from my former letters, that I do not rank them very high. They will, to a certain extent, be injurious to the country traders; but, I think, the local knowledge of the latter, and their greater facilities of knowing the state of the markets, and taking advantage of the moment, will still enable them to sustain a successful competition.

" I have said and done all that was possible in the political department. My attention will occasionally be directed to the agricultural interests at Bencoolen; but as soon as I proceed to Singapore, commercial plans will occupy all my time. All the information which has yet reached England seems to be very general. You want something practical, and my idea is to collect all particulars in detail; that is to say, specimens of the manufactures that may be introduced into Siam, Cochin-China, Japan, &c., through Singapore; the extent of the demand, the price to be obtained, and the returns to be procured. A body of information of this kind, collected by me on the spot, with the advantage of personal explanation in Europe, is likely to be very valuable.

" I shall probably point out great advantages; such as the introduction into China of manufactured cottons, in lieu of twenty thousand tons of raw material, that we now send them from India; the supercession in the China market of the iron and

crockery-ware, now so extensively in demand from China throughout the whole Archipelago; the extensive circulation of a British copper coinage throughout the Archipelago.

"I hope to prove to the Company and my country, that in my views and expectations regarding Singapore, I have not been visionary."

"*Bencoolen, January* 15, 1822.

"We have this morning buried our beloved Charlotte. Poor Marsden was carried to the grave not ten days before, and within the last six months we have lost our three eldest children: judge what must be our distress.

"This is a melancholy day, and I have turned my thoughts to serious subjects: among the rest, to the risk we run by remaining longer in this country. I have, therefore, taken the first step towards going home, by sending in my resignation.

"On referring to my commission, I find that I am not allowed to leave India without permission from the Court, under the hand of thirteen or more Directors.

"This is intended merely to apprise you of the misfortunes and afflictions we are still doomed to suffer. We have now only one child left, the little Ella, still an infant; thank God, she is apparently well, and it is our determination she shall go home in the Borneo, in which ship I had engaged accommodation for the three.

"I shall not attempt to convey to you any thing like an idea of poor Sophia's sufferings. Charlotte had attained that age that she was quite a companion, and of all the misfortunes likely to happen, this was the last looked to. Yet, severe as the dispensation is, we are resigned to it; we have still reason to thank God.

"I still propose visiting Singapore about September next, to return here the following May. By the 1st January, 1824, God willing, we hope to be on our way home; but more of this hereafter."

"*Bencoolen, February* 19, 1822.

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"I am sending home various collections, principally rocks and corals.

* * * * *

"I have been desperately ill and confined to a dark room the last ten days, but, thank God, I am better: I dare not write much."

"*Bencoolen, February* 26, 1822.

"As the Borneo will be off in a day or two, I sit down to give you something of a general letter, but I am too ill and weak to write much, and you must excuse repetition, should I fall into it. For the last three weeks I have been confined to

my room by a severe fever, which fell on the brain, and drove me almost to madness. I thank God, however, that I have now got over it, and am on my legs again; but I am still weak, and unable to converse with strangers.

"The first and most interesting subject is our dear child. * * *

"Our little darling is under the immediate charge of Nurse Grimes. She leaves us in excellent health, and we indulge the hope that by the strong measure we have taken of sending her to a healthier climate, we may be spared this *one* comfort to solace and enliven our declining days.

"Sophia's health, though it has suffered severely, is, I thank God, improving, and if it is the will of God that we even continue as well as we are, we hope to be able to stand out another year or two with tolerable comfort.

"I fancy I shall find plenty to do at Singapore. * * * *

"The place thrives wonderfully. The amount of the tonnage arrived during the first two years and a half, will speak volumes in its favour.

"We sent lately a commercial embassy to Siam, which was well received. So convenient and contiguous is Singapore, that Siam sugars and other articles are selling there a dollar cheaper than in Siam itself: this is owing to their being conveyed in native junks to Singapore.

"There is a sad confusion at Penang, first among the Governor and his counsellors, and next with the Siamese, who have burnt and sacked Queda, and obliged the King to take refuge at Penang.

"You of course are aware of the history of these proceedings; it is a result that has long been anticipated, but need not now have been brought to issue. Had the Government of Penang possessed sufficient foresight to have supported the King by sending him a force when he was still in his capital, they would have averted the storm; but having neglected this, they now talk of sending a force to drive out the Siamese, and recover the sacked ruins of the city of Queda, in which they have no chance of success whatever, if the Siamese hold out.

"This is not intended as a quarrel with us. Queda has always been tributary to Siam, and when we got the grant of Penang from the former, we ought to have procured the sanction of the latter as lord paramount. The Siamese, however, do not dispute our possession of Penang, as we have been so long there; but they do not choose to lose the King of Queda as a vassal, particularly as he gets 10,000 dollars a year from the Company. Every three years he is bound to send a golden tree to Siam in token of his vassalage.

"Siam requires that whenever the urgency of the state demands, he shall assist with money and men. Repeated contributions of the kind have been levied; some resisted, and the matter was generally accommodated and all parties satisfied, until the King of Queda, relying on the strength of our name, power, and alliance, seems to have set his sovereign lord the King of Siam at defiance; who in return has chas-

tised him, by burning his town and driving him from his dominions. The affair as a political one is of no great importance. Thank God we have nothing to do with this quarrel at Singapore and the other side of the Archipelago, where our connection is purely commercial and daily improving.

" You seem anxious to know how we go on with our schools and Bible Society, and I am happy to report favourably of them. Upon the whole we go on well, particularly with the schools. We are printing the Gospels in an improved Malay version suited to this coast, and I have it in contemplation to print the New Testament in Javanese, which is now ready for the press.

" The spices I think must attract the attention of the Court of Directors. The private consignments by the Borneo are nearly equal to the Company's, and the whole will afford a supply for the British Isles for nearly twelve months.

" Look after the engraving of the chart of the pepper ports by Captain Ashmore, and interest Horsburgh: he will know the value of them."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

" *Bencoolen, February* 27, 1822.

" You will, I am sure, grieve to learn what has befallen us. My last letter announced to your Grace the loss of my dear Leopold. I have now to add, that during the last month, and within a few days of each other, we have been successively deprived of my only remaining boy, and of Charlotte, your god-daughter. We have now only one left, an infant, the little Ella; and that we may not run the risk of a tropical climate, we send her home by the present opportunity, under the charge of our good old nurse.

" Such severe trials in a climate by no means congenial to an European constitution, and broken down as we were by former afflictions, have had their effect in producing severe illnesses. Lady Raffles has in point of health shared better than myself, but she is miserably reduced and lowered. For myself, I have had two of the most severe attacks I ever suffered. The last a fever which fell on the brain, and I was almost mad. I am still an invalid, and confined to my room.

" How different are these communications to those I was so happy as to make during our first three years residence? We were then perhaps too happy, and prided ourselves too highly on future prospects. It has pleased God to blight our hopes, and we must now lower our expectations more to the standard of the ordinary lot of human nature—God's will be done!

" All our thoughts, and all our wishes are now turned homewards. Sometimes the prospect is bright, and the heart expands in the contemplation; at others, dark clouds intervene, and the dread of meeting old friends with new faces and colder hearts, chills every feeling of pleasure. For ourselves I can only say, that with every remove we have dragged a lengthened chain; and that our attachments and

affections have only warmed and encreased in the ratio of the distance to which we have been driven, and the time we have been banished. We shall carry home the same hearts, the same principles and attachments with which we left England, heightened only by the force which absence and privation give to every enjoyment. Lady Raffles prays you to excuse her: since the loss of my dear Leopold she has never dared to take a pen in her hand.

"In a day or two we shall be left without a single child! What a change! We who had recently such a round and happy circle. All our fears were once that we should have too many: all our cares are now to preserve one—our only one. I cannot say any more: my heart is sick and nigh broken."

To the Duke of Somerset.

"*Bencoolen, February* 28, 1822.

"Our domestic misfortunes have borne so heavily upon us, that I have been obliged for many months to forego the satisfaction of any thing like a regular correspondence with my friends. The loss of our three eldest children added to severe and dangerous illnesses, have so completely broken our spirits, that we are almost afraid to look forward, and under these circumstances I am sure I shall not plead in vain to your Grace, that you will excuse my long silence.

"I am still confined to my room from the effects of a violent nervous fever, and my medical attendants limit me to the number of lines I may write, this will therefore account for my unusual brevity.

* * * * * *

"I send by the Borneo a very considerable collection of plants and seeds for the Horticultural Society: among them some very thriving plants of the mangosteen and other Malayan fruits, our choicest flowers, the sago and sugar-tree, with all the varieties of our pine-apples, &c. If the ship meets with good weather they will I think be a very valuable addition to their stock.

"My settlement of Singapore continues to prosper. By the returns of shipping, and native vessels arrived since it has been in our possession, the following results appear.

"The total tonnage arrived in two years and a half has been upwards of 161,000 tons, and the estimated value of imports and exports, 8,000,000 dol., or £2,000,000.

"Considering all the disadvantages under which Singapore has been placed, the want of confidence in its retention even for a month, the opposition of the English settlement at Panang, and of the Dutch, a stronger proof of its commercial importance could hardly be afforded.

"It is my intention to go round to Singapore in about three months, and to remain there until I have made the necessary arrangements for establishing the place on a proper and lasting foundation.

"The change for a few months will, I doubt not, prove beneficial to Lady Raffles' health and spirits."

To Mr. Marsden.

"*Bencoolen, Feb.* 28, 1822.

"My Dear Sir,

"Our domestic afflictions have been so great, that I have been quite unequal, during several months, to maintain any thing like a regular correspondence with my friends. You will have heard of our severe loss in the death of my eldest boy Leopold, and I have now to add, that, during the last month, and within a few days of each other, we were doomed to lose our eldest daughter Charlotte, our first born, and my only remaining boy, Marsden, your godson. These have been dreadful trials to my dear Sophia; but, I thank God, she is now becoming tolerably reconciled, and that, upon the whole, the shock has been got over as well as could have been expected.

"We have still one little prattler left, an infant; but after what has passed we have lost all confidence in the climate, and lose not a moment in sending her to England. She proceeds in the Borneo, now about to quit this port for London. Parting with our only one is an additional trial to Lady Raffles, but we have judged it the best, and have not allowed feelings to predominate. This will prove to you, that however we may be depressed the spring of our minds is not destroyed.

"I have myself suffered most severely from illness, and am at this moment hardly convalescent, not having left my room for three weeks. This last attack is the most severe I have felt, and I can compare it to nothing short of a brain fever, which almost made me mad. It is the first and only fever I ever experienced, and by falling on the nerves was doubly distressing.

"All these circumstances combined have only tended the more firmly to fix our determination of going to England in the course of next year, and I have accordingly sent home my resignation.

"By the Borneo I send a considerable consignment of Bencoolen spices to the Company, and the planters have shipped a still larger quantity on their own account: the invoices cannot amount to less than 100,000 dollars, and probably more. This will afford the means of a fair experiment, and I am anxious to interest all the friends of Bencoolen in it. Our cultivation is extending, but we are sadly off for capital and European industry, the very commodities with which you overflow.

"You will be pleased to hear that my settlement at Singapore continues to advance. The enclosed list of arrivals and departures during the first two years and a half will speak volumes in its favour. The tonnage amounted to 161,515 tons. If such has been the result while the settlement has laboured under every possible disadvantage (want of confidence in its retention even for a month, and the

efforts of the Dutch to crush it) what may we not expect hereafter, when confidence is established, capital accumulated, and the British merchant has fair play for his industry and speculation? The trade with Siam has most rapidly increased; indeed, Singapore would seem to be in a fair way of becoming the great trading port for Siam goods. Already the sugar of Siam sells at Singapore for less than it can be purchased at the capital of Siam, and many of the Siamese traders (principally Chinese in junks) come to enjoy the advantage of a free port.

"Crawfurd has been deputed by the Governor General to visit Siam and Cochin China. With the former place we are going on so well, that if commerce alone is our object, I think it is a pity to disturb the progress that is so rapidly making without our direct interference. As to Cochin China, some information may be obtained regarding the coasts and country; but the latter is in too unsettled and disturbed a state to promise much advantageous intercourse of a commercial nature."

To ————

"*Bencoolen, March* 6, 1822.

"The Borneo sailed from hence on the 4th instant, having our dear and only child on board. Sophia has borne the parting tolerably well; but what a sad and lonely house, without nurse and the children—never was there such a change—we wander from room to room, solitary and dejected; but God's will be done, and we must be content.

"I see no reason for altering the course I am steering, and my mind is made up to stand or fall by my own views or measures; thank you, however. * * *

"Our schools here are extending, and the missionaries gaining ground."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*Bencoolen, April* 12, 1822.

"It is now above a month since I wrote to your Grace by the ship in which we sent home our dear and only remaining child Ella; and though, as you may well suppose, we have been left as solitary and disconsolate as can well be imagined, I think it will be satisfactory to you to know that both Lady Raffles and I have been gaining ground in health and spirits. We now begin to look with some confidence on returning to our native land, and to indulge in a thousand anticipations of joy and anxiety.

* * * * * * *

"In the way of news, or interesting information, you cannot expect much. The only political event in our neighbourhood of recent occurrence is the defeat of the Dutch in the interior of Padang, where they have become engaged in a war with the Padries, a sect of Mahomedans, which is rapidly gaining ground throughout the northern parts of Sumatra. It is the practice of these people, when they are attacked, to place the women and children in front; and in the last onset by the Dutch, it is

reported that not less than one hundred and twenty women, each with a child in her arms, were sacrificed, the women standing firm.

"The discomfiture of the Dutch on the last occasion is stated to have been occasioned by the treachery of a Padri Chief, who apparently came over to their side, and led them into a snare; and the Dutch took their revenge of his perfidy by assembling all the troops and Chiefs of the country, shaving off the poor man's beard, &c. and then chopping off his head, embalming it, and sending it down to the seat of government, to the Resident's, where it is exhibited.

To Thomas Murdoch, Esq.

"*Bencoolen, April* 12, 1822.

"My Dear Sir,

"I am afraid you will have thought me very remiss in not acknowledging the receipt of your kind and friendly letters; and yet could you know the state of misery and anxiety into which we have been plunged during the last year, I am sure you would make allowances. Our first serious misfortune was the death of Lady Raffles' eldest brother, who had come to us from Bengal on a visit. Next followed my dear and eldest boy Leopold, your godson, the pride and hope of my life; but we were perhaps too proud, and we hoped for too much, and, if so, we have been justly humbled. Our brother-in-law, Captain Auber, who brought us out to this country, was the next; and after him, in rapid succession, nearly every person in India whom I could call a friend; all those who had been in my confidence in Java: and to close the year, I was myself attacked with a serious and alarming illness, which I did not shake off for many months. Lady Raffles, though not laid up, was in a very precarious state; and though her anxiety for me might be of temporary service in turning her thoughts from former afflictions, it could not do otherwise than still further reduce her.

"With the past year, however, we had vainly hoped that we had overcome our afflictions. We endeavoured to raise ourselves about Christmas; but before the 20th of January two more of my children, my eldest daughter Charlotte, and my only remaining boy Marsden, were in the grave! This blow was almost too much for us. But we had still one little one left, and embraced the first opportunity of sending her to a safer climate, where, we trust in God, she will have duly arrived long before this reaches you. Our misfortunes did not even end here; for I again fell ill, and was confined for nearly two months, with something very like a brain fever. It is only within the last month that I have got about at all; but I now feel myself completely recovered, though much shaken in constitution. Lady Raffles most fortunately, and unexpectedly, has kept her health tolerably well; and if it pleases God that our afflictions now cease, we will still look forward to brighter days and better times.

"I have thus detailed my sorrows, not so much to excite your commiseration,

as to prove to you that it was incapacity alone which prevented my writing. It is of no use to brood over misfortunes, and you will I am sure be happy to learn that we have both recovered our usual tone of mind and spirits; the body however is weak, and the only remedy for this is change of climate; on this also we have resolved, and I hope to reach England early in 1824.

" I propose going round to Singapore in the course of a few months, for the purpose of completing all my arrangements in that quarter. Its rise still continues to astonish those who did not at first look deeply. From a statement of the arrivals and departures, imports, &c. during the first two years and a half, it appears, that, during that period no less than 2889 vessels have entered at the port, of which 383 were armed and commanded by Europeans, and 2506 by natives of independent states, and that their united tonnage amounted to 161,515 tons.

" It further appears that the value of merchandize in native vessels that have entered the Port during the same period has exceeded five millions of dollars, and that the imports and exports by ships, have not been less than three millions more, making a gross amount of eight millions of dollars, or nearly £200,000 sterling.

" These statements have been forwarded to Europe, and from this proof of the extent of commercial dealings at Singapore during the infancy of the establishment, and whilst it has laboured under many disadvantages, some estimate may be formed of its real value and importance.

To the Rev. Dr. Raffles.

" *Bencoolen, April 17th*, 1822.

" My Dear Cousin,

" I wrote to you so lately by the Borneo, that I have little to add beyond the assurance of my continued esteem and affection. We have, thank God, recovered very much of late, and Sophia is quite herself again. I am but a crazy mortal at best, but on the whole am quite as well in health as I have any right to expect in a climate which is any thing but congenial to my constitution.

" We still hold our determination of quitting India, God willing, for Europe, about the end of next year—neither of us can last out longer.

* * * * *

" We now pass our time in great retirement. I have lately completed a very comfortable country-house, and much of my time is taken up in agricultural pursuits. I am by far the most active farmer in the country, and as President of the Agricultural Society, not only take precedence at the board, but in the field. I have a dozen ploughs constantly going, and before I quit the estate, I hope it will realize a revenue of two or three thousand a year, besides feeding its population. It is an experiment,

but it will encourage others; and as it is a property which belongs to the Company, no one can accuse me of interested views in the efforts which I am making. It is possible that in England I may look with interest to the returns in money which my oats and barley may afford; but here I am quite satisfied with seeing and collecting the produce of my industry and exertions. I am cultivating and improving for the mere love of the thing, and the desire of employing my time advantageously for others.

"Our sugar at last succeeds very well, but the disappointment in the mills has been great indeed. It was only a few weeks ago that I received the letters from Messrs. Littledale. We then immediately set to work to construct a mill here as well as we could; and it has now commenced to work at the rate of half a ton a day. The sugar is excellent, and I have no doubt the rum will be of equally good quality. This is the first part of my mechanical operations, for which I take to myself no little credit, considering our want of assistance and experience. We took our model from the Encyclopædia.

"Adieu, my dear Cousin, &c."

To ————.

"*Bencoolen, July 25th*, 1822.

"I am sure it will be satisfactory to you to know that both Sophia and myself have become *ourselves* again: not that we can forget our past and heavy afflictions, or cease to mourn over them; but we can now again enjoy the present hour, and look forward with steadiness and satisfaction. I am not one of that 'Satanic school' who look upon this world as the hell of some former and past creation, but am content to take it as I find it, firmly believing, from all I have known and seen, that whatever is, is for our good and happiness, and that there is actually more of both, even in this world, than in our consciences we can think we have deserved. Our health too, has improved and if in this respect we could remain as we are, we might risk two or three years more, at least so say our present feelings, but we must not trust them: experience dictates prudence, and if we only hold out till the appointed time, we shall be satisfied. We have had a very sickly season, and among the casualties are our chaplain and doctor; Jack also has been obliged to fly to Batavia for change of air, and deaths are of daily occurrence in our small circle: but notwithstanding this we still look up; therefore, with the blessing of God, don't despair of seeing us in 1824.

"I have long looked for the appointment of Mr. Canning as Governor-General; and, upon the whole, I augur well of his government, not from any personal views as to myself, but with respect to the public interests, to which I cannot but look with anxiety. My life has hitherto been a public one; and long habit, if it is nothing else, has made the public weal as interesting to me as my own personal

prospects ever can be. Without attending to it I should lose half the interest of my life, so that you must not be surprised if I still hold on the same course, even though I may not be able to prove that my interests are advanced by it. To these I never looked *primarily*, and God grant I never may. I believe, paradoxical as it may seem to say so, I should lose my identity were I to cease to love other things better than myself. It may be a wrong turn of mind, but such is the twist of it, and matured as it now is by forty years' growth, I fear I must change myself ere I think or act otherwise.

"Do not, however, do me the injustice to suppose that I am overweeningly attached to the things of this world—am in love with ambition, or suppose I can reform the world by my endeavours. I think I know myself better. I would rather be a simple *unit* with the *united* few who act rightly and on principle, than a blazing cypher acting for self and my own nothingness. But a truce to this. I hope to be at Singapore by the time Canning arrives, so that he will find me at my post of danger, and I yet hope of honour too.

"As for Crawfurd, what you say, to a certain extent, had now and then presented itself transiently to my mind in the same light; but you mistake me if you suppose I entertain any unpleasant feeling on the account; whatever his faults, he is devoting his mind exclusively to objects in which my heart and soul are deeply interested. Let Crawfurd have his swing, and the more extended the better; in the present times we, perhaps, require such bold and fearless men. The cloud of ignorance, which still hangs over England, with regard to the Eastern Islands, cannot be dissipated by ordinary means, or by dint of reason; it requires the agency of some of those powerful elements which, while they disperse, cannot avoid partially destroying.

"Where we differ we shall explain, and longer and cooler heads may light their matches from the sparks which we strike out. Two of a trade, they say, can never agree; and Crawfurd and I are, perhaps, running too much on the same parallel, not now and then to be jostling each other; but if in following my steps he profits by my errors and experience, it will be a satisfaction to me. He writes to me that his views are turned homewards in 1825, but this I don't believe. I think he expects to return from his cruise about the fall of the next year, and will, I have no doubt, convey a fine collection to the Governor General; it is not impossible we may meet.

"I observe what you say on the state of the nation. I agree with you, as far as we can perceive from this distance, that things look better. Manufactures and commerce are certainly improving, and agriculture will come about in due time. It is very amusing to hear the complaints of the ruin of the country in consequence of its too great riches and abundance. For those who suffer, and they are very many, I feel most sincerely: most deeply do I commiserate the wretchedness which must necessarily be felt by certain classes; and all must be content to retrograde from the

high pitch of ease and luxury, which were created by an over, but, perhaps, necessary excitement; yet I never can bring my mind to suppose our case desperate, while we not only have more people, but more food, and more money than we know what to do with. Were I to land, for the first time, on some large and highly populous island, and to observe a similar state of things, what would be my impression? Not that it was a ruined, but a badly governed country. Ours, perhaps, is so circumstanced; although among the many quacks and pretenders to heal the diseases of the state, I have seen but few whose panacea were worth the trial. Upon the whole, perhaps, we cannot go on much better than we are doing: our circumstances have changed, and greatly changed, and the great object is to assist the wheel as it turns round, and render the change as gradual and imperceptible as possible. Most certainly do I think we have not changed for the worse. Scarcity and high price never can be better than cheapness and abundance: for a time, it may serve to gorge the appetites of the few; but in the long run, and for the nation at large, it never can last, but must inevitably end in ruin. Industry and plain living suit better with good morals, sound understanding, and, consequently, with the happiness of this life, and the prospects of the future, than idleness and luxury, though they were to be bought without the sacrifice of the many to the few. I look highly on the resources of the country, I consider them as inexhaustible, and that the days of our true greatness are now approaching. So much for politics.

"I must not omit to tell you a curious fact: the Java Government were distressed for money, and proposed to raise a loan of thirty lacs in Bengal, at from seven to nine per cent., payable in five years. The terms were communicated to me, and the loan opened; but there was a feverish anxiety in Calcutta as to the security of the Dutch, notwithstanding their power and means in the East were never less equivocal; and the Dutch themselves thought better of it, and the loan was closed, when, lo and behold! the only subscription to the loan, actually realized, was from me. This has occasioned a reference to Batavia from Bengal; and it is odd enough, after all our battlings, that I should be found to be the only man in India who would hear their distress, and trust them with a penny. This is, at least, an amusing anecdote for the entertainment of his Netherlands' Majesty, when he may honour me with another invitation to his palace at Lacken.

"Your letter respecting young M'Lean I purposely put aside to answer, after turning the matter in my thoughts; it is a serious matter to direct the destination of a young man, and, as I never like to drop those whom I once take up, I am anxious to see that all is right in the beginning. So much depends upon the start that we cannot be too cautious.

"My former letters will have informed you of my present plan for going home, and, I thank God, the necessity does not exist for our going in the Layton.

" I observe what you say respecting Pulo Nias; I must again refer you to my principles of action, with an assurance that I do, and will, to the utmost of my power, act prudently and cautiously.

" I am placed here, as it has been my lot ever since I have been entrusted with a government, to administer the public affairs according to my best ability. I lose no time in informing my superiors of my situation, and the circumstances of the country, and their interests. I implore advice, and ask for authority; I receive none; scarce an acknowledgment, and when I do, one that only proves they can never have read what I have written. Year after year rolls on; the public weal must be attended to, and time and tide stand still for no man. How is it possible that a man, having the honour of his country at heart, and any conscience whatever, can remain a silent spectator of what is daily getting worse and worse? Either he must step in to stop the ruin, or he must eat the bread of idleness, and pocket the wages of iniquity, for they cannot be honestly earned without the performance of corresponding duties, to say nothing of the happiness or misery of the thousands and tens of thousands committed to his charge, and whose destiny must, in a great measure, be considered in his hands.

" I receive very kind letters from Mr. Grant and Mr. Edward Parry; I have reason to value and esteem them, and I am deeply sensible of their kindness.

" My hand aches, and I must leave off with an apology for writing you so long a letter; but, in truth, I have not had time to write a *shorter*, and, therefore, give you in haste what comes uppermost. We are all well."

" *Bencoolen, July 26th*, 1822.

" You say our new Deputy Master-Attendant is a *protegé* of Mr. Robinson, and on this account entitled to my attentions.

" I am not aware that, as yet, I am under any obligation to Mr. Robinson, for if report says true, he is most hostile to me, but for why I know not. Be it as it may, I would always rather return good for evil; and, in the hope that he may one day lay aside his prejudice, and be open to reason and conviction, you may assure him that I only regret I am not better known to him. Times may alter as they have once altered, and, really, I cannot account for much that I see and hear; nevertheless, I shall continue to pursue a straight-forward course, as I have hitherto done, without swerving to the right or left, quarrelling with no one."

To ————.

" *Bencoolen, July* 28, 1822.

" I will now reply to your letter respecting young M'Lean.

" With industry and perseverance, a good constitution and frugal habits, there wants but one thing more to complete the requisites, and that is capital, or credit,

which is the same thing; without this last, it is chance if the others have fair play, and with it, I think few places offer better prospects than the spot from whence I write—Bencoolen, where there are most advantageous openings for advantageous speculations, in the cultivation and manufacture of sugar and rum, the culture of coffee, spices, &c., and where, notwithstanding all its supposed disadvantages, more may now be done with *dollars* than ever could be effected in the West Indies with *pounds*.

"Commercial speculations are, in a great measure, at a stand, and Singapore is overstocked with merchants. They will be too keen for a novice, and in these times it is quite a science, even for the first houses, to know how to make money: the most they can do is to prevent loss. In Java there are great facilities and advantages, both for trade and cultivation, particularly the latter, but then it is under a Dutch government. Of the extent of capital required, any thing from one to five thousand pounds will answer, but, of course, the more the better. With two or three thousand pounds to sink in the land at Bencoolen, I really think a pretty fortune might be made in ten years, paying back the first capital with a high interest in three or four.

"One thing, however, must not on any account be expected either here or at Singapore—there are no appointments to be had—not more than you can pick up in the streets of London; therefore, every thing must depend upon the party himself, and on his own frugality and exertions."

To ————.

"*Bencoolen, September* 4, 1822.

"We have had a very sickly season. I am concerned to say, my inestimable friend Jack still remains in a very dangerous state, and is obliged to embark in the Layton for the Cape. In him I lose my right hand; but if he survives, he will rejoin me in six months, and accompany us home.

"I am afraid I shall have a good deal to do at Singapore, as the place grows so rapidly, that some important provisions must be made for its internal management and comfort.

* * * * *

"Sophia, I am sorry to say, has had an illness which has lowered her very much, and makes me very anxious to get her home. Would to God we were once safe with you, and out of these enervating regions.

* * * * * * *

"The idea of a pepper cargo without dead weight is such a farce, that the Layton has been the laughing-stock to all the private traders, and, were the whole

proceeding to be published, I know of no instance that would expose more ignorance and absurdity in the Company's proceedings as merchants *.

" I am off for Singapore to-morrow, very far from well, and the change may do us good.

" For the past year the only item in our books worthy of remark is, that the charges of the settlement have been reduced about 70,000 rupees; but the place is still so exorbitantly high and expensive, that, perhaps, the less that is said on the subject the better."

To W. Marsden, Esq.

" *Bencoolen, September 8th*, 1823.

" My Dear Sir,

" I promised myself the satisfaction of writing to you very fully by the Layton, but illness, and the variety of detail which must be got through in the few days between this and my embarkation for Singapore, will, I fear, compel me to be more brief than usual. I still continue to suffer so severely from a nervous affection in my head, that I cannot calculate upon an hour's health; Lady Raffles too, is only just recovering from an illness; and my invaluable friend, Dr. Jack, is on the eve of embarking for the Cape as a last hope. Under these circumstances, and the bustle of packing and delivering over the charge of the settlement for some months, you will, I am confident, make allowances. Your kind letters, from the 19th of August, 1821, to the 7th of March last, are now before me, and although there are many points in them to which I could have wished to advert, I must be content to notice a few.

" Your observations on our press are as just as they are liberal; and I only wish it was in my power to convince you that we have sufficiently profited by them. You were, of course, aware, that my object is rather to excite others than to come forward myself, and that in our present publications I necessarily keep in the back ground. I allow nothing to appear as direct from myself.

" The following is the latest and best information which I can obtain respecting the Rakan river.

* * * * *

* The Court of Directors sent the Layton out to Bencoolen with strict orders to fill her entirely with pepper; and so strictly forbad any thing else being put on board, that Sir Stamford could not alter their orders. A moment's consideration will lead to the inference, that pepper is in itself so light, that a vessel entirely laden with it would be buoyed up, and float entirely on the surface of the water; consequently could not, with safety, venture to sea. A proportion of sugar had been prepared as ballast; but as it was not allowed to be received on board, the vessel sailed with that small quantity of pepper which would not endanger her safety in passing the Cape, &c.

" The above is abstracted from the journal of the cruizer Timir, sent over for the express purpose, at my suggestion. This will shew you that I am doing all I can to ascertain the true form of the coast in this quarter. This long extract has occupied so much of my paper, that I must defer our further geographical discoveries till another opportunity. I enclose you Captain Crisp's calculations on the longitude of Bencoolen: we are just commencing with Jupiter's satellites, and I shall, certainly, not allow the present astronomical party to leave the coast until I have laid down all the principal points.

September 19th. I had written thus far, when I was broken in upon by a host of people, and on business; and my time is now so short, that I can do little more than close this letter, as we embark at daylight to-morrow. Dr. Jack is still alive, and sails for the Cape this evening, but I have very little hope for him; I shall feel his loss most severely, both as a private friend and as an able assistant, not only in the particular line of natural history, but in our geographical pursuits. With his assistance and Captain Crisp's, I had commenced our general survey of Sumatra with some hope of success; but I am now no longer sanguine of doing much in my own time. In a country like this, where nothing material of this nature has been effected, the scope of our operations seemed naturally to divide itself into three branches; first, the determining the geographical position of all the sea-ports and harbours, and the hydrographic delineation of the line of coast and the adjacent Islands; in this we have done, and I am happy to say we are still doing a good deal; secondly, the conducting a series of triangles from a measured base, in order to fix the site of towns, the extent, and direction of the several ranges of mountains, and the points where the rivers take their rise; in this we have gone so far as to lay down a tolerably extensive base from the tower of Marlborough Fort, which we purpose to adopt as the leading point, or meridian, and to carry on the triangles as far as the eye will reach from hence; and, thirdly, the stretching the more minute topographical details, in which we neither have wasted nor shall waste our time.

" I must, however, here close, in the hope that my health will enable me to take advantage of the leisure of the voyage to write you more fully. I take the liberty of presenting Mrs. Marsden with a cask of Bencoolen sugar, in the hope that she will patronize our manufacture. The superior authorities will insist that we can neither manufacture sugar nor grow coffee, though we have already produced the former of better quality than any known in the East, and our coffee-gardens are in every way promising, and the export from Padang alone, during the last year, exceeded 20,000 peculs. You will observe, that our sugar is muscovado, and not the light article usually obtained from India, and as the worth of sugar must be in its sweetness, we think we stand high. I am confident you will give it all the credit it deserves, and more we do not wish."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*September* 11, 1822.

"The last arrivals have brought us many kind letters from you; and I need not attempt to say how truly, and how deeply, we feel your kindness. The hand of affliction has been heavy upon us; and it is in such times that the kindness of friends, and of those we love and esteem, is doubly valued.

"I did intend to write you a very long letter by this opportunity; but illness, and the multiplicity of detail which crowds upon me at the moment, deprive me of the leisure of even five minutes. We embark for Singapore to-morrow morning.

"If I am able to hold up my head, and use my pen at all, I shall certainly avail myself of the leisure of the voyage to endeavour to make amends for my long silence by writing you a very prosing letter. I will not attempt to say more at present, as you will easily perceive from the writing that I hold my pen with difficulty; but though my head fail, my heart never will."

* * * * * * *

To ————.

"*Bencoolen, September* 15, 1822.

"We were to have embarked this morning for Singapore, but the wind has proved foul, and it was ordained that we should remain another day, to bury our dear and invaluable friend, William Jack. Poor fellow! a finer head or heart there never was; and whether as a bosom friend, or as a scientific assistant, he was to me invaluable; he had been ill long, and returned from Java about a fortnight ago, after an unsuccessful visit for change of air: we embarked him yesterday morning in the Layton, for the Cape; and he died this morning before the ship weighed her anchor.

"I am so depressed in spirits, and altogether so incompetent to the task of writing to his father at this hurried moment, when all is confusion for my embarkation, that I must postpone it; but I beg you to assure him, that the loss is as deeply deplored by his friends here, as it is possible it can be by his family at home; and that for myself, I am so overwhelmed by the misfortune, that I cannot command myself to enter into particulars. His character and talents stood deservedly high with all who knew him; and if any thing can afford relief to a parent in the loss of such a son, it ought to be the reflection that he has performed the course which he was destined to run with honour and integrity, and that his sphere of usefulness was as extended as his talents and ability, themselves of no common order, could command."

"*Straits of Sunda, off Angier, September* 26, 1822.

"I am happy to say that we are thus far on our way to Singapore, all well. The melancholy addition to the number of deaths in our family, by the loss of William

Jack, made us quit the place wlthout much regret; and God grant the change of air and scene may work a favourable change both in our health and spirits.

"It is indispensable that the ship which comes out for us should have a poop, as Sophia could not undergo the voyage below hatches; indeed, she is so bad a sailor, and we are both so weak and unfit for a long voyage, that we sometimes think of making a port-to-port voyage home; that is to say, going to the Isle of France, the Cape, St. Helena, and the Cape de Verd Islands, and stopping at each place a week or a fortnight to recruit.

To the Rev. Dr. Raffles.

"*In the Straits of Banca, October* 1, 1822.

"My Dear Cousin,

"Our correspondence has latterly flagged, though I hardly know why, except it be that we may neither of us have had heart or spirit enough to enter on the sad subjects which have most absorbed our attention. You will, I think, be glad to hear that we have quitted Bencoolen for a season; for though I still adhere to its being, on the whole, as healthy as other parts of the East, the melancholy events which have accumulated in our own family, must produce a contrary impression on all who look to us with interest and affection. Death, as if he seemed determined to glut himself to the last, snatched from us, two days before we sailed, another member of our family, my invaluable and highly respected friend, Dr. Jack; he had supplied the place of Dr. Arnold, and all my future views in life were intimately blended with the plans and projects which we had formed. He was to have accompanied me to England, and his death has left a blank which will not be easily or speedily filled up.

"I am now on my passage to Singapore, accompanied by Sophia and her youngest brother; and my plan is to remain there about six months, with the view of arranging and modelling something like a constitution for the place, and transferring its future management to a successor. Should God spare our lives, we then look to return to Bencoolen for the purpose of winding up; and then, about the end of the year, if it be not too presumptuous to look forward so far after what has passed, we contemplate the prospect of revisiting old England. At all events, no views of ambition will weigh with us beyond that period; and, considering the precarious state of our health, and the many ties at home, it seems, in the natural course of things, that we should then take this step.

"Among the numerous deaths which have occurred at Bencoolen, we have lost no less than three doctors, and our worthy chaplain, Mr. Winter, whose widow and family are now on their way to England. As the advance of good principles so essentially depends on the character of the pastor, and particularly at Bencoolen, where there is only one of our Establishment, and his union with the Missionaries is so essential, I am not a little interested in the choice that may be made of a suc-

cessor. He will be appointed from home, and, most likely, become known to you before his departure. This, I think, would be advantageous, particularly with reference to future correspondence after I may leave the country. Of all places, a ship is the worst for application, or even for writing a letter, for there is always something going on, and generally what is annoying either one way or the other. I am subject to constant interruptions, and am at this moment obliged to break off my letter.

" I again resume the pen, though I have little to add, except a farewell."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arrival at Singapore—Description of the settlement—Grounds of right to its retention—Occupation at Singapore—Selection of site for college—Value of land—Contrast of Bencoolen and Singapore—Number of vessels arrived in the first two years and a half—Bungalow on Singapore hill—Botanic garden—Description of plant described by Dr. Finlayson—Mission to Bali—Drawing up laws and regulations for the settlement—Magistrates—Memorial against slavery—Resolution of the Bengal Government—Instructions to Mr. Crawfurd—Addresses from the inhabitants—Singapore the only place in India where slavery cannot exist—Leaves Singapore—Touches at Batavia—Correspondence with the Baron Van de Capellan.

The pleasure of witnessing the encreasing prosperity of a settlement which he had himself formed, in which he was hailed as a benefactor, and welcomed as a friend by all ranks and classes, raised the spirit which sorrow had depressed; and Sir Stamford's heart again expanded with the hope of happiness, and rejoiced in the consciousness of possessing the power of diffusing civilization and blessings around him.

To ———.

"*Singapore, October 11th*, 1822.

"We landed yesterday, and I have once more established my head-quarters in the centre of my Malayan friends. I have just time to say thus much, more you shall have soon and often: in the meantime you will be glad to know that I feel sufficient health and strength to do all I wish. The coldest and most disinterested could not quit Bencoolen, and land at Singapore, without surprise and emotion. What, then, must have been my feelings, after the loss of almost every thing that was dear to me on that ill-fated coast? After all the risks and dangers to which this my almost only child had been exposed, to find it grown and advanced beyond measure, and even my warmest anticipations and expectations, in importance, wealth, and interest—in every thing that can give it value and permanence?

"I did feel when I left Bencoolen, that the time had passed when I could take much active interest in Indian affairs, and I wished myself safe home; but I already feel differently; I feel a new life and vigour about me; and if it please God to grant me health, the next six months will, I hope, make some amends for the gloom of the last sixteen.

" Rob me not of this my political child, and you may yet see me at home in all my wonted spirits, and with an elasticity about me which will bear me up against all that party spirit can do to depress me.

" I have not time to write to any one else, therefore let all friends know that we are well, and again, Heaven be praised, in the land of the living. Sophia is quite well.

" Mary Anne and her child are well also, and in our hearts we sing, ' Oh be joyful in the Lord.'"

To the Duchess of Somerset.

" *Singapore, November* 30, 1822.

" I am sure you will congratulate us in having escaped from Bencoolen with our lives, after the rapid succession of miseries which we experienced there. To close the melancholy list of casualties in my own family, I have to add the loss of my most excellent, valued friend, Dr. Jack. He was carried off the day before we sailed from Bencoolen.

" We have already experienced the benefit of change of scene and climate; and the prosperous state of this rising colony has made amends for the dull and sombre views which we have left. Here all is life and activity; and it would be difficult to name a place on the face of the globe, with brighter prospects or more present satisfaction. In little more than three years it has risen from an insignificant fishing village, to a large and prosperous town, containing at least 10,000 inhabitants of all nations, actively engaged in commercial pursuits, which afford to each and all a handsome livelihood, and abundant profit. There are no complaints here of want of employment, no deficiency of rents, or dissatisfaction at taxes. Land is rapidly rising in value, and instead of the present number of inhabitants, we have reason to expect that we shall have at least ten times as many before many years have passed. This may be considered as the simple, but almost magic result of that perfect freedom of trade, which it has been my good fortune to establish.

" We are daily looking for accounts of the arrival of our new Governor General; and it is not improbable he may bring out final instructions respecting this place, as far as concerns the question with the Dutch. I have, however, very little uneasiness on the subject, as I think it now nearly impossible to dispossess us; and the time for my going home now draws so nigh, that I shall be able to fight the battle out in England, upon more equal ground than I have been obliged to do here.

" I could fill a volume with new matter, on new people, new manners, and new countries, but I must be content to hold my tongue until I have the gratification of telling you all my long stories in person.

* * * * * *

" I am at present engaged in establishing a constitution for Singapore, the

principles of which will, I hope, ensure its prosperity. The utmost possible freedom of trade and equal rights to all, with protection of property and person, are the objects to be obtained, and I shall spare no pains to establish such laws and regulations as may be most conducive to them. In Java I had to remodel, and in doing so to remove the rubbish and incumbrances of two centuries of Dutch mal-administration —here I have an easier task—and the task is new. In Java I had to look principally to the agricultural interests, and the commercial only so far as they were connected with them; here, on the contrary, commerce is every thing, agriculture only in its infancy. The people are different as well as their pursuits. I assure you I stand much in need of advice, and were it not for Lady Raffles, I should have no counsellor at all. She is nevertheless a host to me, and if I do live to see you again, it will be entirely owing to her love and affection: without this I should have been cast away long ago. If it please God we have health, we hope to pass the next two months pleasantly enough in this interesting occupation.

" The only amusing discovery which we have recently made is that of a sailing fish, called by the natives *ikan layer*, of about ten or twelve feet long, which hoists a mainsail, and often sails in the manner of a native boat, and with considerable swiftness. I have sent a set of the sails home, as they are beautifully cut, and form a model for a fast-sailing boat—they are composed of the dorsal fins of the animal, and when a shoal of these are under sail together, they are frequently mistaken for a fleet of native boats."

To W. Marsden, Esq.

" *Singapore, Nov.* 30, 1822.

" My Dear Sir,

" You will, I am sure, be glad to learn that we have derived every advantage from change of scene and climate which we calculated upon, and that both Lady Raffles and myself have daily improved in health and spirits since our arrival here. The last blow reserved for us at Bencoolen was the death of my most valued friend, Dr. Jack, and great indeed has been the loss which I have sustained by this event. Poor fellow, we had become so intimate, and our future plans had become so interwoven with each other's views in life, that I could not have felt the loss of a brother more than I did his. But I must not get into a melancholy train of thought, and will drop the subject till we meet.

" Of Singapore I could of course say a good deal; but when I say that it is going on as prosperously as possible, you will infer much of what I would communicate. I have nearly got over the job of undoing, and am steadily going on in the establishment of something like a constitution for the place, on the principle of establishing it permanently as a free port in every sense of the word. The active spirit of enterprize which prevails among all classes is truly astonishing, and for its extent,

I believe I may safely say, that no part of the world exhibits a busier scene than the town and environs of Singapore. The Dutch have been obliged to take off their duties at Java and elsewhere on native prows, and as far as appearances go, they seem to see the necessity of adopting a more liberal system throughout. I am sorry, however, to say that a recent act, in which they were the principals, is perhaps as disgraceful and abominable over a defenceless woman, as ever was committed by a civilized nation.

" You must be aware that the grounds on which I maintain our right to Singapore rested on the following facts, which it has never been in their power to disprove.

" 1st. That subsequent to the death of Sultan Mahomed, which happened about twelve years ago, there had been no regular installation of a successor, nor had any Chief been acknowledged as such, with the essential forms required by the Malay custom.

" That the regalia (the possession of which is considered essential to sovereignty), still remained in the custody of Tunku Putrie, widow of the deceased Sultan.

" 3d. That the Rajah of Lingin had never exercised the authority of Sultan of Johore, and explicitly disclaimed the title, and

" 4th. That the prince whom we supported was the eldest son of the late Sultan, and was intended for the succession. That he was acknowledged by one at least, if not both the constituting authorities of the empire, and that he himself stood in no way committed to the Dutch, when I formed the treaty with him.

" The Dutch have allowed nearly four years to pass since our occupation of Singapore, in trying to prove that the Sultan of Lingin was actually invested with the sovereignty of Johore; but finding our ministry more firm than they expected, and that their assertions were not admitted as proofs, they have at last given up the point, and actually proceeded to the seizure of the regalia from the hands of Tunku Putrie. I enclose you the particulars; it is a curious document and may deserve preservation as connected with the history of this part of the world.

" The details of the destructive fire which has taken place in China will reach you through the public prints; I will therefore only notice that the whole of the factories, English and foreign, with two exceptions, and upwards of 12,000 Chinese houses, including six belonging to the Hong merchants, were burnt to the ground between the first and third instant, and that the fire was by no means extinguished on the twentieth, when our last accounts came away. The whole of the Company's woollens of the season, worth about £400,000 have been destroyed, and about five hundred tons of tea—700,000 dollars were fortunately saved from the Company's treasury, but nothing else from the factory, and the supercargoes have for the most part lost every thing but the clothes on their backs. This will occasion some long

faces in Leadenhall-street, but it will set the manufacturers at work to supply the woollens lost.

"You will no doubt have heard of Crawfurd's mission to Siam and Cochin China. He has failed in the essential objects of his mission, but has had the means of collecting a good deal of information respecting the countries he has visited, which will afford him the opportunity of writing a very interesting book or two. He was with me last week on his return to Bengal, and I had the opportunity of entering fully into the subject. At Siam he was detained five months. The King received him in the first instance, but all his communications subsequently were with an officer of the second rank below the sovereign; and the only acknowledgment he could obtain of the Governor General's letter, was a short reply from an officer of the *third* rank, specifying the duties and regulations of the port; but which was no sooner delivered than the terms were broken, and the first act after Crawfurd's departure was to seize the supercargo, Captain, and part of the crew of an English vessel, and to beat and knock them about till they had nearly deprived them of life; afterwards putting them in irons and treating them with a barbarity which would disgrace savages: and this purposely as an insult to our embassy, and to shew their contempt of our power.

"At Cochin China he met with a somewhat better reception personally, but the King would not grant him an audience, or receive the letter from the Governor General at all. The reason assigned was its not coming from a crowned head, and that a similar letter from France had not been received. A certificate from one of the mandarins that we should be allowed to trade on the same terms as the French, was all that Crawfurd could obtain.

"It does not seem that there is any foreign European influence at either court, prejudicial to our political or national interest; and Crawfurd seems to think they are both too jealous to admit of any. They have undoubtedly great apprehensions of any European power gaining a footing among them; and nothing could equal the strict manner in which the embassy was watched at Cochin China.

"Siam proves to be fully as rich a country as we supposed. Its population is estimated at six millions, of which one-sixth may be Chinese, and nearly one-half the whole are included at the districts of Lao, the other half occupying Lower Siam. The produce in sugar, pepper, &c. &c. is immense; and the tonnage on junks which annually enter the Minam is not estimated at less than 40,000 tons; of these, eighteen or twenty of the largest junks belong to the King, who with the court, monopolizes all the foreign trade of this country. The value of this junk trade is so important to the King and all concerned in it, that they are naturally averse to the admission of our shipping to its supercession, and perhaps destruction; and this circumstance added to the despotic nature of the Government, its jealousy and

general bad character, seem to preclude the hope of our enjoying a direct trade to any extent, by means of our own shipping. We must be satisfied with the entrepot which we have established at Singapore, whither their junks regularly come with a large portion of the produce of the country, and can afford to sell it at a lower rate than foreigners can procure the same articles in Siam itself; and now under the protection of the British flag the exchange must take place. In the extension of this trade, the King and his court are so much interested, that he will in a manner feel dependent on us for the accommodation and protection afforded.

" The richest province of Lower Siam seems to be Chantibun, on the eastern side of the gulph. It is said to export upwards of 80,000 peculs of pepper in a year.

" On his way to Cochin China, Crawfurd touched at Saigun, the capital of Lower Cochi, and situated on the northern bank of the Camboja river. This place he describes as full of activity and produce, and abounding with Chinese, who seemed anxious for a more general intercourse with us. Cochin China is a poor country comparatively with Siam; but the principal value of our connection with it seems to be with reference to the channel which it may afford for a more extensive intercourse with several of the provinces of the Chinese.

" For further details I must refer you to Crawfurd's book when published, or beg of you to await my arrival in England, as I am ashamed to lengthen this letter further."

To W. Marsden, Esq.

" *Singapore, November* 30, 1822.

" My plan is to resign Singapore as soon as I can make arrangements for the appointment of a successor.

" Since I have been here I have caught no less than six *duyongs,* (the animal described by Valentin, and so long talked of as the mermaid), some as large as nine feet two inches. A full-grown female is now under the dissecting knife, so that the natural history of this extraordinary animal is likely to be better known than any of the other *cetæ.*

" Crawfurd's astronomers omitted to take either the latitude or longitude of Bankok, the present capital of Siam, although they were there upwards of four months. The most remarkable production which they fell in with was a large potatoe or yam (a species of *menispermum*) weighing no less than four hundred and eighty pounds avoirdupoise! This is a match for my great flower. Crawfurd carried up two *duyongs* from hence, and I have now three, ready prepared for England.

" We are making some advances towards a general survey of Singapore and the adjacent Islands; and I am happy to say I have succeeded at last in getting a very correct survey of the eastern coast of Sumatra from Diamond Point down to the Ca-

rimons. By the time I return to Bencoolen, I trust my astronomical party at the Line will have done something; and, at all events, I hope I shall have it in my power to shew you that I have not been idle.

"You will be surprised to hear that a considerable quantity of the finest benjamin is produced in Lao, about the latitude of 15° or 16°, if not more.

"My hand is rather unsteady from my late illness, therefore excuse my scrawl, which I am almost ashamed to send."

To T. Murdoch, Esq.

"*Singapore, December* 4, 1822.

"My Dear Sir,

"I am afraid you will accuse me of neglect in not writing to you for so long a period, but I must tell the truth, and rely on your kindness. I have not been able to bring myself to the point since the loss of my dear boy, Leopold, and even now feel a reluctance in doing so, which I can hardly overcome. The loss of that dear boy, in whom all our hopes were centered, has indeed been a severe blow; and the rapid succession in which our other darlings have been swept from us, has been almost too much to bear. But, I thank God, the worst is past; and though we may have hardened our hearts a little in order to get over it, I will yet hope that there is as much happiness left for us in this world as we deserve to enjoy. We were, perhaps, too happy, too proud of our blessings; and, if we had not received this severe check, we might not sufficiently have felt and known the necessity of an hereafter. The Lord's will be done, and we are satisfied.

"You will, I am sure, congratulate us on our removal from Bencoolen. Only two days before we left it we lost another member of our family, my inestimable friend, Dr. Jack. This blow was reserved till the last, but it has not been the less severe. Poor fellow, we have lost in him one of the clearest heads and warmest hearts I ever met with; but death has so assailed us in every quarter within the last year, that I hardly yet know or feel all that I have lost.

"We have been here nearly two months, and the change of air and scene has done us great good. Lady Raffles in particular has greatly recovered both in her health and spirits, and I am myself very sensibly better, though still occasionally dreadfully oppressed with head-aches.

"Public report speaks so favourably of this place, that I cannot well say more about it, without subjecting myself to the charge of egotism, for it is, indeed, every thing I could wish, and rising and improving in every way fully equal to my expectations. It is at least a child of my own; and now that I am in other respects childless, I may perhaps be indulged with this; and I can assure you, that the interest I take in it, cheers many a day that would otherwise be gloomy and sad enough in reflections on the past.

" I am now busy in allotting the lands and laying out the several towns, defining rights, and establishing powers and rules for their protection and preservation. I have been a good deal impeded, but the task, though an arduous and serious one, is not one that I find unpleasant. What I feel most is the want of good counsel and advice, and of sufficient confidence in my own experience and judgment to lay down so broad and permanent a foundation as I could wish. I have already upwards of 10,000 souls to legislate for, and this number will, I doubt not, be increased during the next year. The enterprize and activity which prevails are wonderful, and the effects of a free-trade and liberal principles have operated like magic. But that the past prosperity of the place may not prove ephemeral, it requires that I be the more careful in what I do for the future; for if the past, under all our uncertainty of possession, has so far exceeded my expectations, what may not be calculated upon hereafter, when our principles are better understood, when our possession is considered secure, and when British capital and enterprize come into full and fair play!

" You will probably have heard of Mr. Crawfurd's mission to Siam and Cochin China, which I am sorry to say has failed in all essential objects; that is to say, of *the mission;* for in other respects his visit to those countries has, I doubt not, been attended with great advantage, in affording him the means of obtaining information of the people and country not previously, or at least not generally known. He has ascertained that, in a political point of view, they are a most *unpracticable* people, and that it is folly for us to attempt political negociations with them; and as the superior authorities are satisfied of this, they will, I hope, be content with the retention of Singapore, where, as an extensive depôt for the produce of all these countries, the British and the British-India merchant may always effect his exchange under the protection of the British flag. On this point I shall hope to write you more fully hereafter, now that I have once broken the ice.

" My sister and Captain Flint are here, and it is no small gratification for us to be with them. Flint is anxious to testify his recollection of your kindness and attention, and proposes sending you by the first opportunity the skeleton of an enormous ape, standing about five feet six, lately obtained from Borneo.

" We are overwhelmed with duyongs. While writing this I am informed of the arrival of another, which makes the seventh since I have been here.

" Lady Raffles will write to Mrs. Murdoch very soon. She pleads the same excuse for her silence that I have done for mine. The kindness of yourself and family has induced such a feeling on our part, that we calculate upon your sympathy in all our misfortunes."

To ———.

" *Singapore, Deeember* 10, 1822.

" My time is at present engaged in remodelling and laying out my new city, and in establishing institutions and laws for its future constitution; a pleasant duty enough in England, where you have books, hard heads, and lawyers to refer to, but here by no means easy, where all must depend on my own judgment and foresight. Nevertheless I hope that though Singapore may be the first capital established in the nineteenth century, it will not disgrace the brightest period of it.

" You will be surprised to hear of the value of land here. A few spots of ground hitherto considered of no value, and passed over by the local resident, sold in the course of an hour for upwards of 50,000 dollars. You will perceive that I have been very cautious in wording the grants of land, so as not to alarm the anti-colonists at home.

" We have heard nothing of the Borneo since her leaving the Cape, and are looking out most anxiously for news of our dear child. Sophia's patience is almost exhausted, and her spirits begin to flag, but I thank God she is again in excellent health, and better than I have seen her for the last two years. The hope of getting away from this country the end of the year buoys us both up, and enables us to get on from day to day with something like satisfaction.

" I have been very severely attacked since my arrival here, and it would be madness to think of remaining in the country a day longer than the time I have limited. I must remain here till April or May, and be at Bencoolen in June to meet and despatch the Indiaman.

" Nothing can be more striking than the contrast between the two settlements. At Bencoolen the public expenses are more in one month than they are at Singapore in twelve. The capital turned at Bencoolen never exceeds 400,000 dollars in a year, and nearly the whole of this is in Company's bills on Bengal, the only returns that can be made; at Singapore, the capital turned in a year exceeds eight millions, without any government bills or civil establishment whatever."

Extract of a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Raffles.

" *Singapore, January* 12, 1823.

" My Dear Cousin,

" Since my arrival here I have received two letters from you of rather ancient date; but they remind me that I am very much your debtor in the way of correspondence; and if my health admitted it, should not long be so. As it is, you must be satisfied with a few lines, the doctor prohibiting me from writing more.

" The progress of my new settlement is in every way most satisfactory, and it

would gladden your heart to witness the activity and cheerfulness which prevail throughout; every day brings us new settlers, and Singapore has already become a great emporium. Houses and warehouses are springing up in every direction, and the inland forests are fast giving way before the industrious cultivator. I am now engaged in marking out the towns and roads, and in establishing laws and regulations for the protection of person and property. We have no less than nine mercantile houses (European), and there is abundant employment for capital as fast as it accumulates.

" Both Sophia and I have improved in health since our arrival here, but I still feel myself so weak and broken down in constitution, that it will be as much as I can do to hold out for the year. My principal attack is in the head, and for days together I am nearly distracted, and almost unconscious of what I am doing.

" The death of my friend, Dr. Milne, of Malacca, has for a time thrown a damp on missionary exertions in this quarter, but I expect Dr. Morrison, of China, to visit this place in March, and I hope to make some satisfactory arrangement with him for future labours. The two missionaries who are here are not idle. Messrs. Milton and Thompson, the former in Chinese and Siamese, and the latter in Malay and English printing. I have selected a spot for my intended college; and all I now require is a good head-master or superintendant. It is my intention to endow it with lands, the rents of which will cover its ordinary expences. I am also about to commence upon a church, the plan of which is already approved.

" Believe me, &c."

To Mr. Marsden.

" *Singapore, January* 21, 1823.

" My Dear Sir,

" By a statement I forwarded to the Court of Directors in February last, it was shewn that during the first two years and a half of this establishment, no less than two thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine vessels entered and cleared from the port, of which three hundred and eighty-three were owned and commanded by Europeans, and two thousand five hundred and six by natives, and that their united tonnage was one hundred and sixty-one thousand tons. It appeared also, that the value of merchandize in native vessels arrived and cleared, amounted to about five millions of dollars during the same period, and in ships not less than three millions, giving a total amount of about eight millions as the capital turned.

" This statement I thought very favourable; but I have now the satisfaction of forwarding to the same authority official statements, from which the following results appear for the year 1822, a detailed and accurate account having been kept during that period of the trade of the place.

" Total amount of tonnage, importing and exporting, one hundred and thirty thousand six hundred and eighty-nine.

" Total value of imports and exports in the year 1822, eight millions five hundred and sixty-eight thousand one hundred and seventy-two.

" Nearly the whole of this trade is carried on by a borrowed capital, for which interest is paid from nine to twelve per cent. per annum; and it is not a little remarkable, that since the establishment of the settlement, now four years, not a single ship has arrived from England, notwithstanding Europe goods are in constant demand. All British manufactures that heretofore found their way into the settlement have come by circuitous routes, and with heavy charges of freight and duties at other ports added to their invoice value. No less than four free traders loaded home from Singapore last year; and the Venelia, by which I send this, now goes home with a full and valuable cargo of sugar, pepper, tin, tortoise-shell, &c.; and we could load half a dozen more ships in the course of the season were they here *.

" It being a great object to establish the freedom and independence of the port on a solid foundation, I take the liberty of enclosing you copies of several regulations I have recently passed for the registry of land, the rules of the port, and the establishment of a local magistracy, in the hope that you will consider them applicable to the peculiar circumstances of Singapore. Land has already assumed a high value, and a few lots of about sixty feet front, in a convenient situation for mercantile purposes, realized at public sale upwards of fifty thousand dollars in the course of half-an-hour. Small lots in the outskirts of the town, of only eighteen feet front, are bought and sold by the Chinese as high as seventy or eighty dollars each, at the same time that they pay an annual quit rent of eight dollars to government.

" I have established a revenue without any tax whatever on the trade, which more than covers all civil disbursements, and which must annually increase in future years, while these disbursements should remain the same.

" I give you these outlines, knowing how much interest you take in the settlement, and how satisfactory they will be to you. We yet remain without any accounts as to the final decision in Europe, but I cannot bring my mind to suppose that it will be unfavourable.

* It may be interesting to compare the relative trade at Singapore, Penang, and Malacca: the following is the value of the Exports and Imports in the year 1827-8 :—

IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
Singapore.	Penang.	Malacca.	Singapore.	Penang.	Malacca.
dollars.	dollars.	dollars.	dollars.	dollars.	dollars.
14,885,999.	6,437,042.	1,266,090.	13,872,010.	5,586,707.	7,918,163.

Some details on the Singapore trade will be found in the Appendix.

" We have lately built a small bungalow on Singapore Hill, where, though the height is inconsiderable, we find a great difference of climate. Nothing can be more interesting and beautiful than the view from this spot. I am happy to say the change has had a very beneficial effect on my health, which has been better during the last fortnight than I have known it for two years before. The tombs of the Malay kings are, however, close at hand; and I have settled that if it is my fate to die here, I shall take my place amongst them: this will, at any rate, be better than leaving one's bones at Bencoolen. If it please God, we still live in the hope of embarking for Europe towards the end of the year.

" I am laying out a botanic and experimental garden, and it would delight you to see how rapidly the whole country is coming under cultivation. My residence here has naturally given much confidence, and the extent of the speculations entered into by the Chinese quite astonishes me."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

" *Singapore, January 23*, 1823.

" Since I last wrote to your Grace, about a month ago, I have had another very severe attack in my head, which nearly proved fatal, and the Doctors were for hurrying me on board ship for Europe without much ceremony. However, as I could not reconcile myself to become food for fishes, I preferred ascending the hill of Singapore, where, if my bones must remain in the East, they would have the honour of mixing with the ashes of the Malayan kings; and the result has been, that instead of dying, I have almost entirely recovered. I have built a very comfortable house, which is sufficient to accommodate my sister's family as well as our own; and I only wish you were here but for half-an-hour, to enjoy the unequalled beauty and interest of the scene. My house, which is one hundred feet front, and fifty deep, was finished in a fortnight from its commencement. When will your cottage be done?

" We have been a long time without news from Europe, and as yet have had no account of the arrival of our dear little girl. God grant she may have reached England in safety. She is now our only one, and any accident to this our last and only remaining hope and consolation, would be severe indeed.

" We have recently discovered a companion for my great flower, in a noble Orchideous plant, which will shortly be described by Mr. Finlayson and my friend Dr. Wallich, the latter of whom has taken several growing specimens to Calcutta, in the hope of getting them to England. It grows parasitically on rocks, or roots, in several of the Islands in the Straits of Malacca, and the stems are as thick as a man's wrist, and from six to ten feet long, without branches, at the extremity of which they

produce abundance of leaves. But the wonder is, its magnificent inflorescence, which forms an erect spike *six feet high,* with upwards of one hundred large-spreading brown and white chequered fragrant flowers, between two and three inches in diameter."

To T. A. Hankey, Esq. Treasurer to the London Missionary Society.

" *Singapore, January* 23, 1823.

" Dear Sir,

" Since my return to Singapore, I have had occasion to notice the very zealous and successful exertions of the Rev. C. H. Thomson, settled at this place as a missionary in connection with your Society. His acquirements in the Malay language are considerable, and he has succeeded in establishing a Malay school of from twenty to thirty pupils, several of whom he has converted to Christianity. He has also a small portable press, with Roman and Malay types. Considering his means and the circumstances of the place, he has already done more than could be expected; and, at any rate, laid a good foundation for future labours. I have given the necessary permission for the erection of a Malay chapel.

" The proposal of a mission to Bali seems to me to deserve attention. The Dutch have no influence on that Island, and Mahomedanism has made but little or no progress on it. The population is estimated at between half a million and a million; and I am not aware that a missionary, properly qualified, would find many obstacles to his establishment. He should, however, in the first instance, come to Singapore to study the language, and become acquainted with the manners and character of the people. He must be content to suffer some privations, and to overcome some difficulties, at the outset; but if he has temper and a good constitution, the spirit of the good cause should carry him through it with satisfaction and credit."

To ———.

" *Singapore, January* 23, 1823.

" I am anxious to interest you in favour of our misssionary labourers, and particularly in support of the Rev. C. H. Thomson, who is established here, in connection with the London Missionary Society. His means have been very limited, but he has done a good deal, and is making a sure and steady progress. He has made several converts, and established a very respectable school.

" I have written home to the Secretary of the Society, recommending their sending out to him two printing-presses: pray support this recommendation, if you have any interest with the Society, as I look with great confidence to the influence

of a well-conducted press in this part of the East, and the superintendance can never be better placed than in the hands of the missionaries.

"We have also proposed a mission to Bali, and some other measures."

* * * * * *

To Dr. Wallich.

"*Singapore, February* 8, 1823.

"You would hardly know the south bank of the river again. From the point, as far as the small nullah, all is in active improvement. Messrs. Mackenzie, Napier, and Scott, Che Sang, and others, building substantial warehouses, according to an approved plan; and two high-streets forming from the river, through the centre of the Chinese town, to the sea. The bridge, too, is in great forwardness; and in two months more the whole plan for that side of the water will be so far proceeded upon, that my successor cannot help following it up.

"The botanic garden goes on well. I am now employed in laying out the walks, and stones are collected for the foundation of a handsome rail-way round it.

"I shall soon become anxious about the arrangements of this place."

* * * * *

To ———.

"*Singapore, February* 26, 1823.

"We are still without accounts respecting our dear little one, although the papers announce the arrival of the Borneo, and letters as late as the 20th August, have been received.

"It is impossible that I can leave this place under its present circumstances. I have no one about me to put in charge of it, on whom I could rely. I have had, and still have much to do in remodelling almost every thing, so that my time is fully taken up, and the days pass more quickly than I expected. Thank God, both Sophia and I keep our health much better than we expected, and we only pray that we may so continue till the end of the year; then, if it pleases God, we will make an attempt to join you in the land of our fathers."

To Dr. Wallich.

"*Singapore, March* 8, 1823.

"My Dear Friend,

"I snatch a few minutes to thank you for your kind and welcome letter of the 10th of January, and congratulate you most sincerely on your return to the bosom of your family, and the delights of your second Eden.

"It will be satisfactory to you to learn, that notwithstanding the delays attending

the wet season, my job here is nigh accomplished, the ground being raised as far as the small nullah, and the new warehouses rising in every direction.

" Your principles are too pure, and your heart too warm, to encounter the shafts of ridicule, which envy and malice may fling at you. These are the weapons of the heartless and unprincipled; of those who have no sympathy with the feelings of others, no consideration for their happiness, no common feelings for the common benefit of mankind. Never mind, *magna est veritas et prevalebit*, and truth is virtue. You must recollect my warning. We live in a strange world. Unfortunately in the political part of it we are often obliged to smother feelings: this I say in my own defence, lest you should think I do not sufficiently espouse your cause. My heart and soul are with you and for you, and therefore you may judge how I feel.

" The magistrates have commenced operations with great prudence and judgment; their first presentation was upon the arrangement of the town.

" The second came in yesterday in the shape of a memorial against slavery—the slave-master and slave-debtor system—which seems to have been permitted here to an unlimited extent. I have not yet finally decided upon the question, but I am much inclined to think the wisest and safest plan will be to do in this as I did in the lands, annul all that has gone before. This establishment was formed long after the enactments of the British legislature, which made it felony to import slaves into a British colony, and both importers and exporters are alike guilty, to say nothing of the British authority who countenanced the trade. The acknowledgment of slavery in any shape in a settlement like Singapore, founded on principles so diametrically opposed to the admission of such a practice, is an anomaly in the constitution of the place, which cannot, I think, be allowed to exist. But of this more hereafter.

" I am now in negociation with Dr. Morrison for the transfer of the Anglo-Chinese College from Malacca to this place, and its union with my proposed Malay College, under the general designation of the ' Singapore Institution.' * *

" I notice your request about my book (History of Java), and shall most heartily and willingly meet your wishes. The book itself was a hasty performance, and I have often been ashamed of it; but the true circumstances under which it was written are stated in the preface, and all the world must know that I am no book-maker.

" I shall write to our excellent friend General Hardwicke by the present opportunity, if I can snatch a few moments time. I feel most grateful for his kind and generous attachment, and I beseech you to say from me to him all and every thing that with such feelings I ought to say. I have indeed a warm and affectionate regard for him, and to tell you the truth, I love you both; and what can I say more ?"

To ———.

" *Singapore, April 14th*, 1823.

" Yesterday brought us our letters and packets up to the 30th of August, and

truly satisfactory have they been to us. The accounts of our dear child, the welfare of all have been most gratifying, and we return thanks to God for the blessings we have received.

" I have lately had two or three severe attacks, but am getting over them, and Sophia is improving; she is to be confined in October, and in January we hope to start for England.

" I am anxiously looking out for Crawfurd to take charge here, that I may proceed to Bencoolen, where my presence is urgently required, Mackenzie, my deputy, having been obliged to fly on account of ill health. I hope to be there by June.

" I have had two very kind letters from Mr. Edward Parry and Mr. Money, pledging themselves to support my claims.

" I am now engaged with my valuable friend Dr. Morrison, of China, in rearing and establishing an institution at Singapore, for the cultivation of Chinese and Malayan literature, and for the moral and intellectual improvement of the Archipelago and the surrounding countries. It will be my last public act. Singapore continues to thrive and expand."

To Dr. Wallich.

" *Singapore, April 17th,* 1823.

" My health is upon the whole much the same as when you left us—not over good at any time, and at others miserable; nevertheless, I hold up with a good heart, and again feel some confidence that I may last out the year. More I dare not risk in these climes.

" I have just established an Institution which will, I am sure, give you satisfaction. The particulars I shall hereafter communicate, not having time at present. The object is the cultivation of Chinese and Malayan literature, with the improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of the people. The Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca is to be removed here, and united with a Malay college, and both form parts of the Institution, which has a scientific department, and places for professors in natural philosophy, &c. &c. I have put poor Finlayson's name down for the latter, partly as a just compliment I wished to pay him, and partly to raise the character of our Institution, by associating so creditable a name with it. I have also taken the liberty of naming you as a trustee.

" We have about 20,000 dollars in funds, and have voted 15,000 for the buildings; the site is fixed upon near the beach, and the plan and appearance will be very respectable.

" I trust in God this Institution may be the means of civilizing and bettering the condition of millions; it has not been hastily entered into, nor have its possible advantages been over-rated. Our field is India beyond the Ganges, including the

Malayan Archipelago, Australasia, China, Japan, and the Islands in the Pacific ocean—by far the most populous half of the world! Do not, my dear friend, think that I am led to it by a vain ambition of raising a name—it is an act of duty and gratitude only. In these countries has my little independence been gained. In these countries have I passed the most valuable, if not, perhaps, the whole period of my public life. I am linked to them by many a bitter, many a pleasant tie. It is here that I think I may have done some little good, and instead of frittering away the stock of zeal and means that may yet be left me in objects for which I may not be fitted, I am anxious to do all the good I can *here*, where experience has proved to me that my labours will not be thrown away. Ill health forces me to leave Singapore, before even the material arrangements are made for its prosperity; but in providing for its moral improvement, I look to its more certain and permanent advance. Would that I could infuse into the Institution a portion of that spirit and soul by which I would have it animated, as easily as I endow it with lands, &c. It will long be in its infancy, and to arrive at maturity will require all the aid of friends and constant support. It is my last public act, and rise or fall, it will always be a satisfactory reflection, that I have done my best towards it. I pray you befriend it.

"Adieu—I am called to breakfast, and have written this random letter with so much haste and inattention, that you will hardly make it out.

"I remain, now and for ever,

"Yours most devotedly and affectionately,

"T. S. R."

The following resolutions of the Bengal Government, on Sir Stamford's leaving Singapore, were very satisfactory to him.

"*Fort William, March* 29, 1823.

"The first question for consideration is the nature of the controul to be exercised henceforward over the affairs of Singapore, and the proceedings of the local Resident. The arrangement under which that trust was vested in the Lieutenant Governor of Fort Marlborough originated in the circumstances under which the settlement was founded, and the temporary convenience resulting from it will cease with the relinquishment of the charge by Sir Stamford Raffles, under whose immediate direction the settlement was established, and whose personal superintendence of it, in its early stage, therefore possessed a peculiar value.

"It would seem more naturally to fall within the range of the government of Penang, but there are objections of a different kind to that arrangement. There is a general impression that the prosperity of Singapore must in a great degree be attended with a proportionate deterioration of Penang. As far as the information

furnished by the records of the custom-house at the latter place affords the means of judging, it would not appear that this has yet been the case; but there is no doubt that the feeling prevails among the inhabitants of both settlements generally, and without supposing that it reaches the Government, or that if it did, it would bias their conduct, there seems no such advantage to be contemplated in rendering Singapore dependent on Penang, as to justify the risk of injury to the interests of the rising establishment, from the direct or incidental consequences of such an arrangement. The system of government and the principles of commercial policy prevailing at the two settlements are moreover radically different, and it is not reasonable to expect that each could be administered under the direction of a subordinate and limited authority with equal effect.

" On the occasion of relieving Sir Stamford Raffles from the superintendence of Singapore, the Governor General in Council deems it an act of justice to that gentleman, to record his sense of the activity, zeal, judgment, and attention to the principles prescribed for the management of the settlement, which has marked his conduct in the execution of that duty.

" On placing Mr. Crawfurd in charge of the settlement of Singapore, you will be pleased to communicate with him fully on all points, and furnish him with such instructions as you may deem necessary for carrying into effect the orders which are now communicated to you, in reply to your several despatches relative to the affairs of that settlement."

Sir Stamford framed a short code of laws and regulations for the preservation of peace and good order, in a settlement which existed for upwards of five years entirely on his responsibility, and the confidence reposed in him individually; from this responsibility neither the Bengal Government nor the Court of Directors would relieve him; yet trade increased greatly, and population collected rapidly, in the confidence he inspired. A short extract from Sir Stamford's Report to the Bengal Government on these Laws and Regulations will shew the reasons which influenced him, and the principles on which he acted.

" First I have declared that the port of Singapore is a free port, and the trade thereof open to ships and vessels of every nation, free of duty, equally and alike to all.

" I am satisfied that nothing has tended more to the discomfort and constant jarrings which have hitherto occurred in our remote settlements, than the policy which has dictated the exclusion of the European merchants from all share, much less credit, in the domestic regulation of the settlement, of which they are frequently its most important members. Some degree of legislative power must necessarily exist in every distant dependency. The laws of the mother-country cannot be

commensurate with the wants of the dependency: it has wants of which a remote legislature can very imperfectly judge, and which are sometimes too urgent to admit the delay of reference.

"It may be expected that I should explain the grounds on which I have felt myself authorised to go, even as far as I have done, in legislating, and constituting a power of legislating provisionally for Singapore, and at the same time state the mode in which I consider the legislative and judicial branch of the public administration can be best provided for, in any permanent arrangement to be made by the authorities at home.

"I shall briefly state that an actual and urgent necessity existed for some immediate and provisional arrangements; and that, in adopting those which I have established, it has been my endeavour, while I gave all due weight to local considerations, to adhere, as closely as possible, to those principles, which, from immemorial usage, have ever been considered the most essential and sacred parts of the British constitution. The peculiar tenure on which Singapore is at present politically held, the unusual degree of responsibility still resting on me personally, and the actual circumstances under which a large population and extensive capital has accumulated under my administration, naturally called upon me to adopt all such provisional measures as necessity might dictate. More than this I have not attempted; and I should have but ill fulfilled the high and important trust reposed in me, if, after having congregated so large a portion of my fellow-creatures, I had left them without something like law and regulation for their security and comfort."

With these views and feelings Sir Stamford selected twelve of the most respectable merchants, and appointed them to act as magistrates for one year. A list was ordered to be kept of persons eligible for the magistracy, from whom and the ex-magistrates the Resident was in future to appoint twelve annually. Two of these magistrates were to sit with the Resident in court, to decide in civil and criminal cases; and two were to act in rotation each week for the minor duties of this office. Juries were to consist either of five Europeans, or four Europeans and three respectable natives. In criminal cases the jury might be either purely European, or purely native.

The Resident's Court was to assemble once a week, the Magistrates' twice, but their office was to be open daily.

It will be evident that this simple arrangement, which had never before been attempted, is well adapted to bring the ignorant natives acquainted with a knowledge of right principles of action, and to inspire them with respect for those who thus administered justice; but Sir Stamford did not rest satisfied with the mere enaction of punishment, his object was also the prevention of crime, an equal or even more important duty of a legislator: with this view, gambling and cock-fighting were prohibited,

and declared to be illegal, the persons found to have conducted a gaming-table or cock-pit were liable to the confiscation of their property, and banishment from the settlement, and no gaming debts could be recognized by the magistrates, but the winners were to be compelled to restore the amount to the losers.

The Bengal Government highly approved of this effort to check the vicious propensities of the natives; but after Sir Stamford's return to England, Mr. Crawfurd, whom he had placed in charge of the settlement, anxious to raise a revenue at any cost, established Government licenses for indulgences in both these vices, and they were in consequence farmed out to the highest bidder. The Grand Jury soon gave a proof that Sir Stamford judged wisely in employing the European merchants as guardians of the public peace and morals; for on the assembling of the Court of Judicature, they presented a bill against such a public sanction of vice, as appearing to them deeply to affect the interests of the community of Singapore; stating that "the subject which they (the Grand Jury) present, is one to which they advert with some degree of delicacy, because they are aware that two opinions exist on the subject; and, secondly, because it is a source of revenue to the Honourable Company. However, as only one sentiment prevails in the minds of the Grand Jurors with regard to the propriety or expediency of licensing public gambling-houses, they consider it would be a dereliction of their duty, were they not to present the system as, in their opinion, fraught with considerable evil to the community. To them it appears as detrimental to the security of property, to the peace and good order of the settlement, and to the moral character of the lower classes of its inhabitants, as it is repugnant to the laws of their country. They do not deem it necessary to enter into any lengthened arguments to prove the truth of this proposition. Suffice it to observe, that their opinion is formed on the experience of this settlement for the last five years; and that of fourteen bills of indictment, which have been preferred during the present sitting of the Grand Jury, no less than three of the offences originated in, or were connected with, public gambling-houses."

The recorder stated, "There is no doubt but that gambling-houses are public nuisances at common law, and indictable as such. It was not at all necessary for you to have stated in your Presentment, that you felt any delicacy on the subject, because the gambling-houses in Singapore were a source of revenue to the Government. You have done no more than your duty in presenting them," &c. It appears that this vicious system of legalising vice amongst the lower orders of society has in consequence been given up, and Sir Stamford's original laws and regulations enforced. Above all, it must not be forgotten Sir Stamford declared, "As the condition of slavery, under any denomination whatever, cannot be recognised within the jurisdiction of the British authority, all persons who may have been so imported, transferred, or sold as slaves or slave-debtors, since the 29th day of February, 1819,

are entitled to claim their freedom, on application to the registrar, as hereafter provided; and it is hereby declared, that no individual can hereafter be imported for sale, transferred or sold as a slave or slave-debtor, or having his or her *fixed residence* under the protection of the British authorities at Singapore, can hereafter be considered or treated as a slave, under any denomination, condition, colour, or pretence whatever.

" Hereafter, a continued residence of twelve months at Singapore shall be considered to constitute a fixed residence, and to entitle the party to all the benefits of the British administration." The further detail of the laws and regulations of Singapore will be found in the Appendix.

Sir Stamford had the gratification to receive from those best qualified to appreciate the commercial advantages of Singapore, the following address on his departure from the settlement. His feelings are, however, best expressed in his replies, which are annexed.

Address of the Merchants of Singapore, on the occasion of the departure of the Honourable Sir T. S. Raffles in 1823.

" *To the Honourable Sir T. S. Raffles.*

" Honorable Sir,

" It is with peculiar satisfaction that I find myself made the channel of conveying to you the thanks and acknowledgments of the mercantile community of Singapore, a body distinguished for good sense and discrimination, and who have at once felt the benefits of your rule and enjoyed the best means of appreciating your exertions. It is scarcely necessary for myself, who have for so many years had the advantage of your confidence and friendship, and the honor of serving under your government, to say how cordially I join in all the sentiments expressed in the address, and I shall only take this opportunity, when we are on the point of being separated by a long interval of time and place, to renew to you the assurance of my affectionate attachment to your person, and my respect and esteem for your public talents.

" I remain with sincere regard,

" Your faithful and obedient Servant,

(Signed) " J. Crawfurd.

" *Resident.*"

" *Singapore, June* 5, 1823."

" *To Sir T. S. Raffles, Lieutenant Governor of Fort Marlborough.*

" HONORABLE SIR,

" The period of your approaching and final departure is one of peculiar interest to the commercial community of this place, and we the undersigned members of it gladly seize the opportunity which it affords us of indulging in the expression of those feelings towards your person, which the occasion is so well calculated to excite.

" At such a moment we cannot be suspected of panegyric, when we advert to the distinguished advantages which the commercial interests of our nation at large, and ourselves more especially, have derived from your personal exertions. To your unwearied zeal, your vigilance, and your comprehensive views, we owe at once the foundation and maintenance of a settlement unparalleled for the liberality of the principles on which it has been established; principles, the operation of which has converted, in a period short beyond all example, a haunt of pirates into the abode of enterprize, security, and opulence.

" While we acknowledge our own peculiar obligations to you, we reflect at the same time with pride and satisfaction upon the active and beneficent means by which you have promoted and patronized the diffusion of intellectual and moral improvement, and we anticipate, with confidence, their happy influence in advancing the cause of humanity and civilization.

" We cannot take leave of the author of so many benefits without emotion, or without expressing our sorrow for the loss of his protection and his society. Accept, Sir, we beseech you, without distinction of tribe or nation, the expression of our sincere respect and esteem, and be assured of the deep interest we shall ever take in your own prosperity, as well as in the happiness of those who are most tenderly related to you.

" We remain with the deepest respect,

" Your most obedient Servants,

" Signed by the EUROPEAN and NATIVE MERCHANTS of Singapore."

' *Singapore, June* 5, 1823."

To John Crawfurd, Esq. Resident of Singapore.

" SIR,

" I have had the honor to receive your letter with the address from the mercantile community of Singapore, and you will oblige me by submitting to that highly respectable body the accompanying reply.

" My experience enables me to bear ample testimony to the disinterestedness and honor of the principal merchants of Singapore, European and Native, and while

it is a high satisfaction to me to find such truly respectable establishments formed in the early period of the settlement, it can be no less a proportionate gratification to me personally to receive from men so distinguished, so unexpected an expression of their public opinion in favor of the measures which I have felt it my duty to adopt for the general prosperity of the place.

" The sentiments of respect and attachment which you are pleased to express towards my person are most grateful to my feelings, and while I thank you most sincerely for the kind and handsome manner in which you have conveyed them, you must allow me in return, to wish you all prosperity in the discharge of the important duties to which you are now called, and for which you are so highly and eminently qualified, and at the same time that you may enjoy all happiness and comfort in your social and domestic circle.

" With an affectionate and sincere regard,

" Believe me, your's truly,

(Signed) " T. S. Raffles."

" *Singapore, June* 9, 1823."

To Alexander Morgan, Esq. and other European and Native Merchants of Singapore.

" Gentlemen,

" Mr. Crawfurd has delivered to me the address, which you have so kindly and delicately drawn up on the occasion of my departure.

" Under the peculiar circumstances of my personal connection with the establishment of Singapore, it is impossible to suppose that I can be indifferent to any of its interests, far less to its commercial interests, of which I consider you to be the representatives.

" It has happily been consistent with the policy of Great Britain, and accordant with the principles of the East India Company, that Singapore should be established as a *Free Port ;* that no sinister, no sordid view, no considerations either of political importance or pecuniary advantage, should interfere with the broad and liberal principles, on which the British interests have been established. Monopoly and exclusive privileges, against which public opinion has long raised its voice, are here unknown, and while the free Port of Singapore is allowed to continue and prosper, as it hitherto has done, the policy and liberality of the East India Company, by whom the settlement was founded, and under whose protection and control it is still administered, can never be disputed.

" That Singapore will long and always remain a free Port, and that no taxes on trade or industry will be established to check its future rise and prosperity, I can have no doubt. I am justified in saying thus much, on the authority of the Supreme

Government of India, and on the authority of those who are most likely to have weight in the councils of our nation at home.

" For the public and peculiar mark of respect, which you, Gentlemen, have been desirous of shewing me on the occasion of my departure from the settlement, I beg that you will accept my most sincere thanks. I know the feeling which dictated it, I acknowledge the delicacy with which it has been conveyed, and I prize most highly the gratifying terms to me personally in which it has been expressed.

" During my residence among you, it has afforded me the highest satisfaction to witness the prudence, the regularity, the honourable character of your proceedings, and when I quit you for other lands I shall be proud to bear testimony in your favour, not only as your due, but as the best proof of the sure and certain result which the adoption of liberal and enlightened principles on the part of Government must always ensure.

" There are some among you, Gentlemen, who had to encounter difficulties on the first establishment of the freedom of the Port, and against whom party spirit and its concomitant, partial judgment, was allowed for a time to operate. In the commanding station in which my public duty has placed me, I have had an opportunity of, in a great measure, investigating and determining the merits of the case, and the result renders it a duty on my part, and which I perform with much satisfaction, to express my most unqualified approbation of the honorable principles which actuated the merchants of Singapore on that occasion.

" I am not aware, Gentlemen, that I have done any of you a favour, that is to say, that I have done to any man amongst you, that which I would not have done to his neighbour, or more than what my duty required of me, acting, as I have done, on the liberal and enlightened principles authorized by my superiors. My best endeavours have not been wanting to establish such principles, and to sketch such outlines, as have appeared to me necessary for the future prosperity of the settlement, and in doing this it has been most satisfactory to me to have found in you that ready concurrence, and at all times that steady support, which was essential to my Government and authority.

" May you, Gentlemen, English and Native, and as the language of your address expresses it, without class or distinction, long continue in the honourable and distinguished course which you have so happily commenced, and may the principles which you respect and act upon, long distinguish you among the merchants of the East.

" I can never forget that the Singapore Institution could not have been founded without your aid. The liberal manner in which you came forward, to spare from your hard earnings so large a portion for the improvement and civilization of the surrounding tribes, and in the furtherance of general knowledge and science, would

at once stamp the character of the Singapore merchant, even if it did not daily come forward on more ostensible occasions.

" I am most grateful for the kind expression of your personal regards to me, and those who may be dear to me; and, in return, beg you will accept my most sincere and heartfelt wishes for your health, comfort, and prosperity.

" I have the honour to be,

" Gentlemen,

" Your's most faithfully,

(Signed) " T. S. Raffles."

" *Singapore, June 9th*, 1823."

Sir Stamford now returned to Bencoolen, and on the voyage wrote the letters from which the following are extracts :

To ———.

" *Off Borneo, June 12*, 1823.

" Having placed Crawfurd in charge of Singapore, and sailed from thence on the 9th instant, we are thus far on our return to Bencoolen, being under the necessity of touching at Batavia on the way, the ship having goods to land there. Don't alarm yourself at this last intimation, for I am most peaceably inclined, and do not intend to land.

" You will hear from Bengal that all my proceedings and plans at Singapore have been approved; that Crawfurd has been appointed Resident immediately under the Bengal Government. This is exactly what I wished; and I am happy to say, every thing has turned out to my entire satisfaction.

" I have not, as you may suppose, remained at Singapore eight months for nothing; two-thirds of the time have, no doubt, been spent in pain and annoyance, from the dreadful head-aches I am doomed to suffer in this country, but the remaining third has been actively employed.

" I have had every thing to new-mould from first to last; to introduce a system of energy, purity, and encouragement; to remove nearly all the inhabitants, and to resettle them; to line out towns, streets, and roads; to level the high and fill up the low lands: to give property in the soil and rights to the people; to lay down principles, and sketch institutions for the domestic order and comfort of the place, as well as its future character and importance; to look for a century or two beforehand, and provide for what Singapore may one day become, by the adoption of all such measures of forecast as reason and experience can suggest.

" That I have not forgotten the moral interests and character of the settlement,

the establishment of the Singapore Institution will be the best proof. I have given it as free a constitution as possible; and Singapore is now, perhaps, the only place in India where slavery cannot exist.

" Sophia bears up very well. We expect to reach Bencoolen by the 10th of July."

To the Rev. Dr. Raffles.

" *At Sea, off the Coast of Borneo, June* 14, 1823.

" My Dear Cousin,

" We left Singapore on the 9th, and are thus far on our return to Bencoolen, with the intention of touching at Batavia on the way. My time was so fully occupied while closing my administration at Singapore, that I really had it not in my power to sit down as I ought to have done, to thank you most sincerely for your letter announcing the arrival of our dear little Ella; it was the first account we received, and I need not attempt to express the joy and gladness which it diffused throughout our domestic circle. Sophia's patience was almost tired out, and the news has given her almost a new life. I am sorry that I have been obliged to leave Singapore before the printing of the papers on the formation of the Singapore Institution was completed. Printing in this country is, indeed, most tedious and expensive work. I have left orders that several copies be sent to you by the very first opportunity, and you will perceive that I have put your name down as a Trustee. I laid the foundation-stone of the buildings three days before I embarked.

" Mr. Crawfurd is now the Resident of Singapore; and, in anticipation of my return to Europe at the end of the year, I have resigned all further charge of the place. It is a most promising settlement, and is fast realizing my most sanguine views regarding it.

" We have under our charge for Europe my sister Mary Anne's little boy Charles, and are thinking of preparations for the voyage home, which, with the blessing of God, we hope to commence with the new year, touching at the Cape and at St. Helena on the way, so as to be with you in May or June. My health has now become worse, but Sophia's is much improved.

" You know by experience the misery of ship-board, and will, therefore, not expect that I should, in such a situation, write you a very long and interesting letter. I write these few lines with a very unsteady hand and giddy head; but as I may have a chance of sending them by some vessel about to sail from Batavia, I am unwilling to lose the opportunity of writing at all."

To Dr. Wallich.

"*At Sea, off the Coast of Borneo, July*, 1823.

"My Dear Friend,

"It is quite an age since we heard from you, and we have been somewhat disappointed in not receiving a line from you by Crawfurd, or, at any rate, by the ship in which he came down. He, however, brought Sophia your bottle of æther, which has proved that you did not forget us: accept our best thanks for it.

"It will, I am sure, be satisfactory to you to know, that all my arrangements have been approved in Bengal, and that I have cause to be highly satisfied with the considerate attention and support which I have uniformly met with from Mr. Adams' Government. They appeared to have entered into, and fully understood my views, and, what is more, fully appreciated them. I placed Crawfurd in full charge before my departure.

"I give you this parish news, because I am confident it will interest you, and be at the same time satisfactory to you to know, that however annoyed I may have been for a time, the close of my administration at Singapore has been just what I wished.

"You will probably hear much of my College, and the laws of the former; the pamphlet now in the press will give you all information, and of the latter I have not time to enter into the details. It was impossible that, after collecting together so great a population, and so much wealth as is now accumulated at Singapore, I could with any satisfaction to myself, leave the place, without establishing something like law and regulation. The constitution which I have given to Singapore is certainly the purest and most liberal in India; but this, perhaps, is not saying much for it.

"I left Singapore on the 9th instant. I am forced to touch at Batavia on my way to Bencoolen, very much against my will; but the Captain has goods to land, and no other opportunity was likely to offer of getting round. The Dutch will be a little astonished, but I cannot help it; I do not intend to land.

"You will be gratified to hear, that although I was dreadfully harassed and fagged before leaving Singapore, I feel no ill effects from it, and now do not have a dreadful head-ache above once or twice a week, instead of for two or three days together as heretofore. Lady Raffles also bears the voyage better than I expected; and upon the whole we have great cause to be thankful for the comparatively tolerable health we now enjoy. So that I hope we may yet last out till the end of the year, after which it would be madness to attempt to hold out in this country.

" Write me fully and frequently to Bencoolen, and say what I can but do for you at home. God bless you, my dear friend, and that you may enjoy health and prosperity, is the ardent wish of your most affectionate friend."

To Dr. Wallich.

" *Java Seas, July* 20, 1823.

" My Dear Friend,

" Before we arrive at Batavia, where recollections of the past and change of scene may occupy my whole attention, let me remind you of two or three little things in which I require your good offices. First and foremost stands my desire to obtain for Sir Everard Home the fœtus of the tiger, lion, whale, rhinoceros, &c. &c.

" In the next place, a particular description of the Jackia formosa, and memorandum for the life or memoir of our departed friend, to be completed with the assistance of his brother.

" I wish you to send me drawings of all the varieties of nutmegs in your possession. I shall have much to say respecting the cultivation of the nutmeg at Bencoolen, and it would be interesting to enliven the description with an account of the natural growth, habitude, &c. I have already a large collection, upwards of ten varieties.

" I enclose you my decision on the slave question. Do not forget the dwarf bull and cow to Bencoolen before I go.

" Adieu my good friend, and God bless you and yours."

To ———.

" *Batavia Roads, June* 28, 1823.

" We arrived here on the 25th. Sophia was taken on shore on the same day, and is now under the hospitable roof of Macquoid, where she is gaining health and strength to enable her to get through the remainder of the voyage. This is Saturday and we hope to be off on Tuesday morning.

" For myself, I remain on board according to the resolution I took on embarking. I have, however, had an opportunity of seeing all the English gentlemen, and have no particular cause to regret the necessity which forced us to touch here, as I have been able to see the sort of *material* of which the Dutch Governor General is made. I deemed it respectful and proper to send Nilson on shore, telling him, I was in the roads, and that Sophia would land on account of her health ; but that it was neither my wish or intention to land. His surprise and apprehension, however, on the occasion were such that he would not ask Nilson a single question, but returned an answer to my note verbally by Macquoid.

" In the evening, however, he thought a written acknowledgment necessary. Had Bonaparte returned to life, and anchored in the Downs, it would not have

excited greater agitation in England, than my arrival has done here, though the sensation might have been very different. Here fear and apprehension are every thing, and to these all courtesy, principle, and interest give way.

" I send you the correspondence which has taken place on the subject, as it is rather amusing."

No. I.

To His Excellency The Baron Van der Capellan.

" *Tuesday Evening.*

" Sir,

" I have the honor to inform your Excellency of my arrival in Batavia Roads, in the ship Hero of Malown, in which I am returning to Bencoolen, being under the necessity of touching at this port, for the purpose of landing some consignments from Bengal.

" I trust our detention will not exceed two or three days; but as Lady Raffles is in a very delicate state of health and suffers much at sea, the advantage of going on shore will be a great relief to her.

" Captain Hull, of my personal staff, will have the honor of delivering this letter.

" I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, &c. &c.

(Signed) " T. S. Raffles."

No. II.

To Mr. Le Chev. Thos. S. Raffles.

" *Batavia, Juin 25,* 1823.

" Monsieur,

" J'ai reçu avec une extrême surprise la lettre que M. le Capitaine Hull m'a remise de votre part.

" J'ai chargé M. Macquoid de vous donner verbalement ma réponse, et ne doute point qu'il ne s'acquitte avec exactitude de cette commission.

" Je veux cependant ajouter encore à ce qu'il vous dira de ma part, que j'étois loin de m'attendre à vous voir arriver à *Batavia* après tout ce qui a eu lieu depuis 1818.

" Vous ne pouviez ignorer, Monsieur, qu'une pareille visite que vous auriez pu éviter, ne peut que m'être extrêmement désagréable.

" L'indisposition de Madame *Raffles* est cependant un motif que je respecte trop pour m'opposer à votre séjour à Batavia pendant quelques jours.

" Je regrette, Monsieur, de ne pouvoir après tout ce qui a eu lieu vous accueilleir, comme je me fais toujours un devoir et plaisir de recevoir les fonctionnaires d'un Gouvernement si intimement lié avec celui que j'ai l'honneur de représenter ici.

" Vous connoissez trop bien l'état des choses, Monsieur, pour ce que j'ai besoin de vous observer, que toute communication ou entrevue personelle entre nous doit être évitée. Je ne pourrais que répéter de nouveau toute la série de plaintes que j'ai cru de mon devoir d'adresser à mon Gouvernement comme à votre, depuis plusieurs années, contre un grand nombre de vos actions dirigées contre les intérêts de mon Souverain; une pareille communication n'offrirait aucun agrément ni pour vous ni pour moi-même.

" J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

(Signed) " Van Der Capellen."

No. III.

To His Excellency Baron Van der Capellen.

" *On board the Hero of Malown, Batavia Roads, Thursday morning.*

" Sir,

" Your Excellency's letter was delivered to me during the night.

" I am sorry that what was intended merely as a mark of respect, should have given rise to the extreme surprise which you express. I felt it right to inform your Excellency of my being in the roads of Batavia, and I stated the circumstance which had led to it.

" You would appear to have been misinformed, in supposing that it was my intention or my desire to land or court a personal interview. My landing in Java, while under your Excellency's government, could only have been attended with painful feelings, public as well as private, and there certainly has been nothing in the conduct of your Excellency, which could have rendered me particularly desirous of personal communication or acquaintance.

" I caused it to be publicly known before I embarked, that I neither intended nor wished to land; and under these circumstances I trust you will admit, that the proscription you have thought proper to issue might, in common courtesy, have been delayed, until a solicitation on my part might have called for it.

" Your Excellency also appears to have been misinformed, when you state that I might or should have avoided touching at Batavia, knowing how disagreeable it would be to you. I can assure you it was a matter of absolute necessity, in every way against my wishes and feelings; though I must say, I never for a moment supposed it would have given rise to any apprehensions or unpleasant feelings on your part.

" You have, Sir, thought proper to refer to political differences, and to the complaints which you have thought proper to make against my proceedings, which you considered to be directed against the interests of your Sovereign; on which it is necessary for me to call to your recollection, that I have at least had similar grounds of

complaining of some of the proceedings of your government, and that the very acts on my part, which you call into question, arose solely from a conviction, that such proceedings on your Excellency's part were directed against the interests of my country. The decision, as to whose views on the subject have been most correct, remains with higher authorities; and while I cheerfully give your Excellency the credit of having acted as you deemed best for the interests of your country, I hope you will judge equally charitably of the motives which may have dictated my conduct.

" I have thought the above explanation due as well to your Excellency as myself, as I should have presumed you to have been as incapable of offering a personal incivility, as I am of receiving one without noticing it as it deserves.

" I did not, Sir, consider it necessary to request your permission for Lady Raffles to land, as I could not suppose it to be so in the present state of civilized society; but I have now respectfully to request that, as she is in delicate health, and far advanced in her pregnancy, your Excellency will insure her a safe passport to the ship whenever she may be desirous of re-embarking.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) " T. S. Raffles."

This correspondence may be left without comment. It is not necessary to add more than that the request contained in the closing lines was granted: and that, though Sir Stamford himself remained on board, during the week of the vessel's stay at Batavia, and did not once visit the shore, the people of the Island were not to be restrained; and he there held as it were a continual levee every day, people of all ranks flocking to him.

CHAPTER XIX.

Arrival at Bencoolen—Plans for the future—Freedom of the port of Singapore—Account of the Padries—State of health—Death of friends—Death of child—Anxiety about the arrival of the ship Fame—Determines to embark in the Borneo—Arrival of the Fame—Embarkation—Burning of the ship—Appeal to the Court of Directors—Extract from memorandum book, for regulation of time—Embarks in the Mariner—Storm off the Cape—Arrival at St. Helena—Landing at Plymouth.

Sir Stamford had now closed his official connection with Singapore, the most interesting object of the latter part of his public life in the East, and he proposed to have passed the few remaining months of his residence in India, in completing and arranging his affairs, both public and private. During his residence in these regions, he had devoted himself with all his mind, health, and strength, for twenty years, to the duties of the several stations entrusted to him, and he had combined with the performance of those duties, which peculiar circumstances had made more responsible and arduous than usual in such situations, an unwearied pursuit of the literature of the several countries within his reach. He also pursued, as will have been perceived, the study of chemistry, geology, and natural history, and in fact was unceasingly occupied in the acquirement of various kinds of knowledge.

The following are extracts from the letters written during this period of his residence in Sumatra.

To Dr. Wallich.

"*Bencoolen, November* 1, 1823.

"Crawfurd has promised most solemnly to adhere to and uphold all my arrangements.

* * * * * * *

"God knows I have had but one object in view,—the interests of Singapore,—and if a brother had been opposed to them, I must have acted as I did towards Colonel Farquhar, for whom I ever had, and still do retain, a warm personal affection and regard. I upheld him as long as I could, and many were the sacrifices I made to prevent a rupture, but when it did take place, I found it necessary to prosecute my cause with vigour and effect.

" I lament to observe by the papers that poor Finlayson breathed his last in the way home. Poor fellow, I never had much hope that he would be spared; yet his death has been to me a severe shock, admiring and valuing as I did, his talents, disposition, and principles.

" It is only a week ago that we had another death in our family: Mr. Drummond, a gentleman who had come out to us highly recommended from home, and was embarking largely in our agricultural pursuits, was carried off in less than twelve hours. I know not how it is, but these continual breaches in our domestic circle seem to be sad warnings.

" I had hoped to have got away by the end of the present year, but an accumulation of details, and the arrival of a detachment of troops most unexpectedly sent by the Bengal Government to the northern part of the Island, may keep me for some time. My health for the last week or two has rather improved, but I am still subject to the same attacks which so often and so completely overpowered me at Singapore.

" Lady Raffles, though entirely recovered from her last confinement, is in a very delicate state, and it was only last night that we were forced to apply thirty leeches, and have recourse to warm baths and laudanum, to keep down inflammation.

" My time has been so occupied since my return, that I have hardly been able to arrange the papers of our friend Jack. I prepare to take them all hence with me. They are not very extensive, but they are generally to the point, and valuable.

" We are desirous of placing an inscription over his grave, and I have written to Calder to send an appropriate stone from Calcutta. I learn from his brother that his age was only 27; he died at Bencoolen, at the Government-house, on the 11th July, 1823. I must beg of you to do the last kind office, of adding to the above particulars a few words expressive of his character and attainments."

To ———.

" *Bencoolen, November* 4, 1823.

" Sophia, I am sorry to say, has had an attack of fever, and alarmed us very much, but she is improving; and if we get away this season all may yet be well.

" I propose on the voyage hence, if my health admits, to sketch out something like an account of the establishment of Singapore, with a description of the place, map, &c. Something of the kind seems necessary for general information.

" Our little Flora expands daily."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*November* 6, 1823.

"This is the last opportunity that will offer for writing to England, before we ourselves intend embarking.

"The voyage out looked long, and was long, but we shall no longer draw a lengthening chain, each day will bring us nearer to that spot where all our best affections are centered, and we shall hope to land in far better spirits than the day we parted. That indeed was a dismal day; and yet, if we do meet again, shall we not forget it?

"I am sorry to say that we have had another death in our family, and that I have been under great alarm for Lady Raffles. She had first presented me with another little girl, and recovered from her confinement, when she was attacked by a most severe fever.

* * * * * * *

"By touching at the Cape of Good Hope, which we hope to reach from this in six weeks, remaining there ten days, and then stopping at St. Helena, which we should reach in ten days, and proceeding from thence to England, in seven weeks more, we hope to break the length of the passage, and to keep up her strength, as well as that of the infant, by occasional rest and refreshment.

"I believe I have already informed your Grace, that I had delivered over charge of Singapore, and that it only remains for me to wind up my administration here."

* * * * * *

To Mr. Murdoch.

"*Bencoolen, November* 14, 1823.

"My Dear Sir,

"I have received your kind and friendly letters down to the 23d of January last, and feel most grateful for the warm and kind interest which you continue to take in our welfare and happiness. Indeed, I hardly know how to thank you sufficiently, except it is by saying that we justly appreciate it.

"As this may be the last opportunity afforded of writing to England before we ourselves may embark, I am anxious not to let it pass without once more praying your forgiveness for all my omissions in the way of letter-writing. I feel conscious that I have not written to you so often nor so fully as I ought to have done, and that I have a long arrear of debt, which I fear I shall never discharge, unless you will accept of the only composition which it is in my power to offer—the assurance that, though I may not have written much, I have not felt the less, and that both Lady Raffles and myself have not only retained our respect and affection for you and your family unabated, but that time and distance have only tended to strengthen

the feeling into that kind of affectionate attachment and regard, that in returning to Europe, we look forward to the pleasure of seeing you, as to the meeting with those of our own blood and family.

" Our plan is to leave this about February, or so as to make England in July; but so fatally have our anticipations been disappointed hitherto, that I hardly dare look forward with confidence to its execution. Lady Raffles had hardly recovered from her last confinement, when she was attacked by a violent fever, which has hardly yet left her, and she is still confined to her couch. I am scarcely able to hold up my head two days together; but yet we will hope that our period of banishment is nearly terminated, and that we may, with the blessing of God, see you in the course of next summer.

" What may be my future plan of life is still more uncertain; but if I am fortunate enough to reach England alive, I am certain that no inducement shall ever lead me to revisit India. I have already passed nearly thirty years of my life in the Company's service, and have always been placed in situations of so much responsibility, that my mind has always been on the stretch, and never without some serious anxiety.

" I naturally look forward to retirement, when these anxieties may cease, and I can enjoy that serenity which is above all things necessary for the peace and comfort of this life. Accustomed, however, to activity, and necessarily to habits of business, I am aware that I cannot be idle and happy at the same time, and therefore I shall be ready to enter with some degree of zeal upon any pursuits that appear to promise eventual satisfaction.

" I enclose you a copy of the address presented to me by the merchants of Singapore, on the occasion of my resigning charge of that settlement, preparatory to my proceeding to Europe, and hope that, in the pledge which I gave them, of the *permanency* of the freedom of the Port, without duties or restrictions of any kind, I shall be supported and borne out by the authorities at home. I cannot but think that we have now taken too firm a root at Singapore, to render it even possible that it should be delivered over to the Dutch, and therefore I did not advert to such a possible contingency. Hereafter I hope to present you with a pamphlet, containing the particulars of the establishment of the Singapore Institution, as well as with the regulations which I have adopted there for the administration of justice, until more regular provisions are made. They will, I think, meet your approbation. I notice what you say regarding the publication of some account of the establishment of Singapore, with a map annexed, and thank you for the hint. I have little to say on the subject, more than has been repeated over and over again in my official despatches, though perhaps in different words; but as these are likely to moulder away in Leadenhall-street, without perhaps being twice read, it may be useful should I attempt a more public exposition of my sentiments and views.

Indeed, after what has taken place, and particularly with reference to the extraordinary assertion of Lord Bathurst as to the nature of my appointment, something of a public nature will be required from me; and although I am far from wishing to obtrude myself or my proceedings on the public, I feel confident, that the more my conduct is investigated and known, the more credit will at any rate be given to my motives; so that, in this point of view, I have rather an inducement to publish than otherwise.

" Should, therefore, my health admit, I shall probably devote a few hours in the day, during the voyage home, to condense into a convenient space what I think may be interesting on the subject, to be revised after my arrival in England, according to circumstances. It is not my wish any more than my interest, to run counter to the authorities that be; but as a public man, I hardly know how I can pass over the direful sacrifices made by Lord Castlereagh without remark. My sole object, in a political point of view, is to do justice to the cause I have undertaken, and I think it only requires to be fairly and honestly stated, to make its way wherever it is known.

" According to my present notion of the subject, it occurs to me that, by way of introduction, I might enlarge on the course and value of the trade of the Eastern Islands and China, its past history and present state, with a description of the more interesting points of character among the inhabitants, and some account of the geography and natural history of the different countries. I might then give a short, but pointed account of the question with the Dutch; the reasons which induced the establishment at Singapore; how that establishment was effected; the principle on which it was maintained, and the rapidity of its rise; a short description of the place, its inhabitants, productions, and localities, might follow, with an account of its institutions, and an appendix, containing the regulations for the Chinese and Malay College, &c.

" You will hardly believe, that at the close of my administration of that settlement, I received the unreserved approbation of the Government of Bengal of all the measures of a public nature that I had adopted. I have, however, been opposed throughout in establishing the *freedom* of the port, and any thing like a liberal mode of management, and not only by the Penang Government, but also in Bengal. The Bengal merchants, or rather one or two of them, whom I could name, would have preferred the old system, by which they might have monopolized the early resources of the place, and thus checked its progress to importance. My views have been more enlarged, and as the authorities at home have fortunately not yet interfered with the details, I have taken upon myself to widen the base, and to look to a more important superstructure. I have given the place something like a constitution, a representative body, and fashioned all my regulations more with reference to the pure principles of the British constitution, than upon the *half-cast, or country-born*

regulations of our Indian administration, which, however well they may be suited to the circumstances of continental India, are altogether inapplicable to the state of society in the Eastern Islands. This has brought upon me what may be called a local opposition-party in Bengal, and I must be content to look for the just appreciation of my views and plans rather in England than in India.

"I was the other day looking over the translation you was so kind to make for me from Mendez Pinto relating to Java, and though he may exaggerate numbers, and tell a story with embellishments, his localities are so correct, that, as far as I can judge from this instance, I am inclined to think he deserves more credit than he has yet received. His statements regarding Borneo and other countries of the Archipelago less known than Java, would be interesting; and if from the history of the last-mentioned Island we could vouch for his correctness, it might set people thinking of what was *possibly* the former condition of the Archipelago, before the valour of Portugal broke down its power, and the sordid policy of the Dutch destroyed its spirit and energies. It would be an odd coincidence if, as Marsden has undertaken the cause of Marco Polo, on account of what he said of Sumatra, I should be the advocate of Pinto from the relation he gives of Java.

"Your observations respecting the bark of the nutmeg-tree have not passed unnoticed, and I have now a parcel of the bark preparing for Europe as an experiment: it does not, however, appear to me to be peculiarly fragrant."

In returning to Bencoolen Sir Stamford had to encounter once more a scene of trial, sickness, and death. His few remaining friends fell a sacrifice to the climate; his family it pleased God to afflict with illness; and it seemed as if his life was to end with his labours. It is not easy to describe the state of anxiety in which the two last months were spent: ready and anxious to leave a place in which so many earthly ties of happiness had been broken, and yet seeing hour after hour pass away, without the means of escape, and with scarcely a hope that life would be prolonged from one day to another.

The following letters give a lively picture of the state of his feelings at this period.

To the Rev. Dr. Raffles.

"*Bencoolen, November 15th*, 1823.

"My Dear Cousin,

"As this may be the last opportunity of writing before we ourselves embark, I am anxious not to let it pass without endeavouring to repay some part of the heavy debt standing against me on the score of omissions in letter writing.

* * * * * *

"We have suffered much in health and spirits since we said farewell; but our

hearts are the same ; and we trust, that, if we can regain our health by a change of climate, there may yet be many happy days in store for us, even in this sublunary and transitory scene.

* * * * *

" I have already informed you that I resigned the charge of Singapore, and of all questions with the Dutch in June last, as preparatory to my winding up on this coast and proceeding to Europe. I enclose you a printed copy of the address presented to me on the occasion by the merchants of the place, with my reply, which will shew you the sort of policy I wish to support at that settlement. I have heard nothing more of the question with the Dutch, but I doubt not that it will be agitated on my arrival in England. I rely more upon the support of the mercantile community than upon any liberal views of the ministry, by whom I have been opposed as much throughout as by the Dutch.

* * * * *

" Of this place I have nothing at present very particular to communicate, or that will not as conveniently be left for personal intercourse; but it will be satisfactory for you to know that we are doing wonders with our schools, and that our Bible Society is not inactive : the two missionaries whom we have here, Messrs. Robinson and Ward are very zealous ; and Reports are now framing to be laid before the General Meeting on the 1st of January, which will, I hope, prove that we have not been inactive ; and that the results are as great as we could rationally have expected in so short a time.

* * * * *

" Considerable interest has lately been excited by the progress in Sumatra of the Mahomedan sect, usually termed the Padries, or more particularly the Putcho or Whites, in opposition to the Elaws or Blacks, by which latter term they designate all who do not embrace their doctrine.

" It was to the ravages of these people that I alluded in my account of the journey to Menangkabu, as having repeatedly pillaged and burnt the capital of that celebrated seat of the Malay empire : and it is with them that the Dutch, since their occupation of Padang, have been involved in a desperate and relentless war, neither party giving quarter, and prices being set upon the heads of the principal Chiefs. The first notice of this powerful sect, which had its origin near Mount Ophir, was about ten years ago ; but it has been during the last three, and principally since the occupation of Padang by the Dutch, that it has become formidable, and occasioned alarm for the safety of the European settlements on the west coast of Sumatra.

" The policy of the British Government has hitherto been that of neutrality, considering that the question related principally to peculiar doctrines of Mahomedanism, in which the natives might be best left to themselves : but the success of the

Padries during the last year, in which they have overrun nearly the whole of the rich and populous countries of the interior, has at length called for measures of decision even on the part of the British authority. A considerable force was detached from Bengal in September last, direct to Nattal; and measures are in progress for the adoption of offensive operations, should negociation fail. The tenets of the Padries require, that all Mahomedans shall refrain from the use of opium, from cock-fighting, and other Malayan vices, that they should wear a peculiar dress, and submit to ecclesiastical authority. The Malays, who form the population of the coast districts, are averse to this change, as altering their habits, and departing from their ancient customs; and the European Governments are actually employed in protecting them against the improvement which would necessarily follow from their adoption of the tenets of the Padries.

" It is not to be denied, that with people of so low a state of civilization as those in the interior of Sumatra must be, success will too often make them wanton; and that their practice is frequently inconsistent with their doctrines—this is naturally expected—and the l ve of plunder and thirst of revenge over those who are most obstinate in resisting them is too often predominant.

" The resources of these people seem considerable; and their engagements with the Dutch have taught them to know their own strength. Their power in the interior of Sumatra may now be considered as completely established: and various speculations are formed as to the result.

" We thus see one of the finest islands in the world, on which we have had establishments for upwards of a century, without once venturing to improve the condition of the people, or to send one Christian Missionary among them, giving way before the desolating influence of the false prophet of Mecca, and becoming rapidly a strong Mahomedan resting ground, with our eyes open, and with scarcely one effort made by ourselves to oppose them by a purer faith. The Missionaries we have lately employed in Sumatra are too few in number to do much. That they will do good, as far as their influence reaches, there can be no doubt; but that influence will long be limited to our own immediate stations, unless we increase their numbers. Instead of three missionaries we ought to have three hundred; and the object of these three hundred should be to initiate three thousand of the natives to act as Missionaries in the interior. There are yet hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, in Sumatra, who at this moment possess no religion at all, among whom we *may* include the Battas. The Padries are now on their very borders, with the Koran in one hand, and the sword in the other: and the only Missionary whom we have is an isolated individual, residing under the protection of the British factory at Tappanooly, but who has not the means of penetrating into the interior. This individual, however, (Mr. Burton,) has translated part of the Scriptures into

the Batta language, and his success in this respect is highly praiseworthy to his application and character; but alone he can do little beyond the influence of our own factory, which does not extend one mile inland.

* * * * * *

"It would be useful to draw public attention to this subject now, particularly, as it has excited much interest in India; and is the only cause likely to detain me here longer than I could wish. I cannot well leave the coast till some decisive measure is adopted; and yet in politics who can see the end? My desire is to avoid all involvement as much as possible; and if our measures are likely to be of a protracted nature, I shall not think of waiting the issue.

"Believe me, &c."

To ———.

"*Permattam Ballam, Bencoolen, November 23,* 1823.

"This is a most melancholy day. One of my last letters informed you of the death of poor Drummond after a few hours illness; one of the Mr. Days died about the same time. Two days ago Mr. Halhed was carried off, and I have just received information that my dear and valued friend Salmond is no more.

"This last blow has been almost too much for us, for Salmond was as dear and intimate with us as our own family. I have just opened his will, and find he has nominated me as his sole executor in the following words:—'I appoint my *only* friend Sir Stamford Raffles to be my executor, and I pray to God he will take charge of my estate and children.' The loss of poor Salmond is quite a death-blow to the settlement. How is it that all we love and esteem, all those whose principles we admire, and in whom we can place confidence, are thus carried off, while the vile and worthless remain?

"Sophia is recovering slowly from her late illness, but she has suffered severely. I am much the same in health, but we are both low in spirits. Would that a ship had come out as I wrote for direct, that we might have been off!

"We have as yet heard nothing of the Fame, nor is there any opportunity besides her likely to offer."

To Dr. Wallich.

"*Bencoolen, November 24,* 1823.

"You will grieve to hear that we have just lost our worthy inestimable friend Captain Salmond; he is the second in our family and the fourth in our small society who has paid the debt of nature within the last month! Would to God we were ourselves fairly out of the place! Sophia recovers but very slowly from her late dangerous illness, and these events cast a sad and melancholy gloom over every thing.

I write these few lines at her very particular request, to remind you of my picture. Whether I go home or not, I must, if Lady Raffles survives, send her home by an early opportunity.

" Our united regards and fervent prayers for your health and happiness. Believe me always your's affectionately."

To Dr. Wallich.

" *Bencoolen, December* 10, 1823.

" We are, I am sorry to say, in great distress, having lost several friends during the last month, but the worst of all has been the loss of our only remaining child in this country, at a time when Lady Raffles was herself dangerously ill with fever; the shock has been too much for us, and I hardly expect she will get over it. We have indeed been severely afflicted, and what is worse, we are both so ill ourselves that neither of us dare quit the room.

" These circumstances will be a sufficient excuse for not writing you more fully."

To ———.

" *Bencoolen, December* 20, 1823.

" You will grieve to hear that we have had another affliction in the loss of our dear babe, whose birth I formerly announced.

" She was carried off very suddenly, and at a moment when we were least prepared to meet such a shock. The death of poor Salmond and Mr. Drummond, besides several other deaths in the settlement, had cast a gloom over every thing, and Sophia was but very slowly recovering from a severe inflammatory fever which nearly proved fatal. The loss of an infant only a few months old is one of those things which in itself perhaps might soon be got over, knowing how uncertain life is at that period, but this loss of our fourth and only remaining child in India has revived all former afflictions, and been almost too much for us. Fortunately Sophia's fever has not returned since the event, and upon the whole she is in better health than she was preceding, but she has not yet left the house; her spirits as well as my own are completely broken, and most anxious are we to get away from such a charnel-house, but here we are detained for want of an opportunity. How often do we wish the Fame had come out direct—we might have saved this last misfortune—but we have neither seen nor heard of her, and God only knows when the day of our deliverance will arrive. Either I must go to England or by remaining in India *die.*

" If we are to meet again in this world, it must be soon after the receipt of this—till then farewell, and God grant that you may never be subjected to such misfortunes with your children as we have been. I shall wait a day or two in writing to Cheltenham, in hope of having better spirits than to-day.

"As the management of convicts ought to be a subject of consideration, I inclose you a copy of the regulations established for those of this place. The convicts now at Bencoolen amount to eight or nine hundred, and the number is gradually increasing; they are natives of Bengal and Madras—that is to say, of those Presidencies. The arrangement has been brought about gradually, but the system now appears complete, and as far as we have yet gone, has been attended with the best effects. I have entrusted John Hull with the superintendence of the department, and he feels great pleasure and satisfaction in the general improvement of this class of people."

To ———.

"*Bencoolen, January* 4, 1824.

"We have entered the new year, and as yet no accounts of the Fame. You can hardly imagine to yourself the serious disappointment to all our hopes and plans which this occasions. We begin to think we are doomed to end our days here, and that there is something like a spell upon our movements. After Sophia's severe illness and our last affliction, the delay of a day is most serious, and night and day we cannot help regretting that you have not ensured a ship on the strength of my letters to you—I relied exclusively on what you would do, and still have no other hope than that the Fame will be in time to save our lives, though we have very little confidence that this will be the case."

To ———.

"*Bencoolen, January* 14, 1824.

"I have before I embark to wind up all my affairs.

"God grant that we may have a happy and satisfactory meeting in old England, for which I may in truth say my heart yearneth much indeed and sadly.

"We are such poor creatures, that like the aspen leaf, we shake with every breath of air, and are daily treading on the edge of eternity."

Months having elapsed beyond the time fixed for the arrival of the ship Fame, which was to carry Sir Stamford and his family to England, without any accounts of her, he determined to take the cargo out of the Borneo, a small vessel which had touched at Bencoolen on her passage to England, and in which he had two years before sent home his infant child; but the very day the arrangement was to have been completed (*fortunately* it was then supposed) the Fame arrived. The Borneo made a safe and good passage; of the fate of the Fame Sir Stamford's own letters give an account; it is only necessary to add, that the ship was insured, which prevented any loss to the

owners—that the captain had no interest in her—that the East India Company had only a few tons of salt-petre on board for ballast—that the loss fell entirely on the individual, whom it pleased God to humble by the overwhelming calamity.

" *Bencoolen, February* 4, 1824.

" We embarked on the 2d instant in the Fame, and sailed at day-light for England with a fair wind, and every prospect of a quick and comfortable passage.

" The ship was every thing we could wish; and having closed my charge here much to my satisfaction, it was one of the happiest days of my life. We were, perhaps, too happy; for in the evening came a sad reverse. Sophia had just gone to bed, and I had thrown off half my clothes, when a cry of fire, fire! roused us from our calm content, and in five minutes the whole ship was in flames! I ran to examine whence the flames principally issued, and found that the fire had its origin immediately under our cabin. Down with the boats. Where is Sophia?—Here. The children?—Here. A rope to the side. Lower Lady Raffles. Give her to me, says one; I'll take her, says the Captain. Throw the gunpowder overboard. It cannot be got at; it is in the magazine close to the fire. Stand clear of the powder. Skuttle the water-casks. Water! water! Where's Sir Stamford? Come into the boat, Nilson! Nilson, come into the boat. Push off, push off. Stand clear of the after part of the ship.

" All this passed much quicker than I can write it; we pushed off, and as we did so, the flames burst out of our cabin-window, and the whole of the after part of the ship was in flames; the masts and sails now taking fire, we moved to a distance sufficient to avoid the immediate explosion; but the flames were now coming out of the main hatchway; and seeing the rest of the crew, with the Captain, still on board, we pulled back to her under the bows, so as to be more distant from the powder. As we approached we perceived that the people on board were getting into another boat on the opposite side. She pushed off; we hailed her: have you all on board. Yes, all, save one. Who is he?—Johnson, sick in his cot. Can we save him?—No, impossible. The flames were issuing from the hatchway; at this moment the poor fellow, scorched, I imagine, by the flames, roared out most lustily, having run upon the deck. I will go for him, says the Captain. The two boats then came together, and we took out some of the persons from the Captain's boat, which was overladen; he then pulled under the bowsprit of the ship, and picked the poor fellow up. Are you all safe?—Yes, we have got the man; all lives safe. Thank God! Pull off from the ship. Keep your eye on a star, Sir Stamford.—There's one scarcely visible.

" We then hauled close to each other, and found the Captain fortunately had a compass, but we had no light except from the ship. Our distance from Bencoolen we estimated to be about fifty miles in a south-west direction. There being no landing

place to the southward of Bencoolen, our only chance was to regain that port. The Captain then undertook to lead, and we to follow, in a N. N. E. course, as well as we could; no chance, no possibility being left, that we could again approach the ship; for she was now one splendid flame, fore and aft, and aloft, her masts and sails in a blaze, and rocking to and fro, threatening to fall in an instant. There goes her mizen mast; pull away, my boys: there goes the gunpowder. Thank God! thank God!

"You may judge of our situation without further particulars. The alarm was given at about twenty minutes past eight, and in less than ten minutes she was in flames; there was not a soul on board at half-past eight, and in less than ten minutes afterwards she was one grand mass of fire.

"My only apprehension was the want of boats to hold the people, as there was not time to have got out the long-boat, or to make a raft; all we had to rely upon were two small quarter-boats, which fortunately were lowered without accident; and in these two small open boats, without a drop of water or grain of food, or a rag of covering, except what we happened at the moment to have on our backs, we embarked on the ocean, thankful to God for his mercies! Poor Sophia, having been taken out of her bed, had nothing on but a wrapper, neither shoes nor stockings; the children were just as taken out of bed, whence one had been snatched after the flames had attacked it; in short, there was not time for any one to think of more than two things. Can the ship be saved?—No. Let us save ourselves, then. All else was swallowed up in one grand ruin.

"To make the best of our misfortune, we availed ourselves of the light from the ship to steer a tolerably good course towards the shore. She continued to burn till about midnight, when the saltpetre, which she had on board, took fire, and sent up one of the most splendid and brilliant flames that ever was seen, illumining the horizon in every direction, to an extent of not less than fifty miles, and casting that kind of blue light over us, which is of all others most horrible. She burnt and continued to flame in this style for about an hour or two, when we lost sight of the object in a cloud of smoke.

"Neither Nilson nor Mr. Bell, our medical friend who had accompanied us, had saved their coats; but the tail of mine, with a pocket-handkerchief, served to keep Sophia's feet warm, and we made breeches for the children with our neck-cloths. Rain now came on, but fortunately it was not of long continuance, and we got dry again. The night became serene and star-light; we were now certain of our course, and the men behaved manfully; they rowed incessantly, and with good heart and spirit, and never did poor mortals look out more for day-light and for land than we did; not that our sufferings or grounds of complaint were any thing to what has often befallen others; but from Sophia's delicate health, as well as

my own, and the stormy nature of our coast, I felt perfectly convinced we were unable to undergo starvation and exposure to sun and weather many days, and aware of the rapidity of the currents, I feared we might fall to the southward of the port.

" At day-light we recognized the coast and Rat Island, which gave us great spirits; and though we found ourselves much to the southward of the port, we considered ourselves almost at home. Sophia had gone through the night better than could have been expected, and we continued to pull on with all our strength. About eight or nine we saw a ship standing to us from the Roads; they had seen the flames on shore, and sent out vessels to our relief; and here certainly came a minister of Providence in the character of a minister of the Gospel, for the first person I recognized was one of our missionaries. They gave us a bucket of water, and we took the Captain on board as a pilot. The wind, however, was adverse, and we could not reach the shore, and took to the ship, where we got some refreshment and shelter from the sun. By this time Sophia was quite exhausted, fainting continually. About two o'clock we landed safe and sound, and no words of mine can do justice to the expressions of feeling, sympathy, and kindness with which we were hailed by every one. If any proof had been wanting, that my administration had been satisfactory here, we had it unequivocally from all; there was not a dry eye, and as we drove back to our former home, loud was the cry of 'God be praised.'

" But enough; and I will only add, that we are now greatly recovered, in good spirits, and busy at work getting ready-made clothes for present use. We went to bed at three in the afternoon, and I did not awake till six this morning. Sophia had nearly as sound a sleep, and, with the exception of a bruise or two, and a little pain in the bones from fatigue, we have nothing to complain of.

" The loss I have to regret, beyond all, is my papers and drawings,—all my notes and observations, with memoirs and collections, sufficient for a full and ample history, not only of Sumatra, but of Borneo, and almost every other Island of note in these seas;—my intended account of the establishment of Singapore;—the history of my own administration;—eastern grammars, dictionaries, and vocabularies;—and last, not least, a grand map of Sumatra, on which I had been employed since my arrival here, and on which, for the last six months, I had bestowed almost my whole undivided attention. This, however, was not all;—all my collections in natural history,—all my splendid collection of drawings, upwards of *two thousand* in number,—with all the valuable papers and notes of my friends, Arnold and Jack; and, to conclude, I will merely notice, that there was scarce an unknown animal, bird, beast, or fish, or an interesting plant, which we had not on board: a living tapir, a new species of tiger, splendid pheasants, &c., domesticated for the voyage; we were, in short, in this respect, a perfect Noah's ark.

" All, all has perished; but, thank God, our lives have been spared, and we do not repine.

" Our plan is to get another ship as soon as possible, and, I think, you may still expect us in July. There is a chance of a ship, called the Lady Flora, touching here on her way home, and there is a small ship in the Roads which may be converted into a packet, and take us home, as I have a captain and crew at command.

" Make your minds easy about us, even if we should be later than you expected. No news will be good news."

A striking proof of the attachment of those who had no longer any interested motive to influence them deserves to be recorded. After the boat which contained Sir Stamford and his family got within sight of the shore, the numerous little native craft, which were all in requisition at the moment, approached in every direction with great velocity, and the people put, without exception, this one question: " Is the Tuan Besar (the great man) safe ?"—receiving an affirmative answer, they darted off as if there was no other point of interest to them.

In writing to the Court of Directors on this subject, Sir Stamford states:

" The fire had its origin in the store-room, immediately under the apartments occupied by myself and family, and was occasioned by the shameful carelessness of the steward going with a naked light to draw off brandy from a cask, which took fire; but I am bound to speak in the highest terms of the conduct of the captain, officers, and ship's company, who spared no exertions to save the ship, and when that was found impracticable, to secure the lives of all on board, acting throughout with the utmost coolness and self-possession which such a moment would admit of.

" We had scarcely time to lower two small boats hanging over the quarter, before the whole of the poop was on fire, and the flames had ascended the mizen-rigging. So rapid, indeed, was the progress of the fire, that before even a small canoe could be got out forward, the flames were issuing from the main and fore hatchways, and we were of necessity forced to trust our lives, forty-one in number, to the mercy of the waves, in these two open boats, quitting the ship in such haste, that it was impossible to save a single article, or even to secure a drop of water, or other refreshment. We were fortunate enough, however, to push off from the ship before the magazine exploded, when the fire immediately became general over the whole ship, the masts and sails flaming, and rocking to and fro, till they fell one by one, affording, in the darkness of the night and in the midst of the ocean, one of the most truly awful and sublime spectacles that ever was witnessed.

" We estimated that our distance from the shore could not exceed fifty miles, and that by steering towards Sumatra, and in the direction of Bencoolen, we might

possibly regain that port, should the weather continue moderate; and accordingly adopted this course, the captain leading in the larger boat of the two; this indeed was the only chance, for if carried to the southward there was no other landing-place on the Island, and we must inevitably have perished at sea by the most horrible of all deaths, there not being a drop of water or other refreshment in either of the boats—not a mast or sail, but imperfect rudders, and most of us without even a complete suit of clothes. My wife had been taken from her bed without shoes or stockings, or other covering but a loose wrapper, and the children under our charge had been literally snatched from their beds when actually in flames.

"It however pleased the Almighty Disposer of events to temper his judgments with mercy, and to allay the storms and currents which so constantly prevail in these seas during the present monsoon, and through the steady and great exertions of the men in the boats, we had the satisfaction to make the land in the morning within about fifteen miles from Bencoolen. The flames from the ship, which had served to assist us in keeping a direct course to the land, had likewise been seen on shore, illumining a circumference of not less than fifty miles, and boats had been sent out in every direction to our assistance. By the aid of one of these we reached Bencoolen about four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, after having had to contend with an unfavourable current, and latterly a turbulent sea and adverse wind for upwards of sixteen hours, every moment of which, under our destitute circumstances and the boisterous nature of this coast, was pregnant with a degree of anxiety and apprehension not to be described. The state both of Lady Raffles and myself, already worn down by illness and affliction to the last stage of existence, was ill calculated to support the privations and exposure to which we were subjected, and long before we reached the harbour she had fallen into a succession of fainting fits, from which we with difficulty recovered her.

"It may however be satisfactory to state, in concluding this melancholy account, that no lives have been lost, and that the whole of the ship's company and passengers have reached this port in safety, thankful to the Almighty for his mercies.

"Submitting, as it is my duty to do, with patient resignation to this awful dispensation of Providence, I make the following statement, not in the spirit of complaint, for I repine not, but simply as illustrative of my personal circumstances and prospects, as they stand affected by this dire and unlooked-for calamity.

"After a service of nearly thirty years, and the exercise of supreme authority as a Governor for nearly twelve years of that period, over the finest and most interesting, but perhaps least known countries in creation, I had, as I vainly thought, closed my Indian life with benefit to my country, and satisfaction to myself; carrying with me such testimonials and information as I trusted would have proved that I

had not been an unprofitable servant or a dilatory labourer in this fruitful and extensive vineyard.

" This lovely and highly interesting portion of the globe had, politically speaking, long sunk into insignificance from the withering effects of that baneful policy, with which the Hollanders were permitted to visit these regions, when it fell to my lot to direct the course of the British arms to the Island of Java, and there on the ruins of monopoly, torture, and oppression, in all its shapes, to re-establish man in his native rights and prerogatives, and re-open the channel of an extensive commerce. Political events required our secession from that quarter, but the establishment of Singapore, and the reforms introduced on this coast have no less afforded opportunities for the application and extension of the same principles.

" In the course of those measures, numerous and weighty responsibilities became necessary—the European world—the Indian world—(the continental part of it at least) were wholly uninformed of the nature of these countries, their character, and resources. I did not hesitate to take these responsibilities as the occasion required them, and though from imperfect information many of my measures in Java were at first condemned, I had the satisfaction to find them in the end not only approved but applauded, far beyond my humble pretensions, and even by those who at first had been most opposed to me. I need refer to no stronger case than that of the Marquis of Hastings.

" During the last six years of my administration, and since I have ceased to have any concern in the affairs of Java, the situations in which I have been placed, and the responsibilities which I have been compelled to take in support of the interests of my country, and of my employers, have been, if possible, still greater than during my former career; I allude to the struggle which I have felt it my duty to make against Dutch rapacity and power, and to the difficulties that I had to contend with in the establishment of Singapore, and the reforms which have been effected on this coast.

" In addition to the opposition of avowed enemies to British power and Christian principles, I had to contend with deep-rooted prejudices, and the secret machinations of those who dared not to act openly; and standing alone, the envy of some and the fear of many, distant authorities were unable to form a correct estimate of my proceedings. Without local explanation some appeared objectionable, while party spirit and Dutch intrigue have never been wanting to discolour transactions and misrepresent facts.

" It was at the close of such an administration that I embarked with my family on the Fame, carrying with me endless volumes and papers of information on the civil and natural history of nearly every Island within the Malayan Archipelago, collected at great expense and labour, under the most favourable circumstances, during a life of constant and active research, and in an especial manner calculated

to throw light not only on the commercial and other resources of these Islands, but to advance the state of natural knowledge and science, and finally to extend the civilization of mankind.

" These, with all my books, manuscripts, drawings, correspondence, records, and other documents, including tokens of regard from the absent, and memorials from the dead, have been all lost for ever in this dreadful conflagration; and I am left single and unaided, without the help of one voucher to tell my story, and uphold my proceedings, when I appear before your honourable Court.

" It has always appeared to me, that the value of these countries was to be traced rather through the means of their natural history, than in the dark recesses of Dutch diplomacy and intrigue; and I accordingly, at all times, felt disposed to give encouragement to those deserving men, who devote themselves to the pursuits of science. Latterly, when political interests seemed to require that I should, for a time, retire from the field, and there was little more to be done for this small settlement, I have myself devoted a considerable portion of my time to these pursuits, and in forming extensive collections in natural history: my attention had also been directed in a particular manner to the geography of the Island of Sumatra.

" To be brief, I may sum up the collections and papers which I have had the misfortune to lose, under the following heads. They were carefully packed in no less than one hundred and twenty-two cases, independent of those for immediate reference, but which last are also lost, not one scrap of paper having been saved, or one duplicate left.

" *Of Sumatra.*—A map on a large scale, constructed during a residence of six years, from observations made by myself and persons under my authority, European and native, calculated to exhibit, at one view, the real nature and general resources of the country, on a very different scale to what was formerly supposed, together with statistical reports, tables, memoirs, notices, histories of the Battas, and other original races, native and European vocabularies, dictionaries, and manuscripts in the different languages, contained in several cases.

" *Of Borneo.*—A detailed account of the former history, present state, population, and resources, of that long-neglected island, already drawn out to the extent of upwards of one thousand pages of writing, with numerous notes, sketches, details of the Dayak population, their government, customs, history, usages, &c. with notices of the different ports, their produce, and commercial resources.

" *Of Celebes.*—Nearly a similar account.

" And of *Java* and the *Moluccas.*—The whole of the voluminous history, as carefully abstracted from the Dutch archives while I was in Java, with careful translations of the most valuable native books, vocabularies, memoirs, and various papers intended principally to assist in a new edition of my History of Java.

" *Of Singapore.*—A detailed account of its establishment; the principles on

which it is founded; the policy of our Government in founding it; the history of commerce in the Eastern Islands; its present state and prospects; the rapid rise of Singapore; its history until I gave over charge; with all the original documents connected with the discussion with the Dutch, and every voucher and testimony which could have been required to make good the British claim, and uphold the measures I had adopted.

" *In Natural History*—The loss to myself and to science has been still greater. The choicest, the cream and flower of all my collections, I retained to take under my personal charge, together with the manuscripts and papers of my invaluable deceased friends, Drs. Arnold and Jack. Among these also was that invaluable, and, I may say, superb collection of drawings in natural history, executed under my immediate eye, and intended, with other interesting subjects of natural history, for the museum of the Honourable Court. They exceeded in number two thousand; and having been taken from life, and with scientific accuracy, were executed in a style far superior to any thing I had seen or heard of in Europe; in short, they were my pride: but as man has no business to be proud, it may be well that they are lost. Cases of plants, minerals, animals, &c. &c. I shall not name.

" Indeed it would be endless for me to attempt even a general description of all that has perished, and I will only add that, besides the above, all the papers connected with my administration of Java, as collected and arranged by my deceased friend and secretary, Mr. Assey, have also been lost, with all my correspondence.

" A loss like this can never be replaced, but I bow to it without repining.

" In a pecuniary point of view, my loss has not been less extensive, as may be perceived by the annexed statement, in which I have assumed the actual cost of the principal articles which have been sacrificed. Most of them are what no money can replace; such as the service of plate presented to me by the inhabitants of Java; the diamonds presented to my family by the captors of Djocjocarta; the diamond ring presented to me by the Princess Charlotte on my embarkation for India, a week before her death. These and many other tokens of regard, friendship, and respect, during an active and varied life, can never be replaced. Money may compensate perhaps for other losses, but no insurance was, or could be, effected from home. It rests solely and exclusively with the Court, to consider in how far my claims, on account of services, may be strengthened by the severity of misfortune, which has latterly attached itself to my case.

" The anxiety and fatigue occasioned by the calamitous event which I have detailed, have been such, that however much I may feel desirous, from motives of pecuniary necessity, to prolong my stay in India, in the hope of replacing, in part, some of the personal property which I have lost, I dare not look forward to such a measure, and I am under the necessity of taking advantage of the first opportunity that offers of proceeding to Europe, where I shall throw myself on your Honourable

Court, to enable me to end my days in honourable retirement, trusting to an all-bounteous Providence to restore me and my family to health and peace in my native land.

" In the mean time I have thought it my duty to resume charge of the Company's affairs on this coast, and have advised the Supreme Government accordingly.

" With a former letter I had the honour to submit a copy of the address which was presented to me on the occasion of my departure for Europe, with the reply which I have felt myself called upon to make on so favourable an expression of the public feeling, and it is now with satisfaction that I transmit, for the perusal of your Honourable Court, the address of condolence which was presented to me on my unexpected return under such a sad reverse of fortune.

" In expressing my deep-felt gratitude to the inhabitants of this settlement, for their sympathy in our sufferings, and genuine hospitality, I can only say, that having been thrown back on their shores most unexpectedly,—We were naked, and they clothed us,—hungry and athirst, and they fed us,—weary and exhausted, and they comforted and consoled us; and I pray to God that your Honourable Court, as the immediate guardian of their interests, will bless this land of Sumatra in return, even for their sakes.

" I have the honour to be,

" Honourable Sirs,

" Your devoted, sincere, and faithful servant,

(Signed) " T. S. Raffles.

" *Fort Marlborough, February* 8, 1824."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

" *Bencoolen, February* 20, 1824.

" We have just suffered a sad calamity, but as we have been so long inured to misfortune, it perhaps falls more lightly upon us than it would otherwise have done. Time does not admit of my writing a long letter, and, therefore, I take the liberty of enclosing a copy of what I have written at the moment, and in great haste, but which will afford you all particulars.

" I have this day engaged another ship, in which we hope to have better fortune, but she will not be able to sail till the end of next month.

" It was not enough that we should have the dangers of storms, rocks, and seas to contend with; but another element must rise up against us: earth, air, fire, water, all combined to oppose our progress! but I will not despair.

" Pray excuse the brevity of this. In truth, it is with the utmost difficulty I hold the pen."

To Dr. Wallich.

" *Bencoolen, March* 28, 1824.

" My Dear Friend,

" You will have heard of our dreadful misfortune long before this reaches you, and therefore I shall not enter into particulars further than by stating, that I have lost all and every thing belonging to me save my wife. We, thank God, escaped by a miracle, and are grateful to Providence for so wonderful a deliverance.

" The whole of my drawings, between two or three thousand; all my collections, descriptions, and papers of every kind; all those of our invaluable friend Jack, with every document and memorandum that I possessed on earth, fell a prey to the all-devouring flame.

" A subsequent attempt to get home in the Wellington has failed in success; for after taking her up and being prepared to embark, the commander most suddenly and unexpectedly went out of his mind, and is now raving mad.

" This, in fact, was the third ship we had engaged, and in which something occurred to check our progress. I have now engaged a *fourth*, the Mariner, a small Botany Bay ship, to take home the crew and passengers of the unfortunate ship Fame, and God grant we may be more successful in her. We hope to embark on her in the course of the week, and once more to trust ourselves to the mercy of the elements.

" If it pleases God that we should arrive in England, you will hear from me ere long, and I shall not fail to inform you of all I think likely to interest you.

" Adieu! and excuse haste. All I have time to add is a repetition of what I have often said before, and will continue to say till my dying day: God bless you, and be assured of my devoted friendship and affection.

" Lady Raffles sends thanks for having kept my picture so long, as it otherwise would have been lost, with every thing else, by the Fame."

So heavy a misfortune was sufficient to have depressed the spirit and damped the ardour of the strongest mind; but it seemed to have no other effect on that of Sir Stamford than to rouse him to greater exertion. The morning after the loss of all that he had been collecting for so many years, with such unwearied zeal, interest, and labour, he recommenced sketching the map of Sumatra, set all his draftsmen to work in making new drawings of some of the most interesting specimens in natural history, dispatched a number of people into the forests to collect more animals, and neither murmur nor lamentation ever escaped his lips; on the contrary, upon the ensuing Sabbath, he publicly returned thanks to Almighty God,

for having preserved the lives of all those who had for some time contemplated a death from which there appeared no human probability of escaping. And here the Editor cannot forbear offering her testimony to the admirable conduct of the sailors. When Sir Stamford first got into the boat, and they were requested to move to a little distance, a slight murmur took place at the idea of deserting their comrades, but on being assured that the only object was to choose the easiest death, they one and all yielded in perfect silence, and calmly watched the success of an effort to lower another boat; nor did they afterwards indulge in any complaint, but toiled with the greatest good humour, sometimes laughing at the Purser and the Steward, on whom they laid the blame of the accident; sometimes expressing pity for "*the lady*," and comforting themselves with the idea that *they* were not much worse off than they were before. When the boat approached the shore, they entreated that they might be indulged in the pleasure of landing the party in safety, only requesting first—to have some water; and when a large bucket full was lowered from the side of the vessel, which came to meet the boats, the eager rush with which they plunged their heads into it, will easily be imagined when it is recollected that they had been working for eighteen hours, without intermission against a strong current, and in a tropical climate. Some idea may be formed of the danger which the boats were in, when it is stated that there was no handle to the rudder; and that the only way of stopping the aperture in the bottom of the boat, was by one of the men keeping his thumb in it; as he often fell asleep and forgot his office, the water would rush in, and the boat was frequently nearly filled with water and in a sinking state. So crammed was it with people, that none of those who were not engaged in rowing could, during these many hours, move either hand or foot.

Though Sir Stamford's health received a severe shock by this calamity, the following extract from his memorandum book, on his second embarkation, affords another proof that the energy of his mind was not shaken, nor the buoyancy of his spirit broken.

"On the 8th April embarked in the Mariner, and on the morning of the 10th weighed and sailed for England in that ship, in company with the Lady Flora, Captain M'Donnel. She, however, kept to windward and parted from us during the night; a few days afterwards she came in company again, but on the 20th we again lost sight of her.

"20th April.—I this day commenced to apply to study, and devoted the early part of the morning to Euclid, and the remainder to the arrangement of my papers, &c. As far as circumstances admit, I propose to divide my time and application as follows, during the voyage; appropriating eight hours in each day to study, reading, or writing, and with an intention of making up one day for any loss of time on another.

" Breakfast being fixed at 9 and dinner at 4, I appropriate, before breakfast, from 7 to 9 . . . . . hours 2

" Between breakfast and dinner, from 10 to 1 and from 2 to 4 . . — 5

" In the evening, from 8 to 9 . . . . . — 1

hours . . 8

" Before breakfast.—One hour mathematics or logic—one hour Latin, Greek, or Hebrew.

" After breakfast, from 10 to 11.—In committing to paper and arranging and reviewing what I studied before breakfast.

" From 11 to 1.—Writing an account of my administration in the East.

" From 2 to 4.—General reading and reading out to Sophia.

" In the evening for one hour.—Reading a play of Shakspeare's, or other entertaining productions.

" By this arrangement, I have in the morning, by rising at 6, one hour for exercise before breakfast, and half an hour for the same after breakfast. One hour from 1 to 2 for tiffin and exercise, and after dining from 5 to 7, three hours for exercise or relaxation in the cool of the evening. As the servants are always behind-hand in furnishing the meals, I may freely trust to their affording me time for dressing by such delays, which will only eventually break in on the proposed three hours relaxation for the evening, a portion of which may well be spared; or half an hour may be added to the day by going to bed at half past 9 or 10, instead of 9 as proposed.

" My object in making this memorandum is, that I may hold the rule as inviolable as I can, and by frequently recurring to it, revive my sleeping energies, should I at any time be inclined to indolence. I should not, however, omit to add, that all reading and study on a Sunday is to be confined to the Bible and religious subjects. The Greek and Hebrew, however, as connected, may nevertheless form a part of the study of that day.

" 25th June, 1824.—Arrived at St. Helena on the afternoon of the 25th June, after a passage of eleven weeks from Bencoolen, and encountering constant and severe gales off the Cape of Good Hope during three weeks of that period. The gale was so severe that during this period we were unable to leave our cots, the sea poured through the decks into our cabin, and the war of the wind was such that we could not hear each other speak. Lady Raffles, though boarded up in her couch, was obliged to have ropes to hold by to prevent her knocking from one side of it to the other; the ship lay like a wreck upon the ocean at the mercy of the winds and waves, and we resigned ourselves to the feeling that our pilgrimage in this world was soon to close."

Those who have never experienced such a scene can form no idea of the severity of the gale. Captain Young, who had passed the Cape nineteen times, declared he had never witnessed any thing like it; nor can the Editor ever forget one night, on which Captain Herbert, (for all on board were worn out with fatigue and watching,) as he retired to take a little rest, desired the officer on the watch to observe in one particular direction, and call him the moment he saw the smallest speck in the horizon; the Captain then came to tell Sir Stamford that the ship still held well together. It was a dreadful night, the sky appeared a heavy dense arch, threatening to fall with its own weight, and crush every thing beneath it, save in one spot, where a full moon of the deepest blood red shed an unnatural crimson hue that just rendered the darkness visible. It was not long before the expected mark appeared, and before the Captain could get on deck, the fury of the wind was sweeping away all before it.

"Landed the evening of the 25th of June, and the next morning were kindly received by General and Mrs. Walker, with whom we remained at Plantation-house during our stay.

"Sailed from St. Helena the 3d of July, and crossed the Line the 12th of July, 1824.

"There are some souls bright and precious, which, like gold and silver, may be subdued by the fiery trial, and yield to a new mould; but there are others firm and solid as the diamond, which may be shivered to pieces, yet in every fragment retain their indelible character."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*St. Helena, June* 26, 1824.

"Thank God, we are once more on the right side of the Cape of Good Hope, with a fair prospect of a favourable passage home. After being eleven weeks at sea, and suffering a dreadful gale of three *whole* weeks off the Cape, we landed here last night. * * * * *

"I have neither time or spirits to say more than that we are alive and tolerably well, and have a hope to reach England in August. My health and strength are entirely gone, but I trust I have yet enough spirit to bear up for the voyage. To complete our sorrow, I have just received an account of the death of my dear mother, an event for which I had for some time been prepared, but which has been a sad stroke at such a moment, just as I felt the possibility of once more embracing her, and cheering her latter hours; but God's will be done.

"We propose, wind and weather permitting, to land at Plymouth, and from thence to cross the country, through Exeter and Bath to Cheltenham, where Lady Raffles' family are at present residing.

"I mention this because, next to the duty and inclination I feel to place my dear wife in the bosom of her anxious family, I am led to look towards you and yours.

* * * * * * *

"Pray excuse this hasty scrawl; my eyes are quite blinded with tears, and my hand is so nervous that I can scarcely hold my pen."

To Mr. Marsden.

"*St. Helena, July* 3, 1824.

"My Dear Sir,

"After our dreadful misfortune you will, I am sure, be glad to hear that we have at length reached this place in safety, and that with the blessing of Providence we hope to be with you in the course of the next month. My constitution is sadly broken, and the last accident has given both Lady Raffles and myself so severe a shock, that we have with difficulty been able to bear up; but the change of scene within the last few days, and the kind attentions of General and Mrs. Walker, added to the near prospect of home, have again cheered us, and we will yet hope that there may be many happy days in store for us.

"As the account of the loss of the Fame by fire will, no doubt, have reached England before this can arrive, I will not distress you by recurring to the particulars of that dreadful event, by which, though we fortunately escaped with our lives, I have been a sufferer beyond what it is in my power to express. Nearly one-third of the ship was occupied by my collections and packages, and I fondly, but vainly, flattered myself that I would astonish you with the extent of our exertions and research, particularly in the departments of natural history, to which my attention had latterly been so much directed. Our friends, Sir Everard Home and Dr. Horsfield, will have to regret the loss of many interesting subjects, as I had endeavoured to comply with all their wishes, and succeeded beyond my expectations. You too, my dear Sir, will suffer no less, for without vanity I may say, that I had collected a body of information regarding Sumatra, that would have been highly interesting to you. I had completed a general map of the whole Island, with more detailed particulars of the principal divisions, extensive vocabularies, &c., and I regret to say, that I had not taken the precaution of leaving duplicates behind: of most it would have been difficult to have done it. It is, however, of no use to repine. I have set to work again upon the map, but I fear it will very imperfectly supply the place of the one I intended for you."

To ———.

"*Plymouth, Sunday, August* 22, 1824.

"Here we are, thank God, safe and sound. We made the land on the 20th,

and landed here this morning, I am happy to say, in better health than could have been expected. Your's of the 20th has just been put into my hands, so that you will perceive I have neither lost my punctuality nor my activity. I have a sad head-ache from the fatigue of landing, and therefore you must excuse my saying more to-day; but as we shall reach Exeter to-morrow, I will write more fully from thence.

" Mr. Rosedew is with us, and we shall sleep at Beechwood to-night. Sophia will speak for herself, and Nilson is well. My hand is so cramped that I cannot hold my pen."

CHAPTER XX.

Sir Stamford lands at Plymouth—Interview with his child—Resumes his labours—Interrupted by ill health—Views of the civilization and conversion of the heathen—Retrospect of the proceedings of the Bible Society in Sumatra—Malay schools preparing the way for the Scriptures—Translation of St. John's gospel—Effect of the transfer of the island to the Dutch—Access to China—Singapore institution—Sir Stamford's life at home—The magistracy—Sudden illness—Purchase of Highwood—Judgment of the Court of Directors on his administration of Java, Sumatra, and Singapore—His death.

Sir Stamford Raffles landed at Plymouth with health and strength greatly reduced, and after remaining one night with Mr. Rosedew at Beechwood, in whose house he had last enjoyed the pleasures of social intercourse previous to his departure seven years before, he hurried on to Cheltenham. The following letters describe his feelings at this period.

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*Cheltenham, August* 24, 1824.

"Once more we are safe at home, and I trust it will not be long before I have it in my power to overcome the short distance which separates us.

* * * * *

"We are safe, but, I am sorry to say, far from sound; for my constitution is terribly shattered; nevertheless, I live in confidence that, as the spirit is good, the body will yet mend. How happy shall I be to see you once more.

* * * * * *

"Your letter must have arrived at Plymouth the day after I left it. We were most anxious, as you may well suppose, to throw ourselves into the arms of our family as soon as possible, and did not remain at Plymouth above three hours; but what with assizes, horse-races, air-balloons, and other festivities of the season, we got on so slowly for the first two days, that I was obliged to push the post-boys from Bath to this place at about thirteen miles in the hour, until our front wheel caught fire, in order to satisfy Sophia's impatience to see her child. This has rather fatigued

us; but you will I am sure be happy to hear that we have found her all that our fondest wishes could have desired.

"I am unfortunately so troubled with cramp, that I can scarcely hold my pen; therefore, pray excuse my writing all that my heart and feelings dictate.

"How pleasant it is to be near one's friends; for what are a hundred miles after fourteen thousand!

"Of my future plans in life I cannot say that I have fixed any * * * I confess that I have a great desire to turn farmer, and have the vanity to think I could manage about two hundred acres as well as my neighbours. With this, I suppose, I should in time become a country magistrate, an office of all others which I should delight in; and if I could eventually get a seat in parliament, without sacrifice in principle, I should be content to pass through the rest of my life without aiming at any thing further, beyond the occupation of my spare time in promoting, as far as my humble means and talents admitted, the pursuits of knowledge and science, and the advancement of philanthropic and religious principles.

"Your Grace will, perhaps, say, that I have chalked out for myself a very varied and diversified course; but what is life without variety? and what is existence without occupation?"

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*Cheltenham, October* 9, 1824.

"Your advice is so good, so friendly, and so kind, that I will at once pledge myself to follow it in every thing. My only wish is not to be idle, but to be useful to the extent of my means. * * * * *

"I have been engaged for the last two or three days in drawing out a brief review of my public administration during the last twelve years. After the loss of all my documents and records, a paper of this kind becomes the more interesting. I hope I shall not be found to have said too much in favour of my own services and pretensions; and yet the countries in which I have been placed have been so new, untrodden, and interesting, and the situations in which I have been thrown have been so peculiar and trying, that unless I state them myself, few will either know or understand any thing about them. I feel confident that my course has been so straight forward, that the more light may be thrown upon it, the more obvious it will appear, and the more creditable it will be to my character."

To Mr. Marsden.

"*Cheltenham, October* 22, 1824.

"My Dear Sir,

"I have been so unwell since I had the pleasure to receive your kind letter, that I have been quite unable to answer it till now; not that I have, on the

whole, cause to complain as to the general improvement of my heath since my arrival, which, I am happy to say, has been greater than I expected; but I am still occasionally subject to severe attacks in the head, and have been confined for days together to my bed, from this and a severe cold, which for the time incapacitated me from writing. I am, however, on my legs again; and you will, I am sure, be happy to hear that both Lady Raffles and myself already feel some confidence that we may weather the winter, and look forward to next summer for the full re-establishment of our health. Our dear little one we have found every thing the fondest parents could desire; and I would hope we have at length come to the termination of the long series of misfortunes, with which it has pleased an all-wise Providence to afflict us of late, and that there is still much comfort and happiness in store for us."

* * * * *

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*Cheltenham, October, 23,* 1824.

"Your Grace will have been surprised at my long silence; I have been ill and confined to my bed almost ever since I received your last letter, and I am only able to-day to refer to the date, and apologize for not acknowledging it. When Lord Seymour was with us, I had entirely lost my voice from a violent cold; so that we had some difficulty in communicating; but he had hardly left us, than I had one of those severe attacks in my head that nearly deprived me of reason; and I began to think I must bid you a long farewell. Thank God, however, I am better; though I am hardly able to hold my pen, and which I dare not trust except within very close limitation; for I believe it was in consequence of using it too much on the paper I was drawing up that I have to attribute this unfortunate relapse; which has thrown me back in point of health at least two months; and as winter is fast approaching time is precious.

"I have finished the paper I was writing some time ago, and it is now at the printer's—it is not exactly what I could have wished, and the state of my health obliged me to contract it within very narrow limits, and bring it to a conclusion rather suddenly, and with less spirit than I could have wished. Such as it is, you shall have it in a few days."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*Cheltenham, November 2d,* 1824.

"I have corrected the proof of the paper which I am sending in to the Court of Directors, and have desired a copy to be sent to you. I am afraid you will not find it very interesting; but as it takes a general view of my services and the situations in which I have been placed, it may amuse you for half an hour during a dull November day. You must bear in mind *to whom* it is addressed, and the

necessity of my keeping within bounds; as well as with reference to a body so constituted, as on account of my own health, which does not admit of my enlarging on the subject. You will see that I have pledged myself to give the public a memoir on Singapore. I hope you will not disapprove of my taking so much blame to myself as I have been willing to do. I am ready to justify every act of my administration, and feel perfectly easy on that score, but it is for others to judge—not me; and all I am anxious to do is to get the question agitated, as I am ready to stand or fall by the result.

"I am very sensible of the Duke's kindness, and am only sorry that I give you so much trouble and so little satisfaction. Time was when I wanted not strength to second my will; but I am now, alas! shattered, and altogether unequal to one-thousandth part of all I would wish or desire to do.

"Promising, with God's help, to be a better correspondent during the next than I have been during the last week,

"I am, &c. &c.

"T. S. R.

"I have put the maps of Sumatra and Singapore into the hands of an artist this morning, to be constructed and engraved on a scale to suit a *quarto volume*."

To the Duchess of Somerset.

"*Piccadilly, December 9th*, 1824.

"I have been following your kind advice—idling and playing the fool with my time as much as possible.

"We are beginning to get a little more to rights than when you left us, but I have only been able to unpack two cases out of one hundred and seventy-three in course of transport to the house."

As soon as Sir Stamford was settled in London, he commenced an examination, as intimated in the last letter, into the wreck of the immense collections which he had made during the twenty years he had passed in India. He also designed to arrange his papers; and whilst India, with all its varied interests, was fresh in his memory, to record whatever he thought would promote the general improvement of mankind, or the particular advantage of his country; but his health was so delicate, that he was prevented from applying himself as he wished to the objects and pursuits which he had most at heart; the least exertion of mind or body was followed by days of pain and sickness, and he was continually regretting how much he was losing time—how little he was doing for the good of others.

The following letter is to the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible

Society. Sir Stamford always conceived that the idea of converting the natives of India by preaching only was fallacious, and that the miraculous outpouring of the Holy Spirit which attended the first preaching of the Gospel, and by which its numerous converts were so multiplied, was not now to be looked for. It was his conviction that the best means of securing this object was to civilize and instruct the people, and, together with civilization and instruction, convey to them the blessed truths of the Gospel, trusting that God in his own good time would bestow upon them that faith in a Redeemer, without which all knowledge is vain, and which alone is for the "healing of nations."

To the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

"*February*, 1825.

"In compliance with the desire expressed by the Committee, I now have the honour to report generally on the state of the Sumatran Auxiliary Bible Society at the period of my quitting Bencoolen, and to offer such suggestions as occur to me, with a view to the continuance of its operations under the political changes in that part of the East.

"Detailed reports of the proceedings of this Society from its commencement until January, 1824, were entrusted to me for the Parent Society in England; but, unfortunately, the whole of these were lost by the destruction by fire of the ship Fame, on which I had embarked for England: and, during the confusion attending my second embarkation from Bencoolen, I am sorry to find that I was by no means furnished with a complete series to supply their place; nevertheless, I will endeavour to convey to the Committee an outline, as far as I bear them in recollection, which I hope will be sufficient to prove that it has not been without its usefulness; and that if owing to the peculiar circumstances of the place, much may not have been done in the actual distribution of the Scriptures, the way had been paved to a considerable extent; and that time alone was wanting to ripen into effect the operations of those who had entered on the undertaking.

"I cannot charge my memory with the exact number of Bibles distributed by means of the Auxiliary Society; I believe it was inconsiderable with reference to the extent of population; but when it is considered that previous to its establishment few, if any, could read, or had any idea of the existence of such a book, or that Christians had such a boon to confer upon them, this will not be surprising.

"At an early period of the Society, my attention was directed more especially to the necessity of introducing letters, and, with them, moral and industrious habits were gradually attended to. The rapid progress made by the children in the different public schools, afforded an earnest that perseverance alone, for a few years, was necessary to effect a complete change in the condition of the people, and to place within their comprehension the leading truths of the sacred volume.

" Although the progress and success of these schools may not be considered as falling directly within the immediate objects of the Bible Society, yet, as without them we never could have expected that the Bible could have been read, I may perhaps be permitted to annex to this memorandum the last report of our School Committee, which shews that in the immediate vicinity of Bencoolen, the number of boys who had been taught to read, and who had been disciplined in regular habits, amounted to some hundreds; and that in the dependent districts along the coast of Sumatra, among a population of not less than 60,000 souls, a considerable anxiety prevailed for the extension of the system.

" I may add in truth that I never witnessed a more animating and interesting spectacle than the public examination of the children of Bencoolen. It was one in which all classes of people united to express their admiration and surprise; and the fair promise which the children afforded, was the most satisfactory earnest of their future advancement in civilization and happiness, if good seed were sown, and the tiller were not idle.

" Order and industry were more generally introduced among the adults than in former times; and I have reason to believe, that throughout the beneficial changes effected were considered as springing directly from the pure motives of a Christian Government, whose principles the people could not but revere.

" Thus far, in connection with, and under the auspices of, the Bible Society, has the way been prepared for the reception of the sacred volume on the west coast of Sumatra. In other parts, perhaps, little has been done, owing to the want of means. The Island itself probably contains a population of not less than three milllions; and these are for the most part under independent and worse than semi-barbarous Chiefs.

" One of the most interesting and promising establishments, however, formed in furtherance of these objects, was at Tappanooly, in the heart of the Batta country; where Mr. Burton, a Baptist Missionary, has been successfully established under the protection of the British Government. This gentleman has already made himself, in a great measure, master of the Batta language; and after translating several tracts into it, was engaged at the period of my leaving Sumatra, in a plan with the Missionaries at Bencoolen, for translating the Gospel of St. John. Mr. Burton has since that period penetrated, in company with Mr. Ward, into the interior of the Batta country; the particulars of their discoveries in this part of Sumatra will, I doubt not, soon meet the public eye. In the mean time, it may be satisfactory to state that they found the population more extensive, and the productions more valuable than they expected; and that, instead of finding obstacles and difficulties thrown in their way, they were universally treated with kindness and hospitality. They entered the country without disguise, as Englishmen and Missionaries, and were treated with respect.

"But if, on the one hand, the friends of the Society at Bencoolen were anxious to open the eyes and ears of the ignorant to a knowledge of the Word of God, they were no less active in endeavouring to prepare the sacred word in such a form as might most readily and most correctly meet their conception.

"Superior knowledge of the languages into which it was to be translated became indispensable; and without entering into the difficulties which stood in the way in this respect, I will merely take the liberty of adverting to the state of the question, as concerns the Malay Bible, and which was, I believe, the first specimen of a translation into any of the Eastern languages. The Rev. Mr. Robinson, whose exertions in promoting the great objects of the Society, and in cultivating the waste and barren soil of the native mind with indefatigable industry, entitle him to the highest praise, has, among his other publications for the use of the schools, recently edited a work on Malay orthography; in the preface to which he has introduced some observations on this translation, which may deserve the attention of the Committee; and I am in consequence induced to annex the volume; and at the same time to refer to the note at the end of the 36th page of the Introduction.

"I take this opportunity of forwarding a few copies of the Gospel of St. John, as rendered into Malay by Mr. Robinson; on the merits of which it would be desirable that a decision should be formed as early as circumstances admit. The only step, with this view, taken on the spot was, to submit it to a Committee of two of the senior civil servants on the Bencoolen establishment, and who were considered to be the best versed in the Malay language; who gave their opinion generally in favour of the translation, and more particularly in support of the orthography adopted by Mr. Robinson.—I do not feel myself prepared at the present moment to offer any decided advice on the subject; but as there is every reason to hope that the Institution, recently established at Singapore, may prosper and become efficient, I should think this a point which might well be considered and adjudged by the collective knowledge which will be assembled within its walls.

"I now turn to the probable state of the Auxiliary Society at Bencoolen, as it will be affected by the transfer of that settlement to the Dutch, and from the British withdrawing from the whole of Sumatra on the 1st of March last, conformably to the treaty.

"When the last accounts left Bencoolen, the official advice of the intended transfer had not reached that settlement; but sufficient intimation of the probability of such an event had been received to throw the whole country into a state of the greatest confusion and alarm.

"The following is an extract from one of the latest letters, which may serve in some degree to convey an idea of the apprehension.

"'What the effect of this change may be upon our mission, it is impossible fully to conjecture;—but there seems just cause to fear that it will be attended with some

present evil. The Bible Society, which was to have supported our translation, will exist no more; and the liberal sum which we have hitherto enjoyed for the support of the native schools will also be withdrawn.'

"I introduce this extract to shew, that, on the spot, little hope is entertained that, after the British flag is lowered, there will be any chance of the society at Bencoolen holding up its head, and to submit whether, considering that the British Government has agreed to withdraw itself in toto from all future concern in the administration of Sumatra, and has left that Island to the exclusive control of the Netherlands' Government, it might not be advisable to concert with the Bible Society of the Netherlands, to receive its especial control and care.

"I should be loth to recommend the abandonment of any interest by the British and Foreign Bible Society, however distant the hope of success, and more particularly of one, with the rise of which I had the satisfaction to take some pains, and with which I was in a great measure personally connected; but when I reflect on the local discussions and difficulties which may arise among contending authorities, jealous even of each other's good name, I feel that I am taking a higher and a safer ground, when I look rather to the Netherlands' authority, and to the zeal of their Bible Society, for carrying into effect the plan which we have begun in Sumatra.

"If the Committee should view the question in the same light, I would suggest the advantage of an early and candid communication being made to the Netherlands' authorities, and that it should be clearly understood, whether the four missionaries (Baptists) now in Sumatra will be permitted to remain, and to continue their labors on the same principle as heretofore, on an assurance of protection on the part of the Dutch Government; or if not, whether any and what countenance will be given to them under the change of circumstances which has taken place; or otherwise, whether the Netherlands' Society itself will undertake the whole duty, and they may withdraw.

"It would be highly advisable that such an understanding should be effected as would effectually prevent the possibility of clashing on the spot. The Government at home as well as the Parent Societies, are actuated but by one common and social cause, and will mutually aid each other; but the same spirit is not always predominant abroad; and at all events we ought to do every thing in our power in Europe to prevent the possibility of misunderstanding them.

"On the restoration of Java to the Dutch, the Auxiliary Bible Society established there by the English was allowed to decline and go into decay; and it was not until an offer was made to Mr. Bruchnor, at Samarang, to print a version of the Javanese Bible at Bencoolen under his revision, that the Dutch Government came forward and assisted in the prosecution of the work; in which, I am happy to say, he is now successfully employed.

"In the Moluccas, the Netherlands' Government have afforded considerable

countenance and assistance; and it is to be hoped that the subject will be taken up in the Netherlands with the same liberality and spirit. The religion of Christ will then not long be prevented from exercising its improving and resuscitating influence over this long-neglected portion of the globe.

"At the same time that I feel myself bound to offer an apology for the length of this communication, I am induced to make one observation more, for which I crave your indulgence.

"In the last Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, notice was taken of the labours of Dr. Morrison, and particularly of the advantage that might arise in appointing an agent to proceed to Singapore, and from thence to China and different parts of the East, with the view of distributing the Scriptures in China. I take this occasion to offer my entire concurrence and unreserved testimony in support of the suggestion of Dr. Morrison; and to state that, situated as we are now on the threshold of China, and surrounded by perhaps half a million of that people, who have emigrated and settled around us in the adjacent countries, with almost constant intercourse, and means of communication even with the heart of China itself, Loochoo, and Japan, I consider this the most favourable opportunity that could be embraced, for furthering the objects of the Society in that quarter. I ought also to add, that Siam and Cochin China are now, for the first time, open to our commerce; and that, whatever may be the result of the present contest in the Birman country, a field seems to be opening in that quarter, from which we shall no longer be debarred entrance. India beyond the Ganges, or Eastern Asia, at no former period of its history seems to have been pregnant with greater changes than at present: and, though all good and great works must be the work of time, yet I trust I may stand excused in suggesting whether the time has not arrived, when a knowledge of the languages and character of the people ought to be cultivated, in order that we may have agents prepared to act whenever safe openings offer. Instead of one or two persons learned in the Chinese, should we not at least have a dozen? Siam and Cochin China are extremely populous; and I am not aware that any Protestant missionary has ever been among them; or that any versions of the Scriptures in their languages has been attempted.

"With the view of affording to the Committee every information as to the present state of Eastern Asia, I have taken the liberty to transmit herewith a memorandum of the Institution at Singapore; an institution which in its degree will, I trust, be found essentially conducive to the civilization and advancement of the countries by which it is surrounded."

Sir Stamford had not been many months in England when he suggested a plan to Sir Humphrey Davy for the formation of a Zoological Society, which should combine with the pursuit of science the introduction and domestication of such quadru-

peds, birds, and fishes, as might be most likely to prove useful to agricultural and domestic purposes.

The following letters allude to this subject.

To Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart.

"*April 28th*, 1825.

"My Dear Sir Robert,

"As Sir Humphrey has gone out of town, leaving with me the list of names in support of the plan for extending our zoological researches, &c., to add the names of as many of my friends as might be desirous of promoting it, I am induced to ask if I may have the honour of putting down your name.

"Mr. Peel's name is at the head of the list, and those of Lord Spencer, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Stanley, Mr. Heber, and many others of weight follow.

"When the list is completed to a hundred, which I conclude it will be in a day or two, it is proposed to appoint a committee, when the objects of the society will be more clearly defined. In the first instance, we look mainly to the country gentlemen for support, in point of numbers; but the character of the institution must of course depend on the proportion of men of science and sound principles which it contains. *I* look more to the scientific part of it, and propose, if it is established on a respectable footing, to transfer to it the collections in natural history which I have brought home with me.

"Yours sincerely,

"T. S. Raffles."

To the same.

"*Grosvenor-street, June 16th*, 1825.

"My Dear Sir Robert,

"I have duly registered Sir Thomas Acland's name on the list of subscribers to the proposed society, which I am now happy to find is to be honoured and benefited by his support.

"A meeting is proposed to be held next week, when some kind of form or constitution will be given to it: at present it is almost 'without a local habitation or a name.'

"In the mean time I enclose you the last prospectus, with a list of the names as they stood a week ago, since which there have been several accessions.

"The state of my health has been such, that I have found it impossible to call at Manchester Buildings, notwithstanding many attempts, and I am now forced to fly from town rather suddenly. We go as far as Hornsey on Saturday, and expect early in next month to remove to High Wood, which I have purchased; at present, however, we have some difficulty about the period of possession, on account

of delay in making out the title; and, as the case stands, I have been obliged to say, that unless I can remove at an early date, our agreement must fall to the ground. "Yours, &c.

"T. S. Raffles."

To Sir Stamford the enjoyments of a country life were peculiarly delightful, indeed almost necessary; and when he found himself once more at liberty to cultivate his garden, to attend to his farm, and to interest himself in those simple pleasures in which he had always delighted, he hoped to regain that health and strength which alone were wanting to his happiness. Here he could indulge the feelings of his heart without restraint; and it was his intention, had not God ordained better things for him, to have passed the greater part of his time in the happy retirement which the spot he selected for his residence promised to secure to him.

To Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart.

"*High Wood, December* 31, 1825.

"My Dear Sir Robert,

"The application I am about to make to you will be the best proof I can give that I am recovering my health, and feel some confidence in my future exertions.

"My neighbours here have urged me strongly to act as a magistrate, and the necessity of such an authority is unquestionable. We are more than four miles removed from our parish church, and the exercise of any thing like police; and the consequences are as might be expected: the poorer classes, left to themselves without control in this world, and neither checked by moral or any other authority, are in a sad degraded and irregular state. We are just on the borders of another county, not famous for the moral character of its inhabitants, in the vicinity of Barnet and Whetstone, which is a further reason for my undertaking the office.

"We are now concerting a plan for the erection of a Chapel of Ease; and the next object is an efficient magistracy. For some time I resisted the entreaties of my friends that I should endeavour to get into the commission, not feeling my health equal to the duties, and apprehensive that, although during the longest part of my public life, I have been acting on the principle, and directing others how to execute similar offices, I might myself be deficient in the details; but from the improvement in my health, and from a desire to be useful to the extent of my ability, added to the consideration that it may afford me the means of becoming *practically* acquainted with the real state of our society, and of much regarding our laws and usages, which it is impossible for me to know otherwise than theoretically, I no longer hesitate.

* * * * * * *

"I have, in a great measure, recovered my health, by being quietly in the country, and avoiding public or large parties, and the benefit of a pure air; but we propose going into town in the course of a few months.

"Yours, &c.

"T. S. Raffles."

To the Rev. Dr. Raffles.

"23, *Lower Grosvenor Street, March* 9, 1825.

"My Dear Cousin,

"I have been intending to write to you for the last three weeks, and particularly in answer to your reference to Sophia respecting the Singapore Institution; but I have been far from well, and not able to communicate with Dr. Morrison and other friends so fully as I could have wished.

"It is now determined that he does not return to China this season; and he has for the present established himself at Hackney, where he lectures twice a week, and affords instruction in the Chinese language. His object is to introduce the study of it into this country; and a plan is in progress for appointing a professor in Oxford.

"I am decidedly of opinion, that the interests of the Institution will be better forwarded by considering it as a whole; it being of course optional with subscribers to give their assistance either generally, or to either of the three departments—literary, Chinese, or Malay. Dr. Morrison looks principally to the Chinese, but he by no means wishes to throw the other departments into the back-ground; and I believe he is fully convinced that we must uphold the literary and scientific department, as most essential for the well-being of the whole. * * * I propose after Easter to take it up, and will then write you more fully.

"It will I think be advisable to move in the first instance in London, where I propose appointing a Committee. Dr. Morrison does not appear sanguine about public meetings, and seems to think we can do more by committees.

* * * * *

"My health has improved, but I am still delicate and unsound; so much so, that I am unable to bear the fatigue of going into the city, or attending to any thing like business. I look forward with no little anxiety to May and June, when we may hope to quit London and ruralize.

"I am much interested at present in establishing a grand Zoological collection in the metropolis, with a Society for the introduction of living animals, bearing the same relations to Zoology as a science, that the Horticultural Society does to Botany. The Prospectus is drawn out, and when a few copies are printed I will send some to you. We hope to have 2000 subscribers at £2 each; and it is further

expected we may go far beyond the Jardin des Plantes at Paris. Sir Humphrey Davy and myself are the projectors; and while he looks more to the practical and immediate utility to the country gentlemen, my attention is more directed to the scientific department. More of this, however, hereafter.

* * * * *

" T. S. Raffles."

To the Rev. Dr. Raffles.

" *Lower Grosvenor-street, May* 18, 1826.

" My Dear Cousin,

" You are kind, indeed, to be thinking of me and my prospects, at a time when I fear I shall have given you too much reason for accusing me of neglect. My conscience has for many a-day told me that I ought to have written to you more than I have done; and the only way in which I have been able to satisfy it, has been by reflecting on your kindness and consideration to make allowance for all my sins of omission;—and which in the way of correspondence have latterly accumulated most frightfully. I feel in the light of an unfortunate debtor, with but little prospect of ever discharging my arrears.

" My health, thank God, is upon the whole improved:—and I am happy to say both Sophia and my little one are quite well. Necessity has compelled me to go much into society; and I am almost surprised, that, at this gay season of festivity, I have been able to carry on the war. Seldom a day passes without an engagement for dinner, and for many weeks I have not been able to command an hour's leisure. It is true I have not attended very closely to any thing, but all is so new, varied, and important in the metropolis of this great empire, after so long an absence in the woods and wilds of the East, that like the bee, I wander from flower to flower, and drink in delicious nutriment from the numerous intellectual and moral sources which surround me."

* * * * * * *

" The few copies of the Zoological plan which were struck off were soon dispersed; and I did not think of sending some to you until I found I had not *one* left for myself. Some idea has been entertained of throwing the prospectus into a new form; and at this very time I am a little at issue with Sir Humphrey Davy, as to the share which science is to have in the project. As soon as I have a copy of the plan resolved upon, I will send it to you: and in the mean time I shall take the liberty, save permission, of placing your name with the *honorables* who support it.

" Do you know of any layman who would go to Singapore and China as an Agent to the Bible Society;—or who would devote himself to the cultivation of the Chinese language? He would have a salary of £100 per annum, and all expences

for travelling, &c. paid. I am looking out for such a person, at the suggestion of the Bible Society; and considering the great opening, and the extent of the field, surely there must be sufficient interest in the country to rouse some one into action. I think it likely that you will see some notice on the subject in the next monthly extracts published by the Society.

* * * * * *

"T. S. Raffles."

To the Rev. Dr. Raffles.

"*Lower Grosvenor-street, May 24th,* 1826.

"My Dear Cousin,

"Thank God I can return a tolerably satisfactory answer to your kind enquiry, by saying, that though still rather weak and nervous, I am again getting about. My attack was sudden and unexpected, but fortunately was not apoplectic as was at first feared. I was inanimate for about an hour; but, on being bled, got better, and I have had no return.

"It has reminded me, however, that I have been quite long enough in London, and its dissipations and excitements; and we are now making arrangements for retreating as soon as we can. Nothing has yet been determined respecting the property at Hendon; but we are still in treaty; the difference being about a thousand pounds.

* * * * * * *

"I am afraid of writing much as my head is not quite what it should be.

"Your's most affectionately,

"T. S. Raffles."

Sir Stamford alludes to an illness in the foregoing letter; he had been to call on his friend Mr. Murdoch; and after leaving his house was suddenly seized with a fainting-fit, and brought home by a surgeon who happened to be passing at the time. The hope that it was not an attack of apoplexy was, alas! fallacious; but how often are the warnings of God rendered of no avail by the reluctance of man to apply them. In this instance those near and dear to him refused to listen, because to have done so would have been to yield up every hope of earthly happiness.

To the Rev. Dr. Raffles.

"*Lower Grosvenor-street, June 6th,* 1826.

"My Dear Cousin,

"I sent you by the coach of Saturday a few of the copies of the Prospectus of the Zoological Society. It is a subject on which much has been said, and more might be written; but it has been thought best in the present state

of the speculation to confine the notice to a few words. The names are coming in fast; and I shall be happy to receive a list of any of your friends at Liverpool, who may be desirous of becoming subscribers. The amount of the sum will not ruin them, neither will they find themselves in bad company: and no pecuniary call will be made until the plan is advanced, and we can shew them something for their money.

"It is proposed to have a general meeting of the subscribers who may be in town, in course of the present month, in order to appoint a Committee, and proceed to business.

"We expect to have at least 500 members to begin with, and that Government will provide us with ground, &c.

"I am happy to say that I continue tolerably well; although the last serious attack, in reminding me of my mortality, has thrown me back considerably both in strength and spirits; so much so, that I am obliged to forego society in a great measure, and to come to the resolution of quitting London almost immediately. We have fixed on the 15th to move to Hornsey, for a week or two, whence we shall remove to our new dwelling at High Wood. This place I have just purchased, and we are to have possession at Midsummer. It is in the parish of Hendon, and on the borders of Hertfordshire, but in Middlesex, eleven miles from London, and three from Barnet, so that we shall be at least ten miles nearer to you than we are in London. The house is small, but compact, and the grounds well laid out for appearance and economy. The land, 112 acres, in grass; and, as I have taken the growing crops, I must begin hay-making while the sun shines. There is a very good farming establishment on a small scale; and I am now rejoiced that I can offer you and Mrs. Raffles and the children comfortable beds and accommodation whenever you can pass a few weeks with us. I anticipate, with the blessing of God, great advantage from the change of air and occupation. We have now been nearly eight months in London, and most heartily am I tired of it; indeed, I do not think I could stand a month longer at the rate we have been obliged to live, without quiet or retirement for a day.

* * * * *

"The last attack has so shaken my confidence and nerves, that I have hardly spirit at the present moment to enter upon public life; and prudence dictates the necessity of my keeping as quiet as I can, until I completely re-establish my health. A few months in the country, and on the farm, may set me up again.

* * * * *

"Sophia unites in kindest love to Mrs. Raffles and yourself,

"And I remain,

"Your's, most affectionately,

"T. S. Raffles.

" I am not sure that I mentioned in my former letter that my attention was directed to High Wood, in the first instance, by our respected friend, Mr. Wilberforce, who has purchased the estate adjoining, so that we are to be next door neighbours, and to divide the hill between us.

" I am happy to say that his health is improving.—Do you not almost envy us such a neighbour ?"

It will be seen from the notices in this and some of the preceding letters, that Sir Stamford had at this time the gratification of carrying into execution in London his favourite plan of an establishment similar to the Jardin des Plantes at Paris. His own taste led him, as he has stated himself, to consider the scientific department as the one of the greatest interest and advantage to his country.

The Zoological Society now possesses that portion of the collections which he made during his last government, and sent home previously to his return from Sumatra. A more detailed account of this subject will be found in the Appendix, as well as the Prospectus of the Society to which in the last letter he had alluded, which shews the objects contemplated on its establishment.

To the Rev. Dr. Raffles.

" *High Wood, Middlesex, June* 15, 1826.

" My Dear Cousin,

" I have just received your welcome letter of the 12th, and should send this immediate acknowledgment to Liverpool, if it did not appear that I should best ensure its delivery and meet your arrangements by forwarding it to Highbury Place.

" We are here, thank God, once more out of the trammels and disorders of a London life. We came down last week, and are looking forward to the hope of remaining some time. We have nearly dismantled the house in Grosvenor-street so that I fear you would find but poor accommodations there: *here* we cannot have you too much with us; and from the nature of the house you can best judge the accommodation we can afford.

" We have the same dread of the measles that you appear to have. Neither of the children have had them; and, as they have had a sad *bout*, and are only just recovering from the hooping-cough, which I caught from them, we cannot be too particular.

" As to my engagements for the next three weeks, I know but of one or two likely to interfere with any arrangement which we can make for being together, as much as possible, while you are in the vicinity of London.

" We are daily waiting a summons from Lady Harcourt to go to St. Leonard's, where we have promised to take the children for a week. We are also under the

necessity of going into Essex after the Midsummer holidays, to put Charles to school, and spend a few days with Mr. Sotheby, the poet, and our friend Mr. Hamilton; with these exceptions the coast is clear.

"You do not say the time that Mrs. Raffles proposes coming to town: but I hope you will arrange for her coming to us when she does come: and that, at all events, we may be able to make a comfortable family circle, previous to your trip to Hamburgh.

"Let me have a line from you when you reach Highbury, should you not stop by the way at Barnet, and first look in upon us. I generally go into town once a week, and we must lose no time in meeting.

"I have had a great deal to annoy me since I saw you last; but it is a worldly affair, and I trust will not materially affect our happiness.

"Sophia is quite well, and desires her kindest love.

"Yours affectionately,

"T. S. Raffles.

"We suffer a little from the heat; but, as we hope to make our hay in the course of next week, I don't complain; High Wood is now in its best dress, and will, I am sure, please you.

"My neighbour, Mr. Wilberforce, takes possession to-morrow, and will previously spend the day with us."

This is the last letter from which the Editor can present any extract, and her duty now approaches to its close.

Through the whole course of the narrative it will have been obvious, that from the first period of public action, preceding and during the expedition to Java, Sir Stamford's course of duty forced him to act on his own responsibility; that, in very few instances, were his superiors pleased to view in the same light the interests of the charge entrusted to his management; that in the absence of instructions solicited, and of replies to his frequent references, he was impelled onwards by the course of events; that in the administration of the Government of that Island, and in his subsequent Government of Bencoolen, and the important establishment of Singapore, unfortunately, when his superiors did interfere, it was in general only to raise objections, and to suggest a different course of measures, when, by their own delays, the time was past in which their views could have been adopted. This may be supposed to have arisen more from their ignorance of the subjects, on which they thought it necessary to decide, than from any intention of being unjust or harsh towards the individual whose merits and services many of them, no doubt, justly appreciated. Among the Directors of the East India Company,—Sir Stamford had the happiness to possess the friendship of Sir Hugh Inglis, Mr. Grant, Mr. Edmondstone, Mr. Money, and Mr.

Edward Parry, to every one of whom, individually, he would have referred with the greatest confidence for an opinion on any and every point of his public life.

The second period of his services in the East, his government in Sumatra, placed him in a predicament equally trying; every act which tended to benefit his country generally, and to promote the interests of the people more immediately subject to his authority, interfered in the same degree with the principles of monopoly on which the East India Company have founded their policy.

It was the opinion of Sir Stamford, that during the infancy of our intercourse with India, the union of merchant and legislator might exist without injury to the general interests of the country; but that it was a short-sighted policy which induced the reluctance to share with competitors those benefits formerly enjoyed by the Company alone; and that, as it is impossible for the Company to compete with the private trader, it would be for their honour and advantage to withdraw from this field. By being known as Legislators and Governors only; by encouraging general trade, and removing all obstacles to general intercourse, they would in reality increase their revenue, and secure the support of the public.

Sir Stamford, as a servant of the Company, was bound indeed to promote their peculiar and corporate interests, but he looked beyond the mere question of the profits of a retail trade; and he felt that no Government could prosper unless it went hand in hand with the improvement of the people. That the Company have not reaped the results of his labours, cannot be imputed to him.

It remains only to state the judgment of his superiors upon his general measures. On the 12th of April, 1826, the Court of Directors gave their opinion of the services of Sir Stamford under the three heads of Java, Sumatra, and Singapore.

Of JAVA—the Court admit, that the success of the expedition to Java was promoted by the plans and information of Sir Stamford Raffles.

That the representation of Sir Stamford Raffles as to the financial embarrassment of Java on the outset of his government is correct.

That those financial difficulties were enhanced by the inevitable hostilities * with Palembang and Djojocarta.

That of the measures introduced by Sir Stamford Raffles for the removal of the financial embarrassments; viz. the sale of lands, withdrawal of Dutch paper currency, and a new system of land revenue;

The sale of lands † is considered to have been a questionable proceeding.

The entire series of measures for the reform of the currency are conceded to have been well adapted to their object.

* *Measures approved by the Bengal Government.*

† *Pronounced by the Governor General to have been an* ABLE EXPEDIENT *in a moment of* GREAT EMERGENCY.

With regard to the system of revenue introduced by him, the Court state that they would have been inclined to augur favourably of the success of his measures, and consider it highly probable that the colony would have soon been brought at least to liquidate its own expenses by the lenient and equitable administration of Sir Stamford Raffles' system.

The regulations for reform in the judicial department and police, the Court consider entitled, both in their principles and in their details, to a considerable degree of praise.

On the measures respecting *Borneo*, *Banca*, and *Japan*, the Court remark, that, under a permanent tenure of Java, and a different system of policy, the measures in question (promoting intercourse and enlarging the British power) would have been valuable service.

Sumatra.—The measures of internal reform introduced by Sir Stamford Raffles are generally approved.

In his political measures he incurred the strong disapprobation of the Court; but the motives by which he was actuated were unquestionably those of zealous solicitude for the British interests in the Eastern Seas, and form a part of a series of measures which have terminated in the establishment of Singapore.

Singapore.—It is allowed that Sir Stamford Raffles developed the exclusive views of the Dutch, and the measures ultimately carried into effect are to be attributed to his instrumentality, and to him the country is chiefly indebted for the advantages which the settlement of Singapore has secured to it. The Court consider this to be a very strong point in Sir Stamford Raffles' favour, and are willing to give him to the full extent the benefit of their testimony respecting it.

His administration of Singapore has been approved by the Bengal Government.

The Court's opinion with regard to the general services of Sir Stamford Raffles is summed up in the following terms:—

"The Government of Sir Stamford Raffles appears with sufficient evidence to have conciliated the good feelings of, at least, the great majority of the European and Native population; his exertions for the interests of literature and science are highly honourable to him, and have been attended with distinguished success; and although his precipitate and unauthorised emancipation of the Company's slaves, and his formation of a settlement at Pulo Nias, chiefly with a view to the suppression of a slave traffic, are justly censured by the Court, his motives in those proceedings, and his unwearied zeal for the abolition of slavery, ought not to be passed over without an expression of approbation."

It is unnecessary for the Editor to comment on these opinions.

The period of two years which Sir Stamford had now spent in England, had

rapidly passed away; for who takes note of the days of happiness? It was his often-expressed hope that he had experienced sufficient trial to purify his soul; and it is humbly trusted that the many and heavy afflictions, with which he was visited, were sanctified by the grace of God, and were made instrumental, through faith in a Saviour, to prepare him for the world where sorrow and sighing are no more.

The few letters which have been introduced in the last pages, are sufficient to prove that the death-blow had been struck—the silver chord was broken at the wheel. His sense of enjoyment, indeed, was as keen as ever, his spirit as gay, his heart as warm, his imagination still brighter, though his hopes in this world were less. He was contented with the happiness of the present moment, and only prayed for its continuance. That his prayer was not granted is his everlasting gain; yet even here, and after so many trials and privations, he enjoyed no common pleasures; the delight of being united to friends from whom he had been so long separated; the charms of society; the interests of literature and science; the general improvement of man; and, above all, the nearer charities of domestic life, all combined to engage and occupy his mind. His heart was full of enjoyment; and in the retirement for which he had so long sighed, and surrounded by all the ties which it had pleased God to spare to him, he indulged his happy spirit. In the midst of all these best of worldly treasures, in the bosom of his family, that spirit which had won its way through a greatly chequered course, was suddenly summoned to the throne of God, on the day previous to the completion of his forty-fifth year, the 5th of July, 1826.

"Be ye therefore ready also, for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not."

FINIS.

The following is a memorandum of an intended Work, which was found after Sir Stamford's death.

NOTES ON THE EASTERN ISLANDS.

Comprehending an account of the British Administration of Java; the Proceedings of the Local Authorities on the Restoration of that Colony under the Convention of 1815; the Establishment of the Settlement of Singapore, and the final adjustment of differences with the Netherlands' Government under the Treaty of 1824; with Observations on that Treaty, and its probable effects with reference to the present condition and circumstances of the Archipelago.

By Sir T. Stamford Raffles.

To be printed in one volume quarto, uniformly with the History of Java by the same Author, to which work it may be considered supplementary.

Also, (in connexion with the above, and as introductory to the publications of Dr. Horsfield,) Notes illustrative of the Natural History, and more especially of the Geology of the Malay Islands, containing geographical and geological notices, with an account of some of the more remarkable vegetable productions, and the outline of a Fauna Malayana; With Plates:

By the same Author,—Assisted by Dr. Horsfield.

Contents.—Introduction. Geographical and geological outline of the Archipelago. Ditto of Java, with plates. Ditto of Sumatra, with ditto; and journey to Menangkabu. Banca, with map and abstract memoir; principal vegetable productions, and their distribution and localities. Fauna Malayana. Larger animals, &c.; distribution and account of, generally, as introductory to the descriptive catalogue. Catalogue arranged scientifically with relation to the order of nature.

The following letter from Dr. Horsfield is in reply to a request from the Editor that he would give her some account of Sir Stamford's efforts to promote the objects of science during the period of the British Government in Java.

" When you were pleased, in your letter dated 3d ult., to intimate to me your wish, that I would '*draw up a short memoir on the subject of what was done during Sir Stamford's administration, in the promotion of science, from the period of my researches in Java to the presentation of his collection to the Museum of the Zoological Society in Bruton Street;*' I was for some time in doubt as to the manner in which I might most appropriately meet your views. A mere catalogue of objects of natural history, collected during the British government of Java, even if it were in my power at the present period to furnish it complete, in the various branches to which my attention had been directed, appeared to me little adapted to the nature of your memoir. After some deliberation, I therefore determined to prepare a historical sketch, exhibiting concisely the various investigations, journeys, and employments in which I had been engaged, with occasional extracts from Sir Stamford's correspondence, relating to those subjects in which he took a peculiar interest. With these I resolved to combine various prominent instances both of Sir Stamford's general attachment to science, and of my knowledge of the liberality of his views, commencing with that early measure of his public administration, which was the means of bringing my personal investigations to his notice.

" No sooner had the officers of the new Government of Java been appointed, and the regulations required at Batavia and its immediate vicinity been established, than Sir Stamford directed his mind to the whole of that valuable Island, which had been conquered by the British arms. Accordingly he determined in November, 1811, scarcely two months after the restoration of peace and tranquillity, to visit in person the capitals, residencies, ports, and establishments along the whole of that part of Java which is situated eastward of the Batavian Regencies, and which, by the Dutch, was pre-eminently distinguished by the name of Java. In this tour his attention was particularly directed to *Samarang* and *Surabaya*, two places of incalculable importance in the domestic and political relations of the northern coast and eastern extremity of the Island. In my opinion, this

measure laid the foundation of those important improvements and entire modifications of the system of the administration of Java, which reflect so much honour, not only on Sir Stamford's character, but on the British nation, and which was so much admired by the natives themselves. It was the means, in the very commencement of his government, of affording the practical information which, in an Island so differently constituted in the character of the natives, and in the nature of its internal resources, from the Company's possessions in continental India, was so essentially important. This early and personal inspection of a country so imperfectly and so unfavourably known by previous accounts, and so recently conquered, must always be considered indicative of a peculiar energy of mind and comprehensive correctness of design. It likewise afforded the means of bringing under effectual observation and study the character of the natives of all ranks and conditions, and of attaching to the British nation the Regents of provinces, or domestic native sub-governors, a class of intelligent and influential officers. From his perfect acquaintance with the Malayan language, Sir Stamford was eminently qualified to derive every possible advantage from such an enterprize; and his future regulations, as well as his works, show how well he profited by the excellent opportunities which his high station afforded him.

" In the course of this tour he made, about the end of December, 1811, a digression to the territories of the native Princes, which brought him, the 23d of the month, to Suracarta, the capital of the Emperor of Java. Being at this time established at this place, in the prosecution of a series of inquiries into the natural productions of the Island, under the auspices of the existing Colonial Government, I had the honour of being invited to the solemnities of the day, and to the assembly convened according to custom at the dwelling of the Resident. The Emperor went in person several miles from his capital to meet the Lieutenant-Governor, at a public station where he was accustomed to receive the Dutch Governors of the east coast of Java, and conducted him in state to the Residency. As soon as the ceremonies of reception were completed, Sir Stamford left his seat, and saluted many of the persons convened on the occasion. He also came up to me, and with an affability and suavity of manner peculiar to himself, offered me his acquaintance without the formality of an introduction. On the following day, after a visit to the palace, he proceeded to my dwelling, where he devoted several hours to a patient examination of the objects of natural history, drawings, maps, and illustrations which had been collected and prepared during my excursions through the central and eastern territories of Java. He expressed his satisfaction at the result of my inquiries, determined my relation to the Honourable Company's Government, and fixed the allowances for my services. He afforded me his sanction to extend my inquiries to all divisions of natural history, without limitation or restriction, and likewise recommended to my attention, in an official communication, various subjects of general curiosity and utility.

" Before his departure from Suracarta, he favoured me with several private interviews, in which he received, with much interest, many minute details on the subjects of my researches; he strongly encouraged me to continue my inquiries with unwearied diligence, promised me his

assistance whenever I might require it, and approved of a plan which I submitted to him of devoting several months to the more minute investigation of the Priangan Regencies. He mentioned the vicinities of his own residence at Buitenzorg, where a friendly co-operation with Dr. William Hunter promised a successful result to a botanical excursion.

" In conformity with his instructions I devoted the early part of the year 1812, to the preparation of several essays from the notes and materials collected during my travels. In one of these I gave a concise account of the *medicinal plants* which I had observed in Java. The second forms the commencement of a series of projected essays on the *Geology* and *Mineralogy* of that Island. In the third I detailed my experiments and observations on two native poisons, the *Anchar* and the *Chettik*, to which the name of *Upas* is indiscriminately applied. These essays were presented by Sir Stamford to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, and have subsequently been published in the 7th and 8th volumes of their Transactions.

" While I was employed on these essays, and in the occasional extension of my collections, in the early part of the year, 1812, I had an opportunity of observing a measure which afforded a striking proof, both of the enlightened views and of the liberality of Sir Stamford. The defects, errors, and abuses of the former government having early been noticed by him, he determined, soon after his return from the eastern districts of Java, to concentrate such a body of information from all the documents which were accessible, relating to the statistics, domestic economy, and internal resources, the laws and judicature, and the peculiarities of the former administration, as would enable him to establish an improved system of internal government, and a more equitable administration of justice. A Committee, consisting of several of the best informed functionaries of the late government, was accordingly appointed for this purpose, and Colonel Colin Mackenzie was selected for the presidency. It is not my intention to offer any remarks on the operations of this Committee, but it is quite consistent with my plan to state, from actual observation, that the course adopted reflects a lasting honour on Sir Stamford in a two-fold point of view; I allude to the political wisdom of the measure itself, and to the singular liberality of his views and principles. The primary object of that commission, unquestionably, was to collect a mass of statistical and general information, and the result has proved how essentially their labours contributed to Sir Stamford's subsequent improvement; but the instructions and powers afforded to Colonial Mackenzie were so ample and uncontrolled, that they enabled him to accumulate at a most favourable juncture, immediately after the conquest, a mass of information relating to the antiquities, history, internal administration, character, manners, and peculiarities of the Javanese, to an extent entirely surprising. And it must always be considered that it is, in a great measure, to be ascribed to the liberality of Sir Stamford exemplified in the unlimited extent of his indulgence to that officer. Indeed, in all his measures his ruling object was general usefulness and the public good. His countenance and patronage were generous, and divested of personal or ambitious feelings. Although he followed in person the same route afterwards, and may be supposed, even at that period, to have contemplated an un-

dertaking for which similar materials were essentially important, he interfered not with the efforts of his friend, but afforded him full scope in the indulgence of his favourite pursuits. It is at the present period an agreeable reflection, that the whole Javanese treasure collected at this auspicious crisis, by the perseverance and industry of Colonel Mackenzie, is now securely deposited in the library of the East India Company; to which repository a large portion of the Colonel's collections, made during a long period of years in peninsular India, has likewise been removed, and where a considerable part still remaining in Calcutta is in due time expected; the Honourable Court of Directors having crowned many partial and successive acts of munificence, during the meritorious labours of this gentleman, by the purchase of his entire collection, consisting of books, manuscripts, drawings, maps, coins, Indian statuary, and more than 8000 ancient inscriptions. I cannot close this hasty notice on one of Sir Stamford's friends, and on his visit to Suracarta, without stating, that although I had but few opportunities of contributing to his more immediate purpose, yet I shared much of his friendship; and at a later period of the year, I had the pleasure of accompanying him to the summit of one of the principal volcanoes of central Java.

" In the month of July, I submitted to Sir Stamford a proposal to prepare a collection of objects of natural history, for despatch to the museum of the Honorable East India Company.

" To this I received, through the secretary, the following reply: ' The Lieutenant-Governor highly approves of the proposal; he is convinced that it will be satisfactory to the Honorable Court to receive specimens of the natural history of an Island respecting which so little is known in Europe, and he will have much pleasure in recommending to the favourable notice of the Court, the zeal, knowledge, and ability which have been displayed in your researches.' . . . ' I am desired to point out to you most particularly, that a description of the peculiarities and habits of such animals as are of new species will be almost necessary to complete the value of the collection.' In the course of this year I likewise communicated to the Lieutenant-Governor some remarks on an entomological subject, which had been advantageously employed in medical practice as a substitute for the Spanish fly. To this I received an answer, through the secretary, stating that the Lieutenant-Governor had considered the discovery worthy of being made known to the public at large, through the medium of the Java Government Gazette.

" In the month of September of the same year I obtained Sir Stamford's official sanction for undertaking the projected tour through the western districts of the Island of Java, generally called the ' Priangan Regencies.' I arrived at Buitenzorg in the early part of October, during his absence, but was most hospitably received, agreeably to his instructions, at his residence. I followed him to Batavia, and at an early interview with his Excellency, he notified the intention of Government to despatch a commission to Banca, for the purpose of making an accurate inquiry into the affairs and resources of that Island, and expressed his particular desire that I should be added to the projected commission. Although my favourite plan of traversing the fair regencies of Western Java was, for the present at least, delayed by this appointment, yet I cheerfully acceded to his

wish, and prepared my small establishment, consisting of a draughtsman, an assistant, and various native collectors, with the requisite materials, for an excursion to Palembang and Banca. The nature of this commission will most satisfactorily appear from his instructions to us, and I have accordingly inserted the document at large, as it affords an example of his practical energy and comprehensive views. The commission consisted of Colonel Eales the Resident, Lieutenant Hanson, and myself."

To Colonel Eales, Lieutenant Hanson, and Dr. Horsfield.

" ' GENTLEMEN,

" ' You are hereby appointed a commission, for the purpose of examining and reporting on the Island of Banca, now Duke of York's Island.

" ' 2. The object of your appointment is to obtain the fullest possible information on its former connection with the Government of Palembang, and on the mode on which it was governed previously to its becoming a British possession—on its commerce and commercial advantages—on its climate, population, and inhabitants—and on its relative connection and value with the neighbouring Eastern states.

" ' 3. In the course of this inquiry your attention is particularly directed to the following points, on which the most authentic and detailed information is desired, together with a statement of the sources from which such information is derived.

" ' (*a*) What were the rights of the Sultan of Palembang over Banca?

" ' (*b*) Was he full Sovereign, or only the feudal superior of the Island?

" ' (*c*) Did he possess or claim the absolute property of the soil, or was he compelled to make conventional arrangements with the owners of the mines?

" ' (*d*) In what degree were those connections more beneficial than a treaty which might be made by the British Government with the Sultan, or with those individuals themselves?

" ' (*e*) Do the inhabitants of Banca acknowledge our dominion and submit to it willingly?

" ' (*f*) In a contrary event what means do the population, the character of the people, and the nature of the country afford for resistance, and what force would be required to keep them in subjection?

" ' (*g*) What is the lowest establishment, under the existing circumstances of the Island, with which in your opinion the civil and military duties can be performed with efficacy?

" ' (*h*) In any event, the most favourable that can be supposed, will one or at most two military posts to be held by inconsiderable detachments, suffice for the protection, tranquillity, and service of the Island?

" ' 4. On the result of the above inquiries will depend the decision of the following propositions:—

" ' (*a*) That nothing should be assumed or extorted in Banca by force, which was not included in the prior and legitimate rights enjoyed by or justly belonging to the Sultan of Palembang.

" ' (*b*) That Banca should not be annexed to our dominions, unless upon full investigation a reasonable expectation should be shown, that by our occupation of the country upon that footing the revenue which it can afford, or in other words the produce and proceeds of its tin, will defray all the charges, civil and military, and yield a nett balance, the excess of which, above the profit that might be derived from a treaty either with the Sultan or the people of the country supported by a suitable force, would justify the policy of annexing it to the British dominions.

" ' 5. On these inquiries also a comparison will be made between the advantages to be derived respectively from the two modes of enjoying the tin trade, whether by convention with the Sultan as formerly, or by the occupation of Banca as at present.

" ' 6. From this view of the subject you will observe, that your attention is especially directed to the tin mines; that you will be required to report particularly on the nature and extent of them; on the mode in which they have heretofore been, and are now worked; on the extent to which they have been, or may be worked; on the description of people employed therein, and the mode in which they are remunerated for their labour. You will also suggest such general observations and improvements as may occur to you on the subject.

" ' 7. In the course of your investigation, every point connected with the tenure and regulation of landed property, and cultivation on the Island of Banca, as well as the laws, habits, manners and customs of the inhabitants, and the nature of the soil and description of the country, will be desirable. And it is fully expected that your report will be drawn out in that detailed, comprehensive, and authentic form, which will enable Government to decide permanently on the regulations best adapted to secure the welfare and prosperity of the Island, and to establish its relative connection with the British possessions.

" ' 8. Although it is by no means the wish of Government to urge an earlier period for the close of your report than the nature and importance of your personal inquiries may justify, you will be careful not to prolong the same beyond what is absolutely necessary, and you will not fail to transmit by every opportunity a report of your progress.

" ' 9. It is further indispensably necessary, that in the course of your inquiry no alarm should be given to the inhabitants, nor any idea received of a change being contemplated in the arrangements now existing in Banca; but if you find it necessary to proceed to Palembang, in order to rectify any particular facts, or to ascertain more exactly the former relation and present connection of the two countries, you are at liberty to do so.

" ' 10. The latest accounts received from Minto are very unfavourable with regard to the healthiness of the garrison; and it becomes the serious consideration of Government, whether under the circumstances of that unhealthiness and the present state of Palembang, it would not be desirable to remove the principal part of the garrison to the latter place, retaining only at

Minto a sufficient force to protect the factory against the attacks of pirates. As, however, the season of the year will prevent an immediate report on this subject, the Resident has been authorized and directed to use his discretion in the removal of such part of the force as he may judge expedient; and in the event of any alteration therein, you will in your calculations make such reduction in the existing establishment as the change may admit.

" ' 11. Your particular attention is directed to the native government, and in the course of your inquiries you will inform yourselves fully respecting the character and ability of Raden Mahomed and Syed Abo Bakker, persons who were in the first instance employed as agents, who naturally look forward for advantageous employment under the British Government, and whose interest it is the wish of this Government to promote, unless they are found disqualified or unfit to be trusted.

" ' 12. Authority has been granted to the public officers at Batavia to afford you access to the records of government relating to the objects of your commission; and the Resident at Palembang and Minto has been directed to afford you every aid and assistance in the prosecution of your inquiries.

" ' 13. The brig Minerva is placed under the order of the Commissioners, but is to return to Batavia as soon as her services can be dispensed with.'

" ' *Buitenzorg, October 22*, 1812.'

" We left Batavia on the 1st of November. After a short visit to Fort Nugent on Banca, we proceeded to Palembang in order to obtain, at that Court, the information on which our future proceedings would essentially be founded. Our proposed visit having been notified to the Sultan, we were met at the mouth of the river of Palembang by an embassy from that Prince, and magnificently conveyed in boats to the capital, situated about 120 miles from the coast. The facility and rapidity of the conveyance were really surprising. The boats or canoes consist of excavated trunks of trees of great length: they are narrow, flat-bottomed, and rest lightly on the surface. They are moved by natives sitting in alternate rows in the anterior part, who, by a regular impulse with their oars, cause the vessels to ascend the stream with an uniform but rapid motion. We were delighted and amused by the appearance of the capital. The houses rest on rafts of immense timber, floating in the stream, removable at the pleasure of the inhabitants, and skirting the sides of the river, for several miles, in successive rows. The palace alone and the European Fort stand on solid ground. An impenetrable forest, rising from an extensive marsh, stretches along the banks for many miles, and there is no possible access to Palembang but by means of the river. The situation has been selected for the convenience of trade. Brigs of moderate size can approach the town; and the river commands the produce of an extensive portion of Southern Sumatra. The interior is fertile, and the supplies of the necessaries of life, as well as of various articles of traffic, are very considerable.

" Having accomplished our object, and obtained the required details and documents regarding the former relation of Banca to the princes of Palembang, we returned to Fort Nugent. Here our first duty was to afford all the assistance in our power to the relief of the garrison. The situation of Fort Nugent, although selected with every prospect of healthfulness, was, on experience, found to be the very reverse. It was dry and elevated, and to appearance, beyond the reach of marshy exhalations: but the nakedness and exposure of its site afforded no shelter from the violent gusts of wind, which were impregnated with the effluvia of distant marshes. The military removed hither on the formal cession of Banca to the British Government, had no other accommodation in the commencement than their tents, and soon became very sickly. A more salubrious and sheltered situation was selected with the advice of the best informed natives a few miles to the east of Minto, the commercial capital of Banca. Here at a small village named Rangam, a temporary hospital was established, which appeared to answer every expectation, and the invalids speedily recovered. At this place I likewise formed a temporary domicil, and enjoyed, for several months, uninterrupted health.

The Resident, however, being confined by official duties to Fort Nugent, soon became ill, and his return to Batavia was found advisable. Lieutenant Hanson also was seized with the prevailing fever, in consequence of excessive fatigue, and he likewise resolved to visit Batavia for the recovery of his health. At this period the medical duties of the garrison and hospital required my active attentions. Under such circumstances little progress could be made in the objects of the commission. I had, however, the satisfaction to be informed by Major Robison, who succeeded Colonel Eales, in March, that my exertions met with the approbation of the Java Government. He likewise informed me, that it was left to my own determination to return to Batavia, or to prosecute those inquiries, which were expected of me when I was appointed a member of the commission. I resolved without hesitation not to lose so favourable an opportunity to make a general survey of the Island in a mineralogical point of view: and the prospect which I entertained of extending my researches to Zoology, and particularly to Botany, afforded a strong incitement to my resolution. I had already, with the assistance of the most intelligent natives residing at Minto, together with that supplied by occasional visitors from Palembang, formed a sketch of a route throughout the Island, which would enable me to examine every valuable mine and establishment, exclusive of several of minor importance at the southern extremity. In the inquiries, which I prosecuted as far as circumstances allowed during my residence at Rangam and Minto, I had obtained considerable information on the general state of the Island, the administration of the mines, and the relations of the Chinese miners to the former government; these I communicated in the form of a short essay to Major Robison at his arrival.

" I commenced my journey in March, and in June I completed the plan originally proposed. The information which I collected was submitted to Sir Stamford in form of a Report on Banca. This is occasionally referred to in his correspondence, and he has likewise mentioned it in very

favourable terms in his address to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. Soon after my return to Rangam I had the pleasure of receiving a communication from Sir Stamford, which forms the commencement of a correspondence from which I shall give more copious extracts in future. In the present instance I shall restrict myself to a few minor paragraphs.

" ' In *provisionally* persevering in the system which appears to have been lately adopted in Banca, it is not to be inferred that we have any doubts of the propriety of *finally* establishing it. On the contrary, it appears in every point of view the best, but I am anxious to be in possession of your full Report, before the final arrangement is decided upon, and as that Report must soon be forthcoming, no inconvenience is likely to arise from provisional measures only being adopted in the meantime.

" ' You will perceive that the Literary Society of Batavia has attempted the publication of a seventh Volume of its transactions. It will be completed, however, principally with your papers; but these are fully sufficient of themselves to render the volume valuable and interesting. The loss of our late secretary, Dr. Hunter, has been severely felt: Dr. Ainslie for a time has supplied his place, but is now on the eve of departing for Japan, and we have not at hand a person competent to fill the office.

" ' Colonel Mackenzie is closing his Reports, and calculates upon leaving Java for Bengal in the course of the present month. He has some idea of touching at Banca, when he will probably have the opportunity of seeing you. This, however, will materially depend on circumstances, and the route which the ship will take.'

" In the month of August I returned to Batavia, where I prepared a concise abstract of the information, of a general political nature, obtained at Palembang and Banca, in conformity with the first part of the instructions imparted to the commission. The chief object of this was to place in a distinct point of view the former connection of Banca with Palembang, and to illustrate the authentic rights which the Sultan of Palembang possessed over Banca. Having completed these I proceeded to Buitenzorg, where I again met with a most cordial reception. The Lieutenant-Governor had now fully matured his plans of a general reform in the internal administration; and in many parts his system of an improved land-revenue was already in operation; his Excellency was pleased to give me many circumstantial details on this subject in those interviews in which I personally related my proceedings in Banca.

" After a short abode at Buitenzorg, I obtained Sir Stamford's consent to prosecute my journey to Suracarta. On my passage through the province of Cheribon I already found the new system in complete operation. The feudal services had been abolished. Instead of applying, as was formerly the custom, to the native governor for an allowance of carriers to convey my baggage on public account, I sent to the bazaar where the carriers, or 'coolies,' were ready to afford their services for a regular payment. I may be allowed to adduce this as a prominent instance of Sir Stamford's energy. Many persons even among his friends entertained doubts as to the immediate

practicability of establishing his new system in Cheribon, which was considered to be one of the most refractory districts, and most likely to be unfavourably swayed by the influence of the native chiefs. He however determined to commence the execution of his plan at a point where most obstacles presented themselves, or to make use of his own expression on the subject, ' to take the bull by the horns.'

" In the month of September I safely reached my residence at Suracarta. At my departure I had made my arrangements for an absence of four months; I had in prospect a tour through the ' Priangan,' the most romantic and perhaps the most interesting portion of Java, where the natives are characterised by honesty and simplicity of manners, and by a distinguished attention to European travellers. Instead of this excursion, promising to my hopes much rational delight, I spent many months among rude and boisterous Chinese miners—among Malays, scarcely approaching a state of civilization, many of whom lead a roving life in forests, and among Rayads, or Ichthyophagi, who gain their subsistence on the ocean, form no fixed dwellings on land, but pass their life in their boats, feed almost exclusively on fish, and are emphatically designated in the Eastern world ' Orang lout,' *men of the sea*. Java is universally famed for its abundance in every necessary of life: in Banca the most common provisions can often scarcely be obtained for money. In Java the roads, in many parts, bear a resemblance to those in England: in Banca the traveller can in most cases advance with difficulty on foot, and his progress is frequently stopped by marshes and rivers. In addition to these, circumstances of a public nature afforded much uneasiness. The affairs of Palembang became again perplexed by the machinations of a fugitive prince. The garrison intended to give countenance to the Honourable Company's establishments in Banca, was required at the capital of the new sultan. When I returned to Rangam I found our infant hospital, which I had left under favourable auspices, without an inhabitant. The only source of real consolation which had supported me under many privations was destroyed during the last days of my journey. I had been, upon the whole, successful in my geological and botanical researches. My herbarium was extensive, and many new and interesting plants had been hastily sketched, the completion of which promised to afford a delightful relaxation on my return to Rangam. The day before I intended to embark at *Kotta-Waringin*, the last post which remained for examination, my draughtsman was imprudently involved in an affray with the natives, and fell a victim to their ferocity. Many of my geological and botanical acquisitions were destroyed in the confusion occasioned by this unforeseen event, and I retreated to the boats, which fortunately had already been prepared for our conveyance, and after several anxious days returned to my deserted hamlet at Rangam.

" After my return to Suracarta, I devoted several months to the preparation of a geographical and mineralogical description of Banca, from the documents and materials collected during my tour. I enlarged more particularly on those practical subjects to which the attention of the Commission had been directed by Sir Stamford's instructions.

" In the early part of 1814, we were honoured at the native courts, by a second visit from the

Lieutenant-Governor. Many very pleasing reflections are associated with this visit. Its tenor was very different from the former, which immediately followed the conquest of Java. In the government districts the improvements projected by Sir Stamford in the administration, were already established to a considerable extent. The commotions which had for many years distracted the neighbouring Court of Djocjocarta had been set at rest. Peace, and a large share of prosperity prevailed generally throughout the Island. The affairs of the capital likewise were in an organized state, allowing the temporary absence of the Lieutenant-Governor; Sir Stamford, therefore, had full opportunity to devote some days to a studious observation of the manners and peculiarities of the natives, in a place where they prevail in their purest state, and to the inspection of those public attentions and festivities which the Princes are proud to exhibit when they are visited by persons of high political rank.

" In the course of this visit I had an opportunity of submitting to the inspection of the Lieutenant-Governor, the result of my excursion through Banca, which was now in an improved state of arrangement, and also the additions which had been made in Java in the interval since his former visit. A few days later I handed to him at Samarang, a considerable portion of my general report on Banca, with the illustrations accompanying it: in all these I had the satisfaction to receive decided marks of his approbation.

" Being desirous of resuming my researches in Java, before the farther advancement of the dry season, 1814, I submitted to Sir Stamford, in June, the plan of a journey through the western portions of the territories of the native princes. He was pleased to afford me his approbation, in a very interesting communication, and as it is characteristic both of his zeal for science and affability of manner, I have transcribed a considerable part of it."

" ' *To Dr. Horsfield.*

" ' *Buitenzorg, June* 18, 1814.

" ' My Dear Sir,

" I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, and to offer an apology for not previously replying to your several interesting communications respecting Banca, which have been duly received; the late important events in Europe have come in upon us so thick and unexpectedly, as almost to preclude the possibility of attending to other subjects.

" ' I request to assure you of my entire concurrence in the plan you propose, of laying by for a time the completion of your Report on Banca, in order that you may be able to avail yourself of the favourable season to visit the southern districts of Java. A part of your Report on Banca, with the minerals which you forwarded to me at Samarang, has already been sent to Europe; but your later communications, with the drawings of the plants, still remain on my table. I had intended to forward them by one of the ships now under despatch; but the risk from American cruizers, and the change of affairs in Europe, have determined me to delay them until I can know your sentiments.

" ' The charts of Banca I forwarded by the Isabella, under charge of Captain Travers, with directions that they might be engraved at my own expence. Every preparation, therefore, for the printing of the paper will be made.

" ' In the despatches from the Court of Directors, they simply acknowledge many of my letters —this is the case with those forwarding your Reports.

" ' It is most probable, nay, almost certain, that a peace will soon take place; and it is clear to my mind, that these colonies will, in such an event, revert to the Dutch. Under this impression, I naturally look forward to the close of my administration in Java. Calculating upon such an event in the course of the next twelve or eighteen months, it has occurred to me, that I can personally do more towards the establishment of the correspondence which you wish, and also in superintending the printing of your Banca work, than can be expected from friends at a distance.

" ' I am naturally deeply interested in the publication of your merits, and in obtaining for you a just and appropriate acknowledgment for your labours. And if such an event should happen, as the restoration of this colony to the Dutch, I shall be still more interested in making known the attention which has been paid to science during the short period of the British dominion; at least, I shall be anxious for it to be known, that our pursuits in useful knowledge, have kept pace with our other more ordinary pursuits. And it is not impossible that I may be tempted to give a short sketch of the political history and statistics of the Island myself, in which case I should have the opportunity of bringing your claims forward to public notice.

" ' I am inclined therefore to propose to you, that in our present uncertainty, the transmission of the further parts of your Report be delayed. A few months must decide the fate of Europe and with it the fate of this colony. Should it remain to the English Government as a permanent possession, then they can be forwarded regularly as opportunities offer; otherwise I propose to you to take charge of them myself, together with any other communications which may be prepared at the period of my leaving this colony.

" ' I request you will consider the opinion which I have given you regarding the possible and probable transfer of this colony as confidential—as yet I have no certain information, and my opinion arises from the natural inference to be drawn from the state of European politics at the present moment.

" ' I shall be happy to receive your further collections, and to forward them by safe opportunities.

" ' I remain, My dear Sir,

" ' Your attached friend,

" ' Thos. S. Raffles.'

" In the course of this journey, while employed in the capital of Banyumas, in examining the collections made in the southern districts of this province, I received another communication from Sir Stamford, which, at a time when I was left to the resources of my own mind, afforded me inexpressible delight, and of which I shall always retain a pleasing remembrance. It likewise was the means of bringing my feeble efforts to the notice of Sir Joseph Banks, and of opening a correspondence, which had a considerable influence on my pursuits. Having given me various scientific details, which I shall notice in the sequel, Sir Stamford proceeds:—' In addition to the above communications, I have received a letter from Sir Joseph Banks, of which I think it best to enclose you a copy, in the hope that you will be able to assist me in meeting his wishes. You are aware that he takes the lead in England in every branch of natural history, and I shall be truly happy in being the medium of introducing to him, and to the society in which he moves, your pretensions and meritorious exertions.' He then offers his kind services in commencing a correspondence; I was not dilatory in embracing it, but on my return to Suracarta prepared a series of specimens for Sir Joseph, the catalogue of which was returned to me with Mr. Brown's elucidations and remarks, which in my distant situation were really invaluable. This letter further contains very copious extracts from the communications of Sir Stamford's friends in England, relating to the objects in which I was engaged: it affords a striking instance of the admirable industry and friendly zeal of the Lieutenant Governor, who, amidst the multifarious and important duties of his public station, did not regret the trouble of writing, on this occasion, three full sheets on subjects purely scientific.

" After an absence of several months I returned to Suracarta, and immediately communicated to Sir Stamford a sketch of my route, and an abstract of my more interesting observations. In reply to this I received the following letter.

" ' *To Dr. Horsfield.*

" ' *Buitenzorg, December* 15, 1814.

" ' My Dear Sir,

" ' I have to thank you for your interesting communication of the 3d instant, and I am happy to find your recent tour has been so satisfactory.

" ' I have taken due care to comply with your wish respecting the books which you require from England.

" ' I am glad you have seen Gunung Prau; some time since I had an intimation of the valuable ruins which you mention, and directed Mr. Cornelius to survey them and take drawings.

" ' At your leisure it would be useful if you would correct the map according to the information you received—the districts, or rather provinces, in the native parts of the Island are very ill and irregularly defined in all the maps which I have seen. A sketch of the native provinces, with

the principal places laid down as you have found them on your tour, would be interesting, as no actual survey has taken place, or is likely to take place, for many years.

" ' I hope in describing the Karrang Bolong Rocks you will favour us with some accounts of their inhabitants. Whatever naturalists may know on the subject, the public in general are very much divided in opinion regarding the process by which the edible nests are produced; perhaps, indeed, you might prefer a separate paper on this subject. On what do the birds subsist, or is any peculiar food or nourishment required to produce the substance of which the nests are composed? Is there any foundation in the opinion, that certain scum produced by the surf of the sea is in request by them, or can the birds equally well build their nests inland, where they can have no immediate communication with the sea? The process itself I apprehend to be something like honey making. There is also said to be a difference between those of the cock and of the hen; the former I apprehend to be resting places made for convenience; but, on the whole, I have to confess myself very ill informed on the subject, although it is one of very general conversation and enquiry.

" ' I remain, My Dear Sir,

" ' Very faithfully your's,

" ' Thos. S. Raffles.' "

" In the following months I prepared a more copious description of my route, with an accurate account of the districts and provinces of the western part of the native princes' territory; a detailed enumeration of all the villages which I had visited or observed, a catalogue of the plants discovered, and a notice of the geological specimens added to my series. I likewise prepared a general map, geographical and geological, of the whole of this western portion of the territory, extending from the longitude of Suracarta to the boundary of the Priangan Regencies. The geographical notices I had collected agreeably to my injunctions were, in the sequel, usefully employed in the construction of the general map of Java given in Sir Stamford's history of that Island. The materials collected during this tour formed the basis of an essay which was printed in the 8th volume of the Batavian Society's Transactions.

" The latter part of 1814, and the commencement of 1815, were characterized by ' a series of domestic afflctions,' which are pathetically alluded to in Sir Stamford's address to the Batavian Society, delivered on the 11th of September. Some weeks before this period of sufferings he received from his friends in England a number of queries relating chiefly to those natural productions of Java, which are important in a commercial or economical point of view, in respect to which he desired my detailed communications. My replies were forwarded in February, and on the 7th of March he wrote the following letter.

" ' *To Dr. Horsfield.*

" ' *Buitenzorg, March* 7, 1815.

" ' My Dear Sir,

" ' I have to convey to you my acknowledgments for your letter of the 3d ultimo, giving cover to your very interesting replies to the queries which I had formerly transmitted; I request you will accept my thanks for the trouble and attention which have been required on the occasion.

" ' The replies are so full that there are only two points on which I feel an anxiety to derive more detailed information, and which, after the trouble I have already given you, I am almost ashamed to notice. I allude to the natural history of the teak-tree, and some account of the Java-woot; the former I hope (and indeed as you have stated) you reserve for a separate paper; the latter, I believe, is not mentioned amongst the list of grains.

" ' The natural history of the teak-tree, with an account of the different species growing on this Island is highly interesting in a public point of view, and would form a fair subject for a paper in the Transactions. I should also like to possess the information to communicate it to the authorities at home.

" ' The grain, which the Javanese call Java-woot, and from which they pretend the name of Java for this Island to have been derived, cannot be unknown to you: I have it growing in my garden, and possess specimens of the flower and seed. The Javanese support the opinion, that the seed of this plant was the principal article of food before rice was introduced; and I feel some curiosity to ascertain if it be a grain peculiar to this Island, or a grain already described, and common to Western India—the grain has much the appearance of millet, and the ears are peculiarly rich and beautiful. You will oblige me by noticing the classical name, if already described, and if not, by classing it yourself, as it is a plant which seems unknown to Europeans at this end of the Island.

" ' Every care shall be taken of the boxes of plants, &c. they are daily expected from Samarang in the Mary Anne.

" ' To change the scene: I was lately induced to ascend the Gunung Gidi, which I accomplished with some difficulty; we found some parts extremely steep, at 12 o'clock (noon) the thermometer was at 55° (Fahrenheit), at six in the evening it fell to 47°, and soon to 46°, at which it continued until we retired to rest, about 9; at daylight in the morning, we found it at 45°; but the night was foggy and damp, and in clear weather, I have no doubt the thermometer is some degrees lower. The barometer was out of order, and we did not take it; but calculating on the principle which has been adopted in the ascent of balloons, that 16 degrees difference of the thermometer gives a height of 3500 feet; we cannot estimate the Gidi at less than 7000 feet, the difference in the thermometer being at the least 32 degrees. The hill at Penang, has been repeatedly measured,

and the average results give 2750 feet, the difference in the thermometer averages 12 degrees, which on the above principle gives 2755. I shall endeavour to have the height of the Gedé ascertained from below; and if you have not already ascertained the heights of the other principal hills shall be happy to prosecute the inquiry throughout the Island. I conclude you are aware that Mr. Heyland ascended Sindoro last year, and in the night observed the thermometer below freezing point.

" ' We had a most extensive prospect from the summit:—Batavia roads, with the shipping so distinct that we could distinguish a ship from a brig on one side, and Wine Coops Bay still more distinct on the other; the Islands all round were quite distinct, and we traced the sea beyond the southernmost point of Sumatra; the surf on the south coast was visible to the naked eye; to the eastward we included Indra Mayu point in the prospect, and Cheribon Hill rose high above the rest. I think we may say that we had nearly within our range all that part of the Island which by the former Government was *not* called *Java*.

" ' I remain, my dear Sir,

" ' Very sincerely yours,

" ' Tho. S. Raffles.'

" Soon after this Sir Stamford projected a tour to the Eastward, on a novel and previously unattempted route. He determined to pass through the interior and mountainous parts of the Island, regardless of the difficulties attending such an enterprize. Before he left Buitenzorg I was favoured with the following communication.

" ' *To Dr. Horsfield.*

" ' *Buitenzorg, April* 17, 1815.

" ' My Dear Sir,

" ' I have to thank you for your very interesting and instructive letter of the 15th March.

" ' You will probably have heard that I purpose a visit to the Eastward early in next month; and as my intention is to go to Solo, I shall defer entering into particulars until I have the pleasure of a personal communication. I will only notice that I have sent instructions to England for the barometers agreeably to your wish, and have requested Sir Joseph Banks to examine them before they are sent off; my agents in England will defray all expences.

" ' My plan is to proceed by the middle road from Sukapura through Banyumas to the Kedu; afterwards to Solo, and down the river to Gressic. As there will be time to receive your reply before I leave Bandong, which will be about the 3d of May, I shall be obliged for any hints

or notices regarding particular objects which may deserve attention in passing by this route. I hope to pass by Gunung Prahu.

" ' I remain, my dear Sir,

" ' Very faithfully yours,

" ' Thos. S. Raffles.'

" In the month of May the Lieutenant-Governor reached the capital of Suracarta. He was accompanied by Lieutenant Watson, Lieutenant Baker, and several other military officers, who gave us a full account of the difficulties of the enterprize, and of the beauties of the country. Some particulars of this tour, which was truly characteristic of Sir Stamford's energy and perseverance, are preserved in a short diary kept by Lieutenant Watson, which has been printed in the first volume of the Asiatic Journal, (see vol. i. 124.) After leaving the Priangan Regencies and Cheribon, the party entered the district of Dayu-luhur, situated at the western extremity of the territory of the native princes; and it may be interesting to preserve a specimen of this route, by an account of the passage through this district, in the words of Mr. Watson.—' On the following day (after entering the dominions of the Emperor of Solo) we performed a long and arduous journey of nearly fifty miles, through the forest of Dayu-luhur, a route which has never before been attempted by Europeans. On leaving Maganang, the road entered at once into a thick forest of bamboos, which grow in clumps at some distance from each other, leaving the space between perfectly unoccupied with any kind of vegetation. At a considerable height the trees branch off and meet, giving a mutual support, and forming a canopy so close and thick as almost to exclude the light at mid-day. Each clump forms, with the adjacent ones, on every side, natural lofty gothic arches, which in the deep gloom that surrounds them, except from the partial light of torches, present as grand and awfully romantic a scene as can be well imagined. The road, or rather path, through the forest is so seldom passed, that it was frequently hardly distinguishable. In some places it lay over steep mountains and almost abrupt precipices; and, in others, followed the courses of rivers, or wound through the mazes of deep ravines. Our horses were fortunately excellent, or we could not possibly have surmounted the difficulties we had to encounter. As it was, our journey was completed by twelve o'clock in the day, when we arrived safely at Adji Barang. The road we travelled that day is much infested by tigers, leopards, &c.; and a follower of ours was actually seized by one of these destructive animals, and much torn before he could be rescued by his companions.'

" Having visited, in the year preceding this tour, the village Adji-barang, on the confines of the province of Dayu-luhur, I am enabled, from personal experience, to estimate the difficulties of this enterprize: at the same time, it is a gratifying recollection, that in my return to the capital

I prosecuted the same route which Sir Stamford afterwards followed: but he traversed in a few days a distance which occupied, at the rate of my usual progress, several weeks.

" This journey was in every point of view truly gratifying to Sir Stamford's mind. The scenery is in no part of Java more diversified or beautiful: part of the road winds through an extensive valley, in which one of the largest rivers of the Island flows to the southern ocean; it then passes over the elevated ridges connected with Gunung Prahu: subsequently enters the extensive plain of the Kedu, which is bounded on the north and south by two of the most majestic volcanic peaks of the Island; and finally leads between the Merapi and Merbabu to the extensive plain of Suracarta.

" This journey likewise afforded Sir Stamford an opportunity of examining in person those stupendous monumental remains of a hierarchy long since obsolete, which are promiscuously scattered through all parts of the Island. In the dominions of the native princes they exist, however, in greater abundance, and possess a more important character. They consist of ruins of Hindu temples or pagodas, and of images, sculptures, and inscriptions; and the route which Sir Stamford pursued from Cheribon to the capital of Suracarta afforded a very convenient opportunity of inspecting those of Gunung Prahu, Boro-budur, Brambanan, and Chandi-sewu. Many of these had previously been surveyed and delineated, under his orders, by proper officers; but his personal examination was required, to enable him to determine the accuracy of their plans and delineations, and to add those practical details which would give full authenticity to the descriptions. From the capital he subsequently proceeded to the grotesque antiquities at Suku, which possess a very peculiar character, and the existence of which had been communicated to the Resident at the Emperor's court but a few weeks before the visit of the Lieutenant-Governor. On his further route to the eastward he also inspected the remains of Majapahit, and the beautiful edifices of Singo-Sari in the province of Malang. It fell to my lot to examine, in the course of this year, many other ruins of a similar description, which are found in the distant eastern provinces of the native princes; a concise notice of them is contained in Sir Stamford's general account of the Javan antiquities. Various details on particular ruins were likewise communicated to the Lieutenant-Governor by his friends, from which collectively he has been enabled to give, in the 9th chapter of the History of Java, those copious details, accompanied by beautiful illustrations, which add a peculiar interest to his work, enhanced by the consideration, that, during the short period of the British possession of Java, these stupendous remains of antiquity, the history of which has not been preserved among the present inhabitants, were either discovered or rescued from the obscurity in which they had been buried for many centuries. Indeed, Sir Stamford has largely contributed to the gratification and instruction of the present generation, by his labours in this department; and it is but justice to allow, that in this particular both his personal exertions and his general liberality have been very great.

" During this visit to the native courts I had the satisfaction to perceive that Sir Stamford's interest in my pursuits was undiminished; he received with attention my details, and exa-

mined carefully the collections, drawings, maps, &c. prepared since the period of his former visit. I submitted to him a plan of an extensive excursion through the eastern provincss of the native princes' territory, and he fully approved of my design. In accordance with this, I commenced my journey soon after the Lieutenant-Governor's departure; I proceeded in an eastern direction, and skirting the northern declivities of the mountain Lawu, traversed the provinces of Sukkowati, Jogorogo, Madiun, and Kediri; at the capital of the latter I remained some days to work up my drawings, and to arrange my collections. I then went on to Srengat, an extensive and important district at the eastern confines of the princes' dominions, and abounding in extensive and interesting remains of the former Hindu race of inhabitants. Leaving this place, I passed through desolate tracts to the southern coast, then northward again to Pronorogo, and finally returned to the capital along the southern declivities of the mountain Lawu, where I devoted a few days to the examination of the astonishing ruins at Suku. Immediately after my return to the capital I sent Sir Stamford an abstract of my route, which he acknowledged without delay, and from his letter, which was dated the 25th of November, I give the following extract.

"'*To Dr. Horsfield.*

"'*Buitenzorg, November 25*, 1815.

"'My Dear Sir,

"'I wrote you a few hasty lines by Major Johnson, who left this for Solo a few days ago. I have now more particularly to thank you for your communication regarding your late tour; it is, perhaps, fortunate that you availed yourself of the present season, as we may certainly expect the Dutch before the next, and I conclude that you will now be pretty soon prepared for a trip to Europe, happen what may.

"'The transfer of these colonies being now no longer doubtful, and there being fair grounds for expecting the arrival of the Dutch authorities in the spring of next year, I am desirous of making all my arrangements for the voyage home; and I have requested Major Johnson to communicate to you the outline of my plans. Should you determine to attach yourself to me in proceeding to England, you may rest assured of the exertion of all the influence which I may possess in bringing forward to notice and reward, those exertions and talents, which only require to be known to be acknowledged.

"'In the meantime, as favourable opportunities occur during the succeeding months, I think it would be advisable for you to send your collections to Batavia as early as possible, in order that they may be sent to Europe at once.

"'I take this occasion to enclose to you a copy of my last discourse to the Society, in which you will perceive that I have indented pretty largely on your stores. My object has been to bring your labours forward as much as possible; and I have availed myself of your accurate style; in many instances I have used your own words—it is very incorrectly printed, and since it has come from the press, I perceive many errors which did not previously occur.

" ' Your first paper is through the press, and the essays on the western provinces are in progress. I am very anxious to get the eighth volume out before we leave Java, and to lay the foundation of a ninth, to be printed in India.

" ' Yours sincerely,

" ' T. S. Raffles.'

" Not many weeks after the date of this letter, Sir Stamford was suddenly summoned to the Eastward, in consequence of a conspiracy among the Sepoys serving in Java. As this conspiracy had originated at the native courts, he likewise proceeded to Suracarta, in order to regulate in person, several important points on which the future tranquillity of the Island materially depended. His visit was short and abrupt, and I mention it chiefly as a proof of the great activity and energy which characterized his public conduct. Of this mysterious event, the European inhabitants fortunately remained almost entirely unapprized, although their existence probably depended on the prompt decision of a moment, which under Providence, was displayed by the British officers in the garrison of Djojocarta. And as Sir Stamford has himself mentioned this transaction in the History of Java, it may properly be stated that the confidential friends of the Susuhunan of Suracarta, a prince who possessed many distinguished talents, and much amiableness of disposition, were peculiarly gratified by the promptness and mildness of Sir Stamford's conduct, which essentially contributed to save this Prince from the ruin, which in all probability his weakness, in listening to the insinuation of the treacherous conspirators, had otherwise entailed on him. On the occasion of this visit of His Excellency, I was enabled to make in person, several preparatory dispositions towards a despatch of my collection to England, in the event of the transfer of this colony, which had already been intimated to me.

" This arduous enterprize to the eastward, undertaken in the most insalubrious season of the year, appears to have unfavourably affected the constitution of the Lieutenant-Governor; after a lapse of two months, I received the following letter.

" ' *Buitenzorg, February* 28, 1816.

" ' My Dear Sir,

" ' I should have written to you some time since, had I not been confined to my bed from serious indisposition. I am happy, however, to say that I am now on my recovery, and in a few weeks I trust to be restored to a better state of health than I have enjoyed for some years: at any rate, if complete salivation is likely to have that effect, I ought to have every confidence.

" ' You will, no doubt, have heard of the expected changes in the administration of this colony. It seems the authorities at home have no idea of its immediate resumption by the Dutch, and have been induced to believe, that it may be more economically managed than at present. My period of

five years is nearly expired, and by appointing me to the charge of the settlements on the West coast of Sumatra, they consider they have adequately rewarded my services—be this as it may, it is clear you are to expect a new Governor, (Mr. Fendall, who came to India in 1778), in the course of the ensuing month, a new Commander in Chief, Sir Wm. Keir, and a new civil member of Council, Mr. Abrahams.

" ' The state of my health has been such, that with reference to the possibility of Java remaining for some time in English hands, I had almost determined on going home direct; but unless I could get away before the end of March, I should have the risk of a winter passage round the Cape, which the weak state of my constitution could not stand. I have therefore nearly made up my mind to proceed to Bencoolen.

" ' At Bencoolen, although my emoluments will be nearly equal to what I receive here, I shall comparatively have nothing to do in a public capacity; and therefore my whole time will be devoted to the arrangement of the materials which I have collected, regarding the history, languages, and antiquities of Java. It is possible I may take a more correct view of the subject at a short distance, than actually on the spot; as a man cannot judge of the shape of a mountain when close to it, so well as he can at a distance.

" ' It may be of use to your researches that I collect the different mineral appearances of Sumatra, and forward them to you, with a description of the situations in which they are found. I request you will call upon me without reserve for any assistance which an *un*scientific man can afford.

" ' I regret to say that I have not yet succeeded in decyphering the inscription, of which you sent me a fac-simile. The Panumbahan was only able to make out a few letters: although he acknowledges that the characters are, in many points, like the Kawi, he observes, that either the stone must have been injured, or the characters not exactly taken off; but this may be only an excuse to cover his ignorance; the contents, therefore, can only be looked for at Solo from Yuso Dipuro, to whom I hope you have entrusted the others. Major Johnson will, at your request, give him an order which he must attend to immediately; and should we fail in this quarter, I think we may at all events conclude with the satisfaction that the characters are at this day unintelligible on Java. I confess, however, that I do not expect this result; I calculate much on Yuso Dipuro, and particularly respecting the dates, which are the most important points.

" ' I believe that I mentioned to you when at Solo, that I purposed submitting my drawings of the antiquities to the persons most versed on this subject in Europe, and subsequently to engrave at my own expence such as might be selected, on account of their peculiarity and reference to the history of the country; those which you possess of the Eastern Provinces are entirely new to me; some of them are magnificent, and at any rate rank with the most remarkable on the Island, and most of them evince considerable peculiarity, differing in form and structure from those generally observed elsewhere. Copies of such as you can spare will be very acceptable, and if

eventually engraved, the full credit of the discovery, and of the attention paid in taking the copies, will be given to you. It is far from my wish to interfere in any branch which you may be inclined yourself to take up, but knowing your determination to confine yourself generally to natural history, it has occurred to me, that the means I now offer may tend more immediately to bring your exertions in other pursuits sooner to light, and more advantageously than otherwise; while, at the same time, it will be a great object to bring all the remains of antiquity into one view.

" ' As far as I can at present judge, Mr. Fendall may be expected about the 10th or 15th of March, if not earlier; and I may remain here about a fortnight after his arrival. I should be happy to have it in my power to introduce you to him personally. From what I hear, I think you will find him inclined to continue to you every protection and assistance; and I need not add, no exertion of mine shall be wanting to ensure it.

" ' Arrangements will soon be made for conveying the birds' nests to Batavia, and the same conveyance will answer very well for sending to Batavia the collection which you may have prepared for Europe, as the object will be to prevent their delay at Samarang.

" ' I remain, my dear Sir,

" ' Very sincerely yours,

" ' Thos. S. Raffles.'

" In the course of a very few days I was favoured with the following communication:

" ' *Buitenzorg, March* 2, 1816.

" ' My Dear Sir,

" ' Since last writing you, the turn of my illness has been such, that I have been induced to relinquish the idea of going to Bencoolen, and have resolved to take passage for Europe direct. I shall certainly quit Batavia in the course of the present month, and therefore lose no time in communicating this point to you, in the hope that I may still have the pleasure of seeing you before I go, and, at all events, of receiving a full communication of your wishes in Europe, in order that I may promote your views to the utmost; make use of me in any way, and depend upon every attention being paid to your memorandums.

" ' Adverting to the advantage which may be derived by any of your collections of birds, animals, &c., which may be ready, going in the same ship with me, on account of the care I can take of them on the voyage and delivery, I have sent a circular order to the Residents, desiring them to forward whatever boxes you may have ready, by land, night or day; they can easily be secured from the weather, and if sent off immediately, will arrive in time. Should there be a cruizer or any good sea conveyance at Samarang, Captain Bidwell will avail himself of it; otherwise forward them on by coolies.

" ' Should you have at hand a collection of rare seeds, or any thing else likely to be acceptable to Sir Joseph Banks, send them on.

" ' In the hope of seeing you at Batavia, I shall prepare some boxes for plants, which you can perhaps select on the spot, as it is too late to receive them from Samarang.

" ' Whatever you do send on, let them be despatched quickly, otherwise they may arrive too late. I have written particularly to Major Johnson on the subject.

" ' Yours sincerely,

" ' Thos. S. Raffles.'

" This was followed on the 6th of March by more precise notice of the prospects of the colony.

" ' *Buitenzorg, March* 6, 1816.

" ' My Dear Sir,

" ' The fate of Java is no longer doubtful; a Dutch ship arrived yesterday, having on board Major Nahuys and twenty other passengers. She sailed from the Texel on the 29th of October, in company with the expedition for taking possession of this colony, on board which the Commissioners, Governor General, and 3,500 troops embarked. The ship parted from the fleet off the Land's-End, and, giving them time for stopping at the Cape, they may be expected in a month or six weeks; so that the duration of the English Government cannot now be of many months' duration.'

" In conforming with the recommendations contained in the preceding letters, I prepared, with every possible dispatch, complete series of all my collections of plants, of mammalia, and of birds; these were forwarded to Batavia in the manner pointed out by himself: and although they did not reach that place before Sir Stamford's departure, yet they followed him without delay, and arrived at their destination without accident.

" The last communication I received from Java was written after his embarkation.

' " *On board the Ganges, off Anjer, March* 26, 1816.

" ' My Dear Sir,

" ' We have had so quick a run to this place, that I have only now time to say, that prior to my embarking from Batavia yesterday morning, I had the pleasure to receive your letter, accompanied by three packages—the seeds, the Upas, and the drawings of plants and antiquities; the other collections had not arrived.

" ' I have communicated very fully with my successor, Mr. Fendall, on the subject of your undertaking; and I am authorized to assure you, that he will continue to you every protection and

assistance which has heretofore been afforded; and that when the Dutch authorities arrive, he will be ready to adopt any arrangement which may be conducive to your views. Captain Watson, who will continue on Mr. Fendall's staff, will take care that all your collections are carefully forwarded to Europe. Direct them to Mr. Cobb; but desire Captain Watson to inform me, in duplicate, of the ships by which they are sent, that on their arrival in England I may look out for them, and take care they are not neglected.

"'I have not time to say more than that all your wishes, as far as I know, shall be most scrupulously attended to. I will write you very fully after my arrival in England; and in the hope that you will not fail to write me very frequently,

"'I remain, my dear Sir,

"'With much esteem,

"'Your very sincere friend,

"'Thos. Raffles.'

"The sentiments of sorrow I naturally and deeply felt on the receipt of this letter, which closed for the present a correspondence that had afforded me so much encouragement and delight, were soon followed by a train of soothing and exhilarating reflections. As far as these regarded Sir Stamford in person, it was consolatory to anticipate that the voyage would restore his health; and to consider that he was returning to his native country with prospects and recommendations which are rarely the portion, even of the most meritorious and successful public functionaries. On the other hand, when I adverted to my own situation, I could reasonably entertain the hope that the departure of my distinguished patron would have no injurious effect on my pursuits. By his kind exertions and recommendations, the countenance and support of his successor were fully secured to me, so that I was enabled to resume my inquiries without interruption. I accordingly determined to employ the period that might still be allotted to me, as advantageously as possible. Among many other objects of examination, the mountain Prahu appeared at this time the most important. My former visit had been very hasty, and had rather awakened than satisfied my attention in regard to its high interest, both in a geological and botanical point of view. As soon as my preparations were completed, I proceeded thither, and spent nearly one month in those elevated regions. I then took a southern direction, and after a short abode at Djojocarta, once more visited the sea-coast of the medial portion of Java. Soon after my return to the residency of Suracarta, the Island of Java, and consequently the Government establishments at the native courts, were restored to the Dutch: the British garrison took its final departure at a period much earlier than I had flattered myself would be the case; but by the friendly relation existing at this time between the two nations; by the liberal exertions in my behalf of the Honorable John Fendall, and by the active zeal of the Secretary, Mr. Assey, who was minutely acquainted with every thing regarding my pursuits, I obtained, through an official communication, the assurance of the protec-

tion and support of the Netherlands' Government, in the prosecution of my researches. I was, therefore, enabled to devote another year to the desirable object of bringing my labours to a satisfactory conclusion. The plan I accordingly formed embraced principally the following objects:—*First*, the examination of various localities in the territory of the native princes, more particularly interesting in a botanical and geological point of view; *secondly*, the extension of my observations on the metamorphosis of Javanese Lepidopterous insects, and of the series of drawings in progress for their illustration; *thirdly*, the Flora of the immediate neighbourhood of the capital of Suracarta, and the description of the agriculture of this district; *fourthly*, the completion of various miscellaneous notices of the native courts, the statistics of their territories, the manners and domestic arrangements of the Princes, their amusements, and public spectacles; *fifthly*, the working up of an extensive series of drawings in all departments of natural history, as well as of views, maps, and plans.

" Accordingly, I undertook another visit to the confines of the two principal volcanos of this part of the Island, and examined in detail the summit of mountain Merapi. I then proceeded to the districts of Pajittan and Kalak, near the Southern Ocean, in order to examine the geological constitution of the ridges along the coast, and to devote the most productive season of the year to general entomology, and to the metamorphosis of Lepidoptera, in a tract abounding with a most luxuriant vegetation. After my return to the capital, early in the year 1817, I employed several months to the third and fourth points above enumerated, namely, the peculiarities of the natives, and the flora and agriculture of the central districts. I then secured my collections for a voyage to England, forwarded them to Samarang, and prepared for a final departure from my long and favourite place of sojourn. I concluded my investigations of the native princes' territories by a visit to the antiquities of Boro-budur, in the Kedu, and to those of Brambanan and Chandi-sewu, in Mattaram, thence proceeding in an eastern direction, I traversed the provinces of Sukkowati and Grobogan, surveyed once more the mud-fountains of Kuwu, then directing my course westward through Damak, reached the capital of Samarang on the 1st of January, 1818.

" In the course of the year just closed, and while I was preparing for my departure from Suracarta, I received a proof that Sir Stamford had not been unmindful of me or of my interests since his arrival in England. A very opportune despatch from him reached me in perfect safety: it consisted of several well preserved mountain barometers, and a variety of books and literary notices of great interest. The letter which accompanied these was peculiarly exhilarating at the moment I received it, when I was actually employed in securing my collections for the voyage to England: it contained the pleasing intelligence that the former despatch had arrived in safety, and in an excellent state of preservation. I was therefore encouraged to make every possible effort, in securing the most important portion which still remained under my charge, together with my drawings and manuscripts.

" With this letter I shall close my extracts from Sir Stamford's correspondence.

" ' *London, February* 6, 1817.

" ' My Dear Sir,

" ' Referring you to my former letters, I will now only repeat that the scientific world are looking forward with the greatest anxiety for your safe arrival in England, and that you may be assured of receiving every assistance and encouragement in your intended publications which your most sanguine wishes could have anticipated. I have the satisfaction to inform you that the whole of your collections, I mean the twelve chests which were intended to have accompanied me, have arrived safe, and have been examined by the custom-house officers in my presence. The whole are in the best preservation, and I can assure you that your exertions have not only delighted but astonished every one who has been made acquainted with them. I have the opportunity of seeing Sir Joseph Banks very frequently, and he will be ready to give you the warmest welcome on your arrival here. I have delayed writing this letter until the last moment, in the hope of having a communication to make to you from him, and yet hope his packet will be in time; it will contain two lists of the Herbaria you formerly sent to him, with his notes on each subject. He seems particularly desirous of further information on the Pine of Java, which is noticed in one of the volumes of the Transactions, and which I conclude to be that found on the Teng'ger mountains.

* * * * *

" ' You will perceive by the public prints that I am under engagement to prepare an account of Java. In the introductory chapter I shall endeavour to pave the way for your more valuable and interesting publications.

" ' It is most probable I shall be again returning to the East in the course of the present year; and if I am likely to reach the Eastern Islands before the time you proposed remaining elapses, I shall be tempted to touch at Batavia, in the hope of seeing you; it is possible that I may in consequence be at Batavia by next Christmas; but on this point, you shall hereafter hear from me more fully.

" ' Believe me, my dear Sir,

" ' Most truly yours,

" ' Thos. S. Raffles.'

" In the early part of 1818, I proceeded towards the western extremity of Java. The intimation contained in Sir Stamford's letter, and the necessity of terminating my labours at the present juncture, concurred in directing me in this determination. Any opportunity of adding to my researches still afforded me, would be employed most advantageously in the Priangan Regencies. At Buitenzorg I received the liberal protection of the Dutch authorities, with many personal attentions most politely offered me by their Excellencies the Governor-General and the Commissioner M. Elhout. My time was, for some weeks, profitably employed, and I resolved to make an excursion to the province of Bantam.

" In prosecuting this tour I passed through Batavia, and while expecting the local assistance to proceed, Major Travers arrived, in the ship ' Lady Raffles,' with intelligence that Sir Stamford had reached Bencoolen, and with a cordial and pressing invitation to accompany the Major on his return, with all my collections and appendages. The accomplishment of this was facilitated by the destination of the vessel on the coast of Java; instead therefore of proceeding to Bantam, I accompanied the commander to Samarang, where my collections were safely conveyed on board; and not many days after this auspicious event, I had the pleasure and satisfaction of saluting Sir Stamford at Bencoolen, and of being introduced to the acquaintance of your Ladyship.

" It was peculiarly gratifying to observe, that the visit to England had not only increased the zeal and ardour of Sir Stamford in the promotion of every useful object, but had also directed his attention to many specific subjects of curiosity and interest in science. In natural history particularly he had resolved not to rest satisfied in patronizing the labours of others, but likewise to afford his personal co-operation. When we arrived he had already performed an extensive excursion to the Passumah district, situated south-eastward of Bencoolen, during which that remarkable vegetable production, which has since been named after him, was discovered; and one of the first objects of curiosity I observed, on my arrival in his hospitable residence, was a drawing of this plant in the hands of Dr. Arnold.

" Sir Stamford had further projected a voyage along the west coast of Sumatra, and a visit to Padang: the vessel on which my collections were embarked was engaged for this voyage, and as her subsequent destination was to return to Java, for the purpose of receiving a cargo for England, I readily embraced the opportunity of inspecting an interesting portion of the Island of Sumatra.

" During the voyage to Padang, which was uncommonly placid, I submitted to Sir Stamford the entire result of my previous labours. The bulk of my collections was on board, and a number of chests had intentionally been left accessible; he therefore inspected so many of the quadrupeds, birds and insects, as well as of the botanical and geological specimens, as enabled him to form an adequate estimate of the extent of the collection in these departments, and of the state of its preservation. He likewise examined the drawings, maps, and manuscripts, with patient attention, and was therefore enabled subsequently to describe the whole from personal inspection.

" It is foreign to my object to extend this hasty sketch by any remarks on the expedition to Padang, or on the visit to the interior of Sumatra, which was subsequently undertaken from that place. I may, however, be allowed to state, that this journey afforded me a striking opportunity of noticing the beneficial and invigorating effects of European atmosphere and society, in the example of Sir Stamford and of your Ladyship, and of contrasting it with the debilitating and apathetic influence of a long residence in an equinoctial climate, as exhibited in my own person. Indeed, while prosecuting this route, I was frequently at a loss whether most to admire the energy

and enterprise of Sir Stamford in surmounting obstacles, and in employing every practicable effort towards obtaining new and valuable information; or the patience, perseverance, and fortitude displayed by your Ladyship, under circumstances of difficulty and danger, which would have presented insurmountable terrors to most female minds.

" On our return to Bencoolen, Sir Stamford added several very important acts of kindness to the favours already conferred on me; he made the necessary arrangements with the commander of the vessel in which my passage to England was engaged; he supplied me with letters of introduction to his numerous friends; and he added to the official communication to the Honourable Court of Directors which accompanied me, a copious description of all the collections under my charge. The vessel being destined to receive part of her cargo at Surabaya, I was enabled to employ several months very advantageously in Java. From Batavia I made an excursion in a western direction to Bantam. I then proceeded, through the interior, to the Priangan Regencies. At Chianjur I left the road for an excursion to the mountain Gedé; and along the further route to Samarang, I had many opportunities of correcting and extending my former observations. In the month of January, 1819, I went on board at Samarang, and in July I arrived in London.

" The recommendations and letters of introduction with which, as already stated, I was copiously provided by Sir Stamford at my departure from Bencoolen, procured me a most cordial reception from his friends; and although a perfect stranger in England, I obtained, through their means, those kind offices and friendly attentions which greatly facilitated and encouraged the commencement of my career. And here I have more particularly to record the favourable manner in which he was pleased to bring the nature of my employments and researches to the notice of the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company. By the liberality of that honourable body, an effectual provision has been made for my collections in the Museum at the India House; and by the bountiful support granted to me, I have been enabled to commence and prosecute the primary and essential object of all my labours—the communication of the discoveries which have resulted from them to the scientific public; and although my progress hitherto has been retarded, yet I am not discouraged in persevering in the attempt. But scientific details are not the object of this communication; and I can, therefore, only refer to the works already published from my materials, or to those in progress. It is, however, a very gratifying consideration, that our friend, Mr. Vigors, has undertaken to supply any deficiency in this department, which might be expected in your Memoir. For this purpose he has prepared a nomenclatural abstract of the collections presented by Sir Stamford to the Zoological Society in Bruton Street, so far as regards the vertebrated animals, with more concise notices of the insects, while he reserves a detailed description and a full account of all these subjects, to a more extensive work which he has projected, with the title of ' Museum Rafflesianum.' In this undertaking, to which Mr. Kirby, Mr. Bell, Mr.

Bennett, and myself will lend our aid, full justice will be done to Sir Stamford's zeal and success in this branch of natural history.

" In the mean time, the collection in Bruton Street, as far as yet examined, will form a very appropriate basis of a nomenclatural abstract for the present publication: to this Mr. Vigors will further add the names of all the quadrupeds and birds which were deposited in the Museum of the Honorable East India Company on my arrival in England. The combination of these will exhibit a tolerably extensive view of the zoology of the Eastern Islands in these departments; and if it be compared with the animals from this part of the world, enumerated in Pennant's Indian Zoology, [the most complete synopsis, which towards the close of the last century was before the public,] it will afford an instructive specimen of the accessions to natural history in later periods.

" On this occasion it may not be quite irrelevant to advert to the history of those investigations, which have been carried on since the commencement of the present century in the Islands of the Indian Archipelago; especially as some notice may be expected of the nature of my researches, and of the means by which they were carried on, prior to the period when they received the patronage of Sir Stamford.

" Until the latter part of the last century, little comparatively was known of the natural productions of this part of the world. In the year 1779 the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences was established, and from this period the commencement of a more regular train of investigations may be dated. The first six volumes of the Transactions of this Society, published between the years 1779 and 1792, contain various interesting and valuable communications on natural history, besides many incidental remarks on this subject in the geographical essays.

" Soon after the commencement of the present century, Mons. Leschenault de la Tour, a distinguished naturalist and pupil of Jussieu, who accompanied Captain Baudin on his voyage of discovery, determined, on the return of that expedition, to devote some time to the investigation of Java, and having obtained the patronage of the Honourable N. Engelhardt, Governor of the East Coast, he successfully explored the middle and eastern portion of the Island, and made extensive collections in all departments of natural history. On completing his engagement, a large portion of the collection became his property, and he returned to France with this acquisition about the year 1806. The collections were deposited in the National Museum, and many of his discoveries in Zoology have been successively published by Geoffroy St. Hilaire, Frederic Cuvier, and M. A. G. Desmarest.

" Very near the same period, when Mr. Leschenault entered on his researches in the eastern part of Java, in the course of the year 1802, I commenced a similar enterprise in the western portion of the Island, in the vicinity of Batavia. The effectual prosecution, however, of the

design I had particularly in view, rendered it necessary that I should enter the service of the Dutch East India Company. I was accordingly appointed a surgeon; commenced my inquiries in that capacity, and after the lapse of about a year reported to the Colonial Government the result. This was submitted to the Batavian Society, and through the recommendation of that body, I was engaged for a more extensive enterprise, which comprised a general investigation of the natural productions of the Island, and particularly of those which might become useful articles of Materia Medica. Having laboured some time in the neighbourhood of Batavia, I was desirous to take a wider range, and obtained permission to visit the eastern provinces, and to proceed to the farthest extremity of Java. After some years spent in continual peregrinations I was desirous of obtaining a more permanent place of abode, and, with the consent of the Colonial Government, established myself provisionally at Suracarta as a central situation, from which I might conveniently visit the neighbouring provinces. To this place I removed the whole of my collections, in order to await the destination of Government, as soon as the communication with Holland should be re-established; when, in the course of events, Java surrendered to the British arms, and the Commissioner from the Commander of the Forces in the eastern parts of the Island came to the Emperor's court, the enterprise in which I was engaged, and the collections I had made, for the former Government, came under consideration; and the Commissioner was pleased to direct that I should persevere in my pursuits until the pleasure of the Right Honourable the Lord Minto should be known. I therefore continued my researches for several months in a state of suspense, until Sir Stamford came to Suracarta, when he made those dispositions regarding my future employment and my relation to the Honourable East India Company, which have been detailed in the commencement of this communication, and this liberal determination was the means, not only of preventing the dispersion of the labours of many years, but also of preserving a private establishment for the purpose of my investigations, which I had accumulated with considerable pains and expense.

" By my residence in England my intercourse with Sir Stamford was not interrupted. He continued to take an earnest and affectionate interest in my progress, and to afford his liberal patronage to my publications. I have likewise an extensive series of letters from Bencoolen, Penang, Calcutta, and Singapore, which contain many valuable remarks on the natural productions of the Eastern Archipelago, and on the enterprises in which he was engaged while he continued in India. But I shall not extend this hasty sketch. My object throughout has been to record as simply as possible, from personal observation, and from the correspondence with which I have been favoured, the zeal, ardour, and liberality with which Sir Stamford both pursued and patronised science.

" Your Ladyship requires from me no apology on behalf of the imperfections of this com-

munication, nor any assurance of the sincerity of the sentiments expressed; I therefore request you to make that use of it which may best suit the important and laudable object which you have undertaken.

" I am, most respectfully,

" Your Ladyship's faithful and obliged servant,

" Thos. Horsfield."

December 31st, 1829.

To Lady Sophia Raffles.

CATALOGUE OF ZOOLOGICAL SPECIMENS.

THE following catalogue contains the names of the animals collected in Sumatra, under the immediate superintendance of Sir Stamford Raffles, and now exhibited in the Museum of the Zoological Society; as well as of those previously collected by Dr. Horsfield in Java, and deposited in the Museum of the India House. To these are added the names of a few species which are reported by Sir Stamford in the Linnean Transactions to be natives of Sumatra, but of which specimens have not as yet been observed in either collection.

The native names of these animals have been added, where accurately ascertained, to the more important scientific names. The latter have been selected with due deference to the law which should prevail in all such cases—that of priority.

The *habitat* of each animal is given according as it has been found in Sumatra or Java, or both countries. In this reference to its native place, it is not inferred that the species is exclusively found in such locality, but that it has been actually either collected or observed there. The reference to the Museum in which the specimens are exhibited comes under the same observation.

MAMMALIA.

Ordo I FERÆ, *Linn.*
Tribus PLANTIGRADA.
Genus HELARCTOS, *Horsf.*

Hel. Malayanus, *Horsf., Zool. Journ., Vol.* II. *p.* 221, *pl.* 7.
Ursus Malayanus, *Raffles, Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 254.—*Horsf., Zool. Researches in Java, No.* 4. *pl.* 2.
Bruang of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæis Societatum Zoologicæ et Ind. Orientalis.

This species of bear was discovered by Sir Stamford Raffles in Sumatra, and first described by him in a Paper read before the Linnean Society in the year 1820 on the Animals of Sumatra, and afterwards published in the Society's Transactions. It was subsequently figured in Dr. Hors-

field's "*Zoological Researches*," from a specimen sent by Sir Stamford to the Museum of the India House.

Genus Mydaus, *Fred. Cuv.*

Myd. Javanensis.

Mephitis Javanensis, *Desmarest, Mammalogie, p.* 187. *sp.* 288.—*Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 251.
Mydaus Meliceps, *Fred. Cuv.,—Horsf., Zool. Researches, No. 2. pl.* 1.
Le Telagon, *Fred. Cuv., Mammiferes.*
Tĕlĕdu of the Javanese.
Sĕng-gung of the Sunda Javanese.
Teleggo of the Sumatrans. *Marsden, Hist. of Sumatra, p.* 117.
Telagu of the Malays. *Raffl., Linn. Trans.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Soc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Gulo, *Storr.*

Gulo Orientalis, *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No. 2. pl. 2.*
Mydaus Macrourus, *Kuhl.*
Nyentek of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Ictides, *Valenciennes.*
(Arctictis. *Temminck.*)

Ict. ater.

Le Benturong noir, *Fred. Cuv., Mamm.*
Binturong of the Malays. *Raffl., Linn. Trans.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Soc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

We are indebted for the discovery of this species to the researches of another of our countrymen, Major Farquhar, who communicated an account of it, together with a drawing and a specimen, to the Asiatic Society. (See *Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 253.)

Tribus Digitigrada.
Genus Mustela, *Linn.*

Must. nudipes, *Fred. Cuv.*

Furet de Java. *Fred. Cuv., Mammif.*
Marte de Java, *Desm., Mamm., Supp. p.* 537. *sp.* 828.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

This species, although supposed by the French writers to have been sent from Java, whence they gave it the above names, was never met with by Dr. Horsfield in his extensive researches in that Island. It is probable that the specimen sent by M. Diard from Batavia had been originally imported from Sumatra.

Genus Viverra, *Linn.*

Viv. Musanga, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 252.—*Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 1. *pl.* 2.
Musang, Marsden, Hist. of Sum. p. 118, *pl.* 12, *No.* 2.
Musang-bulang of the Malays.
Luwak of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Soc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Viv. Rasse, *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 6. *pl.* 2.
Rasse of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæis Soc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Viv. Zibetha, *Linn.*
Tangalung of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Viv. Genetta, *Linn.*
Musang sapulut of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.

No specimen of this animal was found in the Sumatran collection sent home to this country, although the species is included in the catalogue of the animals collected by Sir Stamford in Sumatra.

Genus Mangusta, *Olivier.*
(Ichneumon, *Lacepede.* Herpestes, *Illiger.*)

Mangusta Javanica, *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 5. *pl.* 2.
Ichneumon Javanicus, *Geoff., Description de l'Egypte, Mem. d'Histoire Nat., Tom.* II., *p.* 138. *n.* 5.
Herpestes Javanicus, *Desm., Mamm., p.* 118. *sp.* 326.
Mangouste de Java, *Fred. Cuv., Mammif.*
Garangan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Soc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Lutra, *Linn.*

Lutra leptonyx, *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 7. *pl.* 2.
Simung of the Sumatrans.
Anjing-ayer of the Malays.
Welingsang, or *Wargul*, of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Soc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

A second species, supposed to be the *Barang* of Sir Stamford Raffles, is in the Sumatran collection, but its characters have not as yet been sufficiently ascertained.

Genus Prionodon, *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 5.

Prion. gracile. *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 1. *pl.* 2.
Viverra? Linsang, *Hardwicke, Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 235. *Tab.* 24.
Delundung of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Felis, *Linn.*

Fel. Tigris, *Linn.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Fel. Leopardus, *Linn.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Felis Macroscelis, *Horsf., Zool. Journ., Vol.* I. *p.* 542. *pl.* 21.—*Temm., Monographie de Mamm. p.* 102.
Rimau dahan of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Sir Stamford Raffles was the first who discovered and described this animal. His description is in the thirteenth volume of the Linnean Transactions, p. 250, under the Malayan name of *Rimau dahan.*

Felis Javanensis, *Desm., Dict. d'Hist. Nat., Vol.* VI. *p.* 115.—*Mamm., p.* 229. *sp.* 358.—*Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 1. *pl.* 1.
Chat de Java, *Cuv., Annales du Mus., Tom.* XIV. *p.* 159. *n.* 26.
Kurwuk of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Fel. Sumatrana, *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 2. *f.* 4.
Rimau bulu of the Malays, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 249.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæis Soc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Fel. Temminckii, *Vigors and Horsf., Zool. Journ., Vol.* III. *p.* 451. *pl. Supp.* 25.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

This new species was one of the results of Sir Stamford Raffles' researches in Sumatra. A specimen is in the collection presented by him to the Zoological Society. It is remarkable by the uniform red colour which pervades the body.

Felis planiceps, *Vigors and Horsf., Zool. Journ., Vol.* III. *p.* 450. *pl.* 12.
Habitat in Sumatrâ
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

This species also, distinguished by the flat shape of the head, is among the discoveries of Sir Stamford. Three specimens are in his Sumatran collection, all agreeing in this singular formation.

Felis melas? *Peron et Lesueur.*
Le Melas, *Cuv., Annales du Mus., Tom.* XIII. *p.* 152. *No.* 10.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Soc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

The specimen in the Zoological Society's collection is young. Doubts exist as to this species being distinct from *Felis Leopardus.*

Genus Canis, *Linn.*

Can. familiaris, *Linn.* var. Sumatrensis.
Wild Dog of Sumatra, *Hardwicke, Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 236. *Tab.* 23.

Can. rutilans, *Temm.*
Habitat in Javâ,
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Tribus Insectivora.

Genus Gymnura, *Vigors and Horsf.*

Gym. Rafflesii, *Vigors and Horsf., Zool. Journ., Vol.* III. *p.* 248. *pl.* 8.
Viverra gymnura, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* III. *p.* 272.
Tikus Ambang bulan of the Malays?
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

This new form of animal is among the most conspicuous of Sir Stamford Raffles' discoveries in zoology. Doubts exist as to there being two species in the specimens contained in his collection. The native name given above is that of an animal brought to Major Farquhar from the interior of Malacca, some time previously to the discovery of the *Gymnura* in Sumatra, which Sir Stamford believes to be identical with it.

Genus Tupaia, *Raffles.*

Tup. Tana, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 257.—*Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 3. *pl.* 2.
Tupai-tana of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Tup. Javanica, *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 3. *pl.* 1.
Bangsring, or *Sinsring*, of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Tup. ferruginea, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 256.
Tupai-press of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Science is indebted to Sir Stamford Raffles also for the discovery of this new form among the *Insectivorous* animals, two species of which he described in the Linnean Transactions. An attempt has been made by some of the French naturalists to supersede the name of *Tupaia*. No less than four different writers have given separate names to the genus. There can be little doubt that the law of priority, as well as the justice of the case, will eventually prevail here, as in similar instances.

Genus Sorex, *Linn.*

Sor. Indicus, *Geoff.*, *Ann. du. Mus.*, *Tome* XVII. *p.* 183. *sp.* 8.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Sor. Myoxurus, *Pallas.*
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Ordo II Primates, *Linn.*
Tribus Cheiroptera.
Genus Pteropus, *Brisson.*

Pter. Javanicus, *Desm.*, *Mamm.*, *p.* 109. *sp.* 136.—*Horsf.*, *Zool. Researches*, *No.* 4. *pl.* 4.
Kalong of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Soc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Pter. marginatus, *Desm.*, *Mamm.*, *p.* 111. *sp.* 146.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Pter. Titthœcheilus, *Temm.*, *Monogr. de Mamm.*, *p.* 198.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Macroglossus, *Fred. Cuv.*

Macroglossus rostratus.
Pteropus rostratus, *Horsf.*, *Zool. Researches*, *No.* 3. *pl.* 4.
Pteropus minimus, *Geoff.*

The name of *minimus* being inappropriate where but one species belongs to a genus, that of *rostratus* is here adopted.

Genus Nyctinomus, *Geoff.*

Nyct. tenuis, *Horsf.*, *Zool. Researches*, *No.* 5. *pl.* 1.
Lowo-churut of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Nyct. dilatatus, *Id.*, *Ib.*, *No.* 4.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Megaderma, *Geoff.*

Meg. Lyra. *Geoff., Ann. du Mus., Tome* XV. *pp.* 190. 198. *pl.* 12.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Rhinolophus, *Geoff.*

Rhin. affinis. *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 6.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Rhin. minor. *Id., Ib.*
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Rhin. nobilis. *Id., Ib., No.* 7. *pl.* 4.
Kébblék of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Rhin. larvatus. *Id., Ib., No.* 6. *pl.* 3.
Lowo-sumbo of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Rhin. vulgaris, *Id., Ib., No.* 6.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Rhin. deformis, *Id., Ib.*
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Rhin. insignis, *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 6.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Nycteris, *Geoff.*

Nyct. Javanicus, *Desm., Mamm., p.* 129. *sp.* 192.
Nyctere de Java, *Geoff., Mem. sur l'Egypte, Hist. Nat. Tome* II. *p.* 123.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Vespertilio, *Auct.*

Vesp. Temminckii, *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 8. *pl.* 3.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Vesp. adversus, *Id., Ib., No.* 8.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Vesp. Hardwickii, *Id.*, *Ib.*
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Vesp. tralatitius, *Id.*, *Ib.*
Lowo-manir of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Vesp. imbricatus, *Id.*, *Ib.*
Lowo-lessêr of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Vesp. pictus, *Pall. Spic.*, III. *p.* 7.
Lowo-Kembang of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Tribus QUADRUMANA.

Genus SIMIA, *Auct.*

Simia Satyrus, *Linn.*
Orang Utan of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Genus HYLOBATES, *Ill.*

Hyl. syndactyla.
Simia syndactyla, *Raffl., Linn. Trans.*, *Vol.* XIII. *p.* 241.—*Horsf., Zool. Researches, No. 3. f. 3.*
Siamang of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæis Soc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

This species is one of the results of Sir Stamford Raffles' researches in Sumatra, and was first described and named by him in the Linnean Transactions.

Hyl. agilis, *Fred. Cur., Mamm.*
Hylobates variegatus, *Desm.?*
Ungha puti of the Sumatrans, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 242.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

This species also was first pointed out as new by Sir Stamford Raffles, who described its distinguishing characters in the Linnean Transactions, under its native name of *Ungha puti*. M. Fred. Cuvier afterwards figured the animal, and gave it the scientific name of *agilis*. Doubts are entertained of its being specifically distinct from the *Hyl. variegatus* of M. Desmarest.

Hyl. Lar, *Geoff.*
Simia albimana, *Vigors and Horsf., Zool. Journ., Vol.* IV. *p.* 107.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Two species have hitherto been confounded under the name of *Simia Lar*, Linn., which differ from each other chiefly by the hands of one being whitish, while those of the second are of the same black colour as the rest of the body. The species were first distinguished as quoted above in the Zoological Journal, the black species being considered the type of the Linnean species *Lar*, and the present animal with the white hands being designated as distinct under the name of *albimana*. M. Geoffroy de St. Hilaire has subsequently reversed the disposition of the species, and has selected the present animal as the typical *Lar*, while he calls the black species *Hyl. Rafflesii*. This order of nomenclature may well be adopted in the present instance, although it is contrary to the usual practice by which the courtesy of naturalists, and indeed the justice of the case, secures to the first distinguisher of a species the name which he confers upon it. In superseding the prior name conferred on the present species by that of *Rafflesii*, M. Geoff. de St. Hilaire has made an appeal to the feelings of the first describers, which cannot be resisted.

Hyl. Rafflesii, *Geoff., Cours de l'Hist. nat. des Mamm., Leç. 7. p. 34.*
Simia Lar, *Vigors and Horsf., Zool. Journ., Vol.* IV. *p.* 106.
L'Ounko. *Fred. Cuv., Mamm.*
Ungka etam of the Malays, *Raffles, Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 242.
Habitat in Malaccæ Peninsulâ.

Although this species is indicated in Sir Stamford's catalogue of the Sumatran animals, no specimen was found in the collection. The specimen in the Zoological Collection, accurately agreeing with his description in the Linnean Transactions, is from the continent of India.

Genus Lasiopyga, *Ill.*

Lasiopyga Nemæus, *Ill.*
Le douc, *Buff.*
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

A specimen of this species belongs to the Rafflesian collection; but it is believed that it was brought from Borneo, whence Sir Stamford obtained some valuable subjects of Natural History, particularly the two following subjects.

Genus Nasalis, *Geoff.*

Nas. larvatus.
Simia nasalis, *Shaw.*
Guenon à long nez, *Buff.*
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Nas. recurvus, *Vigors and Horsf., Zool. Journ., Vol.* IV. *p.* 110.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

This animal, brought from Borneo with the preceding, may probably be the young of the species, as suggested by the Authors quoted above. No proof, however, of the fact has as yet appeared.

Genus Semnopithecus, *Fred. Cuv.*

Semn. Maurus, *Fred. Cuv.—Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 4. *f.* 1.
Simia Maura, *Schreb.*
Lotong of the Malays, *Raffles, Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII., *p.* 247.
Budeng or *Lutung* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ and Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Immature specimens of this species, exhibiting different gradations of colour from bright red to entire black, are in the Sumatran collection.

Semn. cristatus.
Simia cristata, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 244.
Chingkau of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

This species, together with the succeeding, are among the discoveries of Sir Stamford Raffles.

Semn. melalophos.
Simia melalophos, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 245.
Simpai of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Semn. femoralis, *Horsf.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Semn. Pyrrhus, *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 7. *pl.* 3.
Lutung of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Semn.? fascicularis.
Simia fascicularis, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 246.
Kra of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.

No specimen of this species, although it appears to be frequent in the forests of Sumatra and the Malay Islands, was found in Sir Stamford's collection. It is of course doubtful whether it is a true *Semnopithecus*.

Genus Macacus, *Lacepede.*

Mac. nemestrinus.
Simia carpolegus? *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 243.
Bruh of the Malays?
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

It is probable that the *Bruh* of Sir Stamford Rafflcs' Catalogue is referable to the above species.

Genus Loris, *Geoff.*

Loris tardigradus.
Lemur tardigradus, *Linn.*
Kúkang of the Malays.

This species has been described by Sir Stamford as inhabiting the Malay Islands, but no specimen is in the Sumatran collection.

Loris Javanicus.
Nycticebus Javanicus, *Geoff.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Tarsius, *Storr.*

Tars. spectrum?
Lemur spectrum, *Pall.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Tars. Bancanus, *Horsf, Zool. Researches, No. 2, pl. 2.*
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Galeopithecus, *Pallas.*

Gal. variegatus, *Cuv.*
Gal. rufus, *Pall?*
Kubung of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

This species of M. Cuvier is generally considered to be the young of the *Gal. rufus* of Pallas. This supposition is chiefly founded upon the inferior size of *Gal. variegatus.* [See *Audebert, Histoire des Galéopitheques, p.* 37.] But there are several specimens in the Rafflesian collection of different sizes, some of which considerably exceed the dimensions assigned to *Gal. rufus.* The question is by no means set at rest.

Gal. rufus, *Pall.*
Kubung of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Ordo III Pecora.
Tribus Edentata.
Genus Manis, *Linn.*

Man. pentadactyla, *Linn.*
Pangoling sisik or *Tangiling* of the Malays, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 249.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Manis Javanica, *Desmarest, Mamm., p.* 376. *sp.* 596.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæo Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Tribus Pachydermata.
Genus Elephas, *Linn.*

El. maximus, *Linn.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

The teeth and tusks only of this animal are preserved in the Sumatran collection.

Genus Rhinoceros, *Linn.*

Rhin. Sumatrensis, *Cuv.*
Sumatran Rhinoceros, *Bell, Phil. Trans.* 1793.
Badak of the Malays, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* III. *p.* 268.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Rhin. Sondaicus, *Cuv.—Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* VI. *pl.* 4.
Warak of the Javanese.
Badak of the Malays.
Habitat in Javâ.

Genus Tapirus, *Briss.*

Tap. Indicus, *Desm., Mamm., p.* 411. *sp.* 646.
Tap. Malayanus, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 270.—*Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 1. *pl.* 4.
Le Maiba, *Fred. Cuv., Mamm.*
Saladang, Gindol, Babi Alu, and *Tennu* of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Sus, *Linn.*

Sus scrofa, *Linn.*
Babi of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Tribus Ruminantia.

Genus Moschus, *Linn.*

Mosc. Javanicus, *Pall.*
Napu of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Mosc. Kanchil, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 262.
Kanchil of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

A third species of the *Musk deer* has been mentioned by Sir Stamford as inhabiting Sumatra, which he calls *Pelandok*, but no specimen has appeared in the collection.

Genus Cervus, *Linn.*

Cervus Muntjac, *Schreb.—Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* VI. *pl.* 1.
Muntjac of the Sunda Javanese.
Kidang of the Javanese.
Kijang of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Cervus Tunjuc?
Rusa ubi, *Rusa saput*, and *Rusa Tunjuc* of the Malays, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 266.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

This species, very nearly allied to the *Muntjac*, which is probably the same as that mentioned by Sir Stamford Raffles in the Linnean Transactions, under the above native names, is in the Sumatran collection. It appears to be undescribed; but the horns not being sufficiently grown, it is deemed advisable not to enter into further particulars until more extensive information has been acquired on the subject.

Cervus Axis, *Erxl.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

The horns only of this animal have been sent home in the Sumatran collection.

Cervus Hippelaphus?
Rusa of the Sumatrans
Menjangan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Antilope, *Pall.*

Antilope Sumatrensis, *Penn.*
Cambtan, *Fred. Cuv., Mamm.*
Cambing Utan, Marsden.—Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol. XIII. *p.* 266.

Ordo IV Glires, *Linn.*
Fam. Sciuridæ.
Genus Sciurus, *Linn.*

Sciur. maximus, *Schreb.*
Tupai Jinjang or *Tankrawa* of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.

Sciur. bicolor, *Sparm.—Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 8. *pl.* 1.
Jelarang of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Sciur. Leschenaultii, *Desm.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Sciur. affinis, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 259.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Sciur. vittatus, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 259.
Sciur. bivittatus, *Desm.*
Ecureuil Toupaye, *Fred. Cuv., Mamm.*
Tupai of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Sciur. nigrovittatus, *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 7.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Sciur. Plantani, *Ljung.—Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 7. *pl.* 1.
Sciur. bilineatus, *Geoff.*
Bajing of the Javanese and Malays.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Sciur. insignis, *Fred. Cuv.—Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 5. *pl.* 3.
Le Lary, *Fred. Cuv., Mamm.*
Bokkol of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Sciur. Rafflesii, *Vigors and Horsf., Zool. Journ., Vol.* IV. *p.* 113. *pl.* 4.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Sciur. tenuis, *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 7.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Pteromys, *Cuv.*

Pter. nitidus, *Desm.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Pter. sagitta, *Cuv.*
Sciurus sagitta, *Linn.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Pter. lepidus, *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 4. *pl.* 4.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Pter. genibarbis, *Id., Ib., No.* 4. *pl.* 3.
Kechubu of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Fam. Muridæ.
Genus Mus, *Linn. et Auct.*

Mus setifer, *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 8. *pl.* 2.
Tikus-wirok of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

M. Temminck asserts that this animal is the young of the *Mus giganteus* of General Hardwicke. As yet we have had no proof of the assertion.

Fam. Hystricidæ.
Genus Hystrix, *Linn.*

Hyst. fasciculata, *Shaw.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.

Hyst. longicauda, *Marsden, Hist. of Sumatra.*
Landak of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.

Ordo V Cetacea, *Linn.*
Genus Halicore, *Ill.*

Hal. Dugong, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 272.
Duyong of the Malays.
Habitat in Mari Sum.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Classis AVES.

Ordo I Raptores.
Fam. Falconidæ.
(*Halang*, or *Lang*, of the Malays.)
Sub-fam. Aquilina.
Genus Pandion, *Savigny*.

Pand. Ichthyaëtus.
Falco Ichthyætus, *Horsf.*, *Linn. Trans.*, *Vol.* XIII. *p.* 136.—*Zool. Researches*, No. 3. *pl.* 5.
Jokowuru of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

This species, with the general appearance and the cylindrical claws of *Pandion*, has the scutellated *tarsi* of *Haliaëtus*.

Genus Haliaëtus, *Sav.*

Haliaëtus Pondicerianus.
Aquila Pondiceriana, *Briss.*
Lang Bondol of the Sumatrans.
Ulang of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Haliaëtus albicilla.
Falco albicilla, *Lath.*
Lang Bomboon of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Haliaëtus dimidiatus.
Falco dimidiatus, *Raffl.*, *Linn. Trans.*, *Vol.* XIII. *p.* 275.
Lang laut of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Genus Limnaëtus.

Rostrum forte, subelongatum, compressum; *ungue* elongato, *tomiis* mandibulæ superioris Subfamiliæ Asturinæ more subemarginatis; *naribus* ovalibus, grandibus, transversim positis.

Alæ subbreves; *remigibus*, 1mâ brevi, 2dâ et 3tiâ gradatim longioribus, 4tâ et 5tâ æqualibus longissimis, reliquis gradatim breviscentibus; 1mâ—6tâ internè, 2dâ—7mâ externè emarginatis.

Pedes elongati; *tarsis* usque ad digitos plumosis; *unguibus* gracilibus elongatis.

Cauda æqualis.

This group, which, from its strength and general appearance, must be ranked with the *Eagles*,

exhibits a strong affinity to the *Hawks* in its somewhat short wings, lengthened tarsi, and the emargination as well as the general shape of its bill. Its place seems immediately between the subfamilies of *Hawks* and *Eagles*.

Lymn. Horsfieldii.
Falco Limnaëtus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 138.
Autour unicolore, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 134.
Wuru-rawa of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Lymn. caligatus.
Falco caligatus, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 278.
Lang Tanjbikar of the Sumatrans.
Falco niveus, *Temm.*
Autour neigeux, *Id., Pl. Col.* 127.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Subfam. Asturina.
Genus Accipiter, *Ray.*

Acc. fringillarius, *Ray*, var.
Falco Nisus, *Linn.*
Sikap Balam of the Malays, *Raffl.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Acc. Solöensis.
Falco Solöensis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 137.
Falco cuculoides, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 129 ♂, 110 ♀.
Allap-allap Lallar of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

This species, or more probably the *Astur virgatus*, Reinw., is the supposed variety of the *Sparrow Hawk*, called by the Malays *Ickap belalang*, or *Mangkas*.—See *Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 278.

Subfam. Falconina.
Genus Hierax, *Vigors.*

Hier. cærulescens, *Vigors, Zool. Journ., Vol.* I. *p.* 328.
Falco cærulescens, *Linn.—Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 3. *pl.* 6.
Allap, or *Allap-allap*, of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Falco, *Auct.*

Falco peregrinus, *Ray.*
Rajawali of the Malays.
Sikap Lang of the Sumatrans.
Laki Angin of the Passummahs.
Habitat in Sumatrâ, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 278.

Falco tinnunculus, *Linn.*
Allap-allap Sapi of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Falco severus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 133.
Faucon Aldrovandin, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 128.
Allap-allap Ginjeng of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Subfam. Buteonina.

Genus Buteo

Buteo Bacha.
Falco Bacha, *Daud.*
Bido of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

This species is generally ranked among the *Buzzards*, but doubts may be entertained respecting the propriety of placing it in this group.

Sub-fam. Milvina.

Genus Elanus, *Savigny.*

El. melanopterus, *Leach.*
Falco melanopterus, *Daud.*
Angkal-angkal of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Fam. Strigidæ.

Genus Strix, *Linn.*
(*Burong Hantoo*, or *Pongo*, of the Malays.
Toohook of the Sumatrans.)
* Capite aurito.

Strix orientalis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 140.
Strix Sumatrana, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 279.
Strix strepitans, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 174. 229 juv.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Strix Ceylonensis, *Lath.*
Strix Ketupu, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 141.
Hibou Ketupu, *Temm. Pl. Col.* 74.
Blo-ketupu of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Strix Lempiji, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 140.
Hibou noctule, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 99.
Lempiji of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.
** Capite inaurito.

Strix flammea, *Linn.*, var Javanica, *Gmel.*
Daris (Deris) of the Javanese.
Serrah of the Malays.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Strix badia, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 139.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 4. *pl.* 6.
Wowo-wiwi, or *Kalong-wiwi* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Strix selo-puto, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 140.
Strix Pagodarum, *Temm.*
Chouette des Pagodes, *Id., Pl. Col.* 230.
Selo-puto of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Strix castanoptera, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 140.
Chouette spadiacée, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 98.
Blo-watn of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

An additional species of hornless owl is indicated by Sir Stamford Raffles, under the name of *scutellata* in the Linnean Transactions, as inhabiting Sumatra. No specimen, however, agreeing with this description has been found either in the Sumatran or the Javanese collection.

Ordo II Insessores.
Tribus Fissirostres.
Fam. Meropidæ.
Genus Merops, *Linn. et Auct.*

Mer. Javanicus, *Horsf., Linn, Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 171.
Mer. Savignii, *Temm.*
Kachangan of the Javanese.
Biri-biri of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Mer. Sumatranus, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 294.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Mer. urica. *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 172.
Pirik of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Fam. Hirundinidæ.

Genus Hirundo, *Linn. et Auct.*

(*Layang Layang* of the Malays.)

Hir. esculenta, *Linn.*
Lawet of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Hir. fuciphaga, *Acta Holm.* 33. *p.* 151.
Linchi of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Hir. rustica, *Linn.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.

Hir. urbica, *Linn.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.

Genus Cypselus, *Ill.*

Cyselus Klecho.
Hir. Klecho, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 143.
Cyps. longipennis, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 83.
Samber-galeng of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Fam. Caprimulgidæ.

Genus Podargus, *Cur.*

Pod. Javanensis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 141.— *Zool. Researches, No.* 2. *pl.* 6.
Podarge cornu, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 159.
Chaba-wonno of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Pod. auritus, *nov. sp.*

Pod. supra ferrugineo-brunneus, plumis circa aures longissimis; subtus pallidior; nuchæ scapulariumque plumis albo notatis; remigibus rectricibusque ferrugineo fasciatis.

Pod. auritus, *Vigors and Horsf., Griffiths' Transl. of Cuv. An. Kingd.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

This species is one of the new acquisitions to science which we owe to the zeal of Sir Stamford Raffles. Its length is about fifteen inches.

Genus Caprimulgus, *Linn. et Auct.*

Capr. Europæus, *Linn.*
Sang Sagan of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.

No specimen of this species, described as common in Sumatra by Sir Stamford, has as yet been found in the collection.

Capr. affinis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 142.
Chaba of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Capr. macrourus, *Id., Ib.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Fam. Todidæ.
Genus Eurylaimus, *Horsf.*

Eur. Javanicus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 170.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 2. *pl.* 5.
Eurylaimus Horsfieldii, *Temm.*
Eurylaime Horsfield, *Id., Pl. Col.* 130 ♂, 131 ♀.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Eurylaimus ochromalus, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 297.
Eurylaimus cucullatus, *Temm.*
Eurylaime à capuchon, *Id., Pl. Col.* 261.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

It is difficult to account for M. Temminck's passing over the accurate description of the characters and habits of this bird, given in the Linnean Transactions by Sir Stamford Raffles, who first discovered and named it. M. Temminck, many years after the publication of Sir Stamford's paper, to which he frequently refers in the text of his Planches Coloriées, speaks of the species being new, and of its habits being unknown.

Eur. Sumatranus.
Coracias Sumatranus, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 303.
Eurylaimus Corydon, *Temm.*
Eurylaime Corydon, *Id., Pl. Col.* 297.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.

Genus Cymbirhynchus.

Rostrum subelongatum, depressum, ad basin latissimum, setis raris rigidis obsitum; *rictu* amplissimo; *culmine* obsoleto, arcuato; *mandibulâ* superiori prope apicem aduncum emarginatâ; *naribus* ovalibus, oblongis, longitudinalibus, nudis, in medio mandibulæ positis.

Alæ rotundatæ, subbreves; *remigibus* 3tiâ et 4tâ longissimis.

Tarsi subfortes, *pedibus* gressoriis.

Cauda subelongata, gradata.

This group is closely allied to that of *Eurylaimus*, but differs essentially in the form of the bill, and in other particulars. The position of the nostrils affords a striking mark of distinction.

Cymb. nasutus.
Todus nasutus, *Lath., Ind. Orn.*, 268.
Great-billed Tody, *Id., Gen. Hist., Vol.* IV. *p.* 94, *pl.* 65.
Eurylaimus nasutus, *Temm.*
Eurylaime nasique, *Id., Pl. Col.* 154.
Burong Palano, or *Tampalano*, of the Sumatrans, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 296.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Genus Colaris, *Cuv.*
(Eurystomus Vieill.)

Col. orientalis, *Cuv.*
Coracias orientalis, *Linn.*
Tiong Batu of the Malays,
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Fam. Halcyonidæ.
Genus Dacelo, *Leach.*

Dac. pulchella, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 175.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 2. *pl.* 8.
Martin-chasseur mignon, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 277.
Tengke-watu of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Halcyon, *Swainson.*

Halc. leucocephalus.
Alcedo leucocephala, *Lath.*
Bang Kako of the Sumatrans.
Tengke-buto of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Halc. Coromandelicus.
Alcedo Coromanda, *Lath.*
Tengke-sumbo of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Halc. chlorocephalus.
Alcedo chlorocephala, *Lath.*
Tengke-cheger of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Halc. sacer.
Alcedo sacer, *Lath.*
Tengke of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Halc. melanopterus.
Alcedo melanoptera, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 174.
Martin-pêcheur omnicolore, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 130.
Tengke-wang of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Halc. atricapillus.
Alcedo atricapilla, *Lath.*
Burong Udang of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 293.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Genus Alcedo, *Linn. et Auct.*

Alc. ispida, *Linn.*, var. Bengalensis.
Binti of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 293.

Alc. Biru, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 172.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 4. *pl.* 7.
Martin-pecheur Biru, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 239. *f.* 1.
Meninting-watu, or *Burung-biru* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Alc. Bengalensis, *Lath.*
Alcedo Meninting, *Horsf.*
Martin-pêcheur Meninting, *Temm. Pl. Col.* 239. *pl.* 2.
Meninting of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Ceyx, *Lacepede.*

Ceyx tridactylus.
Alcedo tridactyla, *Linn.*
Binti Abang of the Sumatrans.
Chuchack-urang of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Tribus Dentirostres.
Fam. Muscicapidæ.
Genus Muscicapa, *Linn. et Auct.*

Musc. Banyumas, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 146.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 8. *pl.* 7. *f.* 1.
Musc. rufigastra, *Raffl.*
Musc. cantatrix, *Temm.*
Gobe-mouche chanteur, *Id., Pl. Col.* 226.
Chiching-goleng of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Musc. hirundinacea, *Reinw.*
Musc. obscura, *Horsf.*
Gobe-mouche veloce, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 119.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Musc. Indigo, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 146.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 5. *pl.* 8.
Nil-nilan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Musc. latirostris, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 312.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

This bird, which is somewhat obscure in its colour and markings, may probably be the female of some described species.

Musc. cærulea, *Gmel.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 312.

Genus Muscipeta, *Cuv. et Auct.*

Muscip. flammea.
Muscicapa flammea, *Penn.*
Uwis, or *Semuttan* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Muscip. miniata.
Muscicapa miniata, *Temm.*
Gobe-mouche vermillon, *Id., Pl. Col.* 156.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Muscip. Javanica, *Sparmann.*
Moorai-Kandang of the Sumatrans.
Sikattan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

The genus *Muscipeta* is here restricted to the group with the broad and somewhat elongated bill, and lengthened graduated tail, of which *Musc. Paradisi*, Linn., forms the type. This form belongs to Africa and India.

Fam. Laniadæ.

Genus Ocypterus, *Cuv.*

(Artamus, *Vieill.*)

Ocypt. leucorhynchus.
Lanius leucorhynchus, *Linn.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Edolius. *Cuv.*

(Dicrurus, *Vieill.*)

Ed. forficatus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 144.
Lanius forficatus, *Linn.*
Sri-gunting of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Ed. cineraceus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 145.
Chenta of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Ed. Malabaricus.
Lanius Malabaricus, *Lath.*
Edolius retifer, *Temm.*
Barong Saweh of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Ed. divaricatus.
Lanius divaricatus, *Raffl , Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 305.
Beribba burong lilin of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.

This species is indicated from a female specimen, which probably may be found to belong to a previously-named species of the *fork-tailed Shrikes*.

Genus Irena, *Horsf.*

Ir. puella, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 152. *Zool. Researches, No.* 1. *pl.* 1, 2.
Coracias puella, *Lath.*
Edolius puella, *Temm.*
Biang Kapoor of the Malays.
Bressi of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Lanius, *Linn. et Auct.*

Lanius Bentet, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 144.
Bentet of the Javanese.
Burong Papa, or *Tiup Api*, of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool et Ind. Orient.

Lanius superciliosus, *Lath.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Lanius gularis, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 304.
Barou Barou of the Malays.
Lanius virgatus, *Temm.? Pl. Col.* 256. *f.* 1.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

The bird figured by M. Temminck as *Lanius virgatus* appears the same as the Sumatran species, with the exception of the white colour of the *uropygium*, which is not mentioned in the text of the *Planches Coloriées*. A female bird in the Sumatran collection, apparently belonging to this species, is ferruginous-grey above, with the head mottled with white, and the bill light coloured, which is black in the male; the tail also is longer.

Genus Ceblepyris, *Cuv.*

Cebl. Javensis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 145.
Kepodang-sungu of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Cebl. Orientalis.
Turdus Orientalis, *Lath.*
Lenjettau of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Vanga, *Cuv.*

Vanga? coronata.
Lanius coronatus, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 306.
Burong J'ri of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

The female only of this species has been described by Sir Stamford Raffles; the male bird is black where the female is ferruginous in its plumage.

Fam. Merulidæ.

Genus Pitta, *Vieill.*

Pitta cærulea.
Mycothera cærulea, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 301.
Pitta gigas, *Temm.*
Brêve géant, *Id., Pl. Col.* 217.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Pitta cyanoptera, *Temm.*
Brêve cyanoptere, *Id., Pl. Col.* 218.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Pitta cyanura.
Turdus cyanurus, *Lath.*
Punglor of the Javanese.
Sintar of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Oriolus, *Linn. et Auct.*

Or. chinersis, *Linn.*
Tiong alou or *Punting alou* of the Malays.
Kepodang of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Or. xanthonotus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 152.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 6. *pl.* 7.
Loriot à ventre blanc, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 214.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Turdus, *Linn. et Auct.*

Turdus varius, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 148.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 11. *pl.* 7.
Ayam-ayaman of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Turdus ochrocephalus, *Gmel.*
Chuchak-rawa of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Turdus cyaneus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 149.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 4. *pl.* 8.
Brêve bleuet, *Temm. Pl. Col.* 194.
Arreng-arrengan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

It is not easy to determine the true situation of this bird. It cannot well be placed among the

Bréves, where M. Temminck arranges it; with which, although it accords in some characters, it totally differs in its general appearance. It appears more nearly allied to *Myophonus*. At present it may be enumerated in the comprehensive group of *Thrushes*, among the species of which it was originally enrolled.

Turdus Macrourus, *Gmel.*
Larwa of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ and Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

The exact situation of this species, in this extensive family, is also doubtful.

Genus Myophonus, *Temm.*

Myoph. flavirostris.
Turdus flavirostris, *Horsf.*
Myoph. metallicus, *Temm.*
Myophone luisant, *Id., Pl. Col.* 170.
Chiung of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Timalia, *Horsf.*

Tim. pileata, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 151.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 3. *pl.* 7. *f.* 1.
Dawit, or *Gogo-stite*, of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Tim. gularis, *Id., Zool. Researches, No.* 3. *pl.* 7. *f.* 2.
Motacilla gularis, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 312.
Burong Pooding of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Ixos, *Temm.*

Ixos dispar.
Turdus dispar, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 150.
Turdoïde ensanglanté, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 137.
Chiching-goleng of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Ixos melanocephalus.
Turdus melanocephalus, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 310.
Lanius melanocephalus, *Lath.*
Turdoïde cap-nègre, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 147.
Burong Lilin of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Ixos bimaculatus,
Turdus bimaculatus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 147.
Chuchak-gunung of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Ixos Psidii.
Muscicapa Psidii, *Gmel.*
Turdus analis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII., *p.* 147.
Biribba of the Malays.
Chuchak of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Ixos hæmorrhous.
Turdus hæmorrhous, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 147.
Muscicapa hæmorrhousa, β. *Gmel.*
Ketilan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Ixos gularis.
Turdus gularis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 150.
Bres of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Fam. Sylviadæ.

Genus Iora, *Horsf.*

Iora tiphia.
Motacilla tiphia, *Linn.*
Iora scapularis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 152.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 6. *pl.* 5.
Cheetoo of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Sylvia, *Lath. et Auct.*

Sylv. Javanica, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 156.
Opior-opior of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Sylv. montana, *Id., Ib.*
Chret of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Zosterops.

Zost. Maderaspatanus.
Motacilla Maderaspatana, *Linn.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Genus Motacilla, *Lath.*

Mot. Indica, *Gmel.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Mot. flava, *Linn*
Bessit of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Enicurus, *Temm.*

En. speciosus.
Motacilla speciosa, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 155.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 1. *pl.* 8.
Enicurus coronatus, *Temm.*
Enicure couronnè, *Id., Pl. Col.* 115.

Genus Saxicola, *Beehst.*

Sax. caprata, *Horsf.*
Dechu of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Brachypteryx, *Horsf.*

Brachypt. montana, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 157.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 7. *pl.* 5.
Ketek of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Brachypt. sepiaria, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 156.
Chichohan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Anthus, *Bechst.*

Anthus pratensis, *Bechst.*, var.
Alauda pratensis, *Linn.*
Laucha Laucha, or *Hamba Puyu*, of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 315.

Genus Megalurus, *Horsf.*

Megalurus palustris, *Horf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 159.
Merion longibandes, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 65. *f.* 2.
Larri-angon of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Fam. Pipridæ.

Genus Parus.

Parus atriceps, *Horsf. Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 160.
Glate-wingko of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Calyptomena, *Raffl.*

Calypt. viridis, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 295.—*Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 4. *pl.* 5.
Rupicola viridis, *Temm.*
Rupicola verdin, *Id., Pl. Col.* 216.
Burong Tampo Pinang of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Tribus Conirostres.

Fam. Fringillidæ.

Genus Mirafra, *Horsf.*

Mirafra Javanica, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 159.
Branjangan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Fringilla, *Linn. et Auct.*

Fring. Amandava, *Linn.*
Menyiring of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Fring. striata.
Loxia striata, *Linn.*
Prit of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Fring. Malacca.
Loxia Malacca, *Linn.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Fring. punctularia.
Loxia punctularia, *Linn.*
Pekking of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Fring. Maja.
Loxia Maia, *Linn.*
Pipit Bondol of the Sumatrans.
Bondol of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæo Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Fring. prasina, *Sparm.*
Fringilla sphecura, *Temm.*
Gros-bec long cône, *Id., Pl. Col.* 96.
Rannas of the Malays.
Binglis of the Eastern Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Fring. oryzivora.
Loxia oryzivora, *Linn.*
Gelatik of the Malays.
Glate of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Ploceus, *Cuv.*

Ploceus Philippinus.
Loxia Philippina, *Linn.*
Tampooa of the Malays.
Pintau of the Sumatrans.
Manyar-kembang of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Ploceus Manyar.
Fringilla Manyar, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 160.
Manyar of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Fam. Sturnidæ.
Genus Pastor, *Temm.*

Past. cristatellus.
Gracula cristatella, *Linn.*
Pastor griseus, *Horsf.*
Jallak sungu of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Past. Capensis.
Sturnus Capensis, *Linn.*
Pastor Jalla, *Horsf.*
Jallak, or *Jallak-uring* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Past. tricolor, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 155.
Jallak-awu of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Pastor Saularis.
Gracula Saularis, *Linn.*
Moorai or *Moorai Kichou* of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Pastor amænus.
Turdus amœnus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 147.
Kacher of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Lamprotornis, *Temm.*

Lamp. cantor.
Turdus cantor, *Lath.*
Biang or *Kalaloyang*, also *Burong Kling*, of the Malays.
Sling of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Fam. Corvidæ.

Genus Corvus, *Linn.*

Corvus Enca, *Horsf.*
Enca of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Gracula, *Linn. et Auct.*

Gracula religiosa, *Linn.*
Tiong of the Malays.
Beö or *Mencho* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Glaucopis, *Forst.*

Glaucopis leucopterus, *Temm.*
Glaucope à ailes blanches, *Id., Pl. Col.* 265.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Genus Crypserina, *Vieill.*

Cryps. varians.
Corvus varians. *Lath.*
Phrenotrix temia, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 165.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 1. *pl.* 7.
Chekitut or *Benteot* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Fam. Buceridæ.

Genus Buceros, *Linn.*

Buc. Rhinoceros, *Linn.*
Inggang Danto of the Malays.
Rangkok or *Jongrang* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Buc. undulatus, *Shaw.*
Goge or *Bobosan* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Buc. Malabaricus, *Lath.*
Klinglingan of the Javanese.
Angka Angka of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Buc. monoceros, *Shaw.*
Kiki of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Buc. cavatus.
Ingghan Papan of the Sumatrans.
Burong Oondan of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Buc. galeatus, *Gmel.*
Toko and *Burong Gading* of the Sumatrans.
Tibbang Mantooa of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

The bills only of this species are preserved in the Sumatran collection.

Tribus Scansores.

Fam. Psittacidæ.

Genus Palæornis, *Vigors.*

Pal. Pondicerianus.
Bettet of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Pal. Malaccensis.
Psittacus erubescens, *Shaw.*
Burong Bayau of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Genus Psittacula, *Kiehl.*

Psittac. Galgulus.
Psittacus Galgulus, *Linn.*
Serindit of the Sumatrans.
Silindit or *Silinditun* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Psittacus, *Auct.*

Psittacus Sumatranus.
Kéké of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ, *Raffl.*

No specimen of this species, which has been mentioned under the above name by Sir Stamford Raffles as inhabiting Sumatra, has been as yet found in his collection.

Fam. Picidæ.
Genus Bucco, *Linn. et Auct.*

Bucco Philippensis, *Linn.*
Chanda of the Sumatrans.
Engku of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Bucco roseicollis.
Barbu à gorge rose, *Le Vaill.*
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Bucco australis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 181.
Bucco gularis, *Reinw.*
Barbu gorge-bleu, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 89. *f.* 2.
Truntung of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Bucco Lathami, *Gmel.*
Ampis of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Bucco Javensis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 181.
Bucco Kotoreus, *Temm.*
Chodok of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Bucco versicolor, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 284.
Barbu bigarrè, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 309.
Takoo of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Bucco mystacophonos, *Temm.*
Barbu mystacophone, *Id., Pl. Col.* 315.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Bucco Chrysopogon, *Temm.*
Barbu à moustaches jaunes.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Genus Picus, *Linn.*
* Pedibus tetradactylis.

Pic. Javensis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 175.
Picus Horsfieldii, *Wagler.*
Picus leucogaster, *Temm.?*
Platuk-ayam of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Pic. affinis, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 288.
Picus dimidiatus, *Temm.*
Tukki Bawang of the Malays.
Platuk Bawang of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

This species has a close affinity to the Linnean species *Pic. Bengalensis*, and probably may be but a variety of it. It seems also to agree with M. Vieillot's description of his *Pic. vittatus*. If this should be the case, and the bird be distinct from the before-mentioned Linnean species, M. Vieillot's name must be adopted for the species, as having the right of priority.

Pic. Goensis, *Gmel.*
Pic. strictus, *Horsf.*
Platuk of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Pic. puniceus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 176.
Pic grenadin, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 423.
Tukki Bajukarap or *Belatu* of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Pic. mentalis, *Temm.*
Pic gorgeret, *Id., Pl. Col.* 384.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Pic. validus, *Id.*
Pic vigoureux, *Id., Pl. Col.* 378.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Pic. pulverulentus, *Id.*
Pic Meunier, *Id.*, *Pl. Col.* 389.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Pic. miniatus, *Gmel.*
Platuk of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Pic. badius, *Raffl.*, *Linn. Trans.*, *Vol.* XIII. *p.* 289.
Tukki Kalabu of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Pic. tristis, *Horsf.*, *Linn. Trans.*, *Vol.* XIII. *p.* 177.
Pic. pæcilophos, *Temm.*
Pic Strikup, *Id.*, *Pl. Col.* 197.
Tukki boreh of the Malays.
Platuk-watu of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Pic. Moluccensis, *Gmel.*?
Petit pic des Moluques, *Pl. Enl.* 748. *f.* 2.
Tukki lilit of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

** Pedibus tridactylis.

Pic. tiga, *Horsf.*, *Linn. Trans.*, *Vol.* XIII. *p.* 177.
Tukki besar of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Pic. Rafflesii. *Nov. sp.*

Pic. supra flaviscenti-brunneus, subtus brunneus; capite coccineo; gulâ pallidè ferrugineâ; strigis unâ ab oculis, secundâ a rictu extendentibus, maculisque ad latera abdominis albis; strigis duabus ad latera genarum, alterâ parvâ superciliari, remigibus, rectricibusque nigris.

Magnitudo *Pic. Tigæ.*

Fam. Certhiadæ.

Genus Orthotomus, *Horsf.*

Orth. sepium, *Horsf.*, *Linn. Trans.*, *Vol.* XIII. *p.* 166.
Kachichi, of the Malays.
Chiglet of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Sitta, *Linn.*

Sitta frontalis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 162.
Sitta velata, *Temm.*
Torchepot voilé, *Id., Pl. Col. 72. f.* 3.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Prinia, *Horsf.*

Prinia familiaris, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII., *p.* 165.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 8. *pl.* 5.
Prinya of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Pomatorhinus, *Horsf.*

Pomat. montanus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 165.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 5. *Pl.* 5.
Bokkrek of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Fam. Cuculidæ.

Genus Centropus, *Ill.*

Cent. affinis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 180.
Kradok, or *Booboot,* of the Malays.
Bubut-allang-allang of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Cent. Philippensis, *Cuv.—Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 6. *pl.* 8.
Centropus Bubutus, *Horsf., Linn, Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 180.
Bubut of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Phœnicophaus, *Vieill.*

* Rostro arcuato.

Phœn. melanognathus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 178.
Inggang Balukar of the Sumatrans.
Kadallan or *Sintok* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Phœn. Javanicus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 178.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 5. *pl.* 7.
Bubut-kembang of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Phœn. Sumatranus.
Cuculus Sumatranus, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 287.
Sepando of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

** Rostro subrecto.

Phœn. chlorophæus.
Cuculus chlorophæus, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 288.
Booboot of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Phœn. caniceps.

Phœn. capite, collo, pectoreque griseo-canis; alis, dorso, abdomine, caudâque ferrugineis, hac fasciâ nigrâ prope apicem albidum.

Magnitudo *Phœn. chlorophœi.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

The two latter species belong to a group which differs from *Phœnicophaus* in the form of the bill and nostrils, and some other particulars. It seems, however, to bear the nearest affinity to that genus among the hitherto described groups, and for the present is arranged among the species of it. The group will be hereafter published, when more information is acquired of its characters and economy in the '*Museum Rafflesianum*,' under the generic title of *Rhinortha*.

Genus Eudynamys, *Vigors and Horsf.*

Eud. orientalis, *Vigors et Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XV. *p.* 303.
Cuculus orientalis, *Linn.*
Tuhu ♂, *Chule* ♀, of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Cuculus, *Linn. et Auct.*

Cuc. canorus, *Linn.*, var.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Some doubts are entertained of the Sumatran specimens belonging to this species.

Cuc. fugax, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 178.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Cuc. flavus, *Gmel.*
Gedasse of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Cuc. lugubris, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 179.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 7. *pl.* 8.
Awon-awon of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Cuc. xanthorhynchus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 179.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 3. *pl.* 8.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Cuc. basalis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 179.
Cuculus chalcites, *Ill.*?
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

This species requires examination. It is doubtful whether there are not more than one species in the Zoological and Sumatran collections, or whether all may not belong to the *Cuc. chalcites* of Illiger. The group to which the bird belongs also requires revision; it exhibits a very distinct form, and most probably economy, from that of *Cuculus*.

Genus Trogon, *Linn.*

Trog. Duvaucelii, *Temm.*
Trogon Kasumba, *Raffles.*
Burong Kasumba of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

This species was first distinguished as distinct from *Trog. fasciatus* by Sir Stamford Raffles, and named as above. The subsequent name, however, may, in the present instance, be cheerfully adopted, as that of a naturalist to whom Sir Stamford himself would doubtlessly have been the first to award the compliment.

Tribus Tenuirostres.

Fam. Cinnyridæ.

Genus Cinnyris, *Cav.*

Cinn. longirostra, *Horsf.*
Certhia longirostra, *Lath.*
Siap Jantung of the Malays.
Prit Andun of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Cinn. affinis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 166.
Nectarinia inornata, *Temm.*
Souimanga modeste, *Id., Pl. Col.* 84. *f.* 2.
Chess of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Cinn. Javanica.
Nectarinia Javanica, *Horsf.*
Prit-gantil of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Cinn. pectoralis.
Nectarinia pectoralis, *Horsf.*
Souimanga distingué, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 138. *f.* 1. and 2.
Sri-ganti of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Cinn. eximia.
Nectarinia eximia, *Horsf.*
Souimanga pectoral, *Temm., Pl. Col.* 138. *f.* 3.
Plichi-kembang of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Cinn. Siparaja.
Certhia Siparaja, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 299.
Nectarinia mystacalis, *Temm.*
Souimanga moustac, *Id., Pl. Col.* 126. *f.* 3.
Sipa Raja of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Genus Dicæum, *Cuv.*

Dic. cruentatum, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 168.
Sopa of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Dic. flavum, *Id., Ib. p.* 170.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Dic. croceoventre, *Nov. sp.*

Dic. capite, alis, caudâque grisescenti-atris; gulâ, pectoreque cano-griseis; dorso, abdomineque croceis; crisso flavo.

Magnitudo *Dic. cruentati.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Fam. Meliphagidæ.

Genus Chloropsis, *Jardine and Selby.*

Chlor. Cochinchinensis.
Turdus Cochinchinensis, *Lath.*
Burong Daun of the Malays.
Chuchack-iju of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Some doubts may be entertained of the synonomy of this bird; it agrees with the figure of *Turdus Cochinchinensis* in the *Pl. Enl.* 643, with the exception of its having a *yellow* forehead, and disagrees with the figure of *Turdus Malabaricus* in Sir W. Jardine's and Mr. Selby's *Illustrations of Ornithology*, in not having a *blue* throat or *orange* forehead. There probably are three species, nearly allied to each other, or perhaps only one. The authors of the *Illustrations*, it is to be hoped, will clear up the point.

Chlor. zosterops, *Nor. sp.*
Chlor. viridis concolor, supra dilutior; gulâ juguloque flaviscentibus, circulo oculari flavo.

This species is nearly allied to *Chlor. gampsorhynchus* of the *Illustrations of Ornithology;* but it has a conspicuous circle of yellow feathers around the eye, which does not appear to belong to that bird. There are one or two additional species of this group, apparently undescribed, in the Sumatran collection; but they are probably females of some of the described species, and require examination.

Ordo III. Rasores.
Fam. Columbidæ.
Genus Vinago, *Cuv.*

Vin. vernans.
Columba vernans, *Linn.*
Poonai of the Sumatrans.
Kate ♂, *Jowan* ♀, of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Vin. curvirostris.
Columba curvirostra, *Gmel.*
Poonai Ubar of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Vin. giganteus?
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

The specimen of this group, supposed to be the above bird, is in indifferent condition, and the name is given with doubt. A species entirely purple on the head, breast, and upper part of the back, is in the Sumatran collection, but it wants the tail, and cannot well be identified or described; it appears a new species.

Genus Columba.

Col. ænea, *Linn.*
Pergam of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Col. badia, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 317.
Lampattu or *Pergam Kalabu* of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
An. var. precedentis?

Col. alba, *Linn.*
Col. litoralis, *Temm.*
Burung-dara lahut of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Col. melanocephala, *Gmel.*
Jowan-bondol of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Col. Javanica, *Lath.*
Poonai Tanna of the Malays.
Limoo-an of the Sumatrans.
Delimu or *Glimukan* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Col. Jambu, *Gmel.*
Poonai Jambu of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Col. bitorquata, *Temm.*
Puter-genni of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Col. Tigrina, *Temm.*
Dero or *Derkuku* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Col. Turtur, *Linn.* var.
Balam or *Terkooku* of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Col. risoria, *Linn.*
Puter of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Col. Bantamensis, *Sparm.*
Katitiran of the Sumatrans.
Berkutut of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Col. Amboinensis, *Linn.*
Derkuku-sopa of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Pavo, *Linn.*

Pavo cristatus, *Linn.*
M'ra or *Marak* of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.

Pavo muticus, *Linn.*
Merak of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Polyplectron, *Temm.*

Polyp. bicalcaratus.
Kuaow Chirmin of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Genus Gallus.

Gallus Bankiva, *Temm.*
Ayam Utan or *Brooga* of the Sumatrans.
Bengkiwo or *Bekikko* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Gallus varius.
Phasianus varius, *Shaw.*
Pitte-wonno of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Gallus ignitus.
Phasianus ignitus, *Lath.*
Tugang of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Gallus erythropthalmus.
Phasianus erythropthalmos, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 321.
Mira Mata of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

This bird is generally asserted to be the young of the preceding species. The difference, however, of the native names, and the observations of Sir Stamford Raffles on the spot, are sufficient to authorize the birds being kept apart, until proof appears of their being the same.

Genus Argus, *Temm.*

Argus giganteus, *Temm.*
Kuaow of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Genus Cryptonyx, *Temm.*

Crypt. cristatus, *Vigors, Zool. Journal, Vol.* IV. *p.* 348.
Beniol of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Crypt. ocellatus, *Id., Ib., p.* 349.
Tetrao ocellatus, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 322.
Burong Troong of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Crypt. niger, *Id., Ib.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Crypt. ferrugineus, *Id., Ib.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Genus Ortygis, *Ill.*

Ort. Luzoniensis.
Tetrao Luzoniensis, *Gmel.*
Puyo of the Sumatrans.
Drigul ♂, *Gomma* ♀, of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Coturnix, *Cuv.*

Cot. Sinensis.
Tetrao Sinensis, *Gmel.*
Pikau of the Sumatrans.
Piker of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Perdix, *Lath.*

Perd. Javanica, *Lath.*
Dagu of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Perd. personata, *Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 8. *pl.* 6.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Perd. curvirostris.
Tetrao curvirostris, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 323.
Lanting of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

These birds belong to the division of the genus *Perdix* of Dr. Latham, which includes the *Francolins*. Their place will be more accurately assigned in the *Museum Rafflesianum*, where some other gallinaceous birds in the Sumatran collection will be included, that have not as yet undergone examination.

Ordo IV. Grallatores.

Fam. Gruidæ.

Genus Ardea, *Linn. et Auct.*

Ard. cinerea, *Linn.* var.
Changa-awu of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Ard. purpurea, *Id.*
Changa-udu of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Ard. alba, *Id.*
Kuntul of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Ard. garzetta, *Id.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Ard. affinis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 189.
Kuntul-chilik of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Ard. Malaccensis, *Gmel.*
Ardea speciosa, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 189.—*Zool. Researches, No. 7. pl.* 6.
Blekko-ireng of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Ard. Sinensis, *Gmel.*
Ard. lepida, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 189.
Bambangan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Ard. flavicollis, *Lath.*
Tomtomman or *Tototan* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Ard. cinnamomea, *Gmel.*
Burong Kaladi of the Sumatrans.
Ayam-ayamau of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Ard. virescens, *Linn.?*
Burong Puchong of the Malays.
Upi-upiau of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Ard. Nycticorax, *Linn.*
Guwo of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Ciconia, *Brisson.*

Cic. Argala.
Ardea Argala, *Lath.*
Bangou Sula, Burong Kambing, and *Burong Gaja* of the Malays.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

A variety of this bird is in the collection, which is probably the *Modun Crane* of Dr. Latham.

Cic. Javanica, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 188.
Ciconia capillata, *Temm.*
Bangu of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Cic. leucocephala.
Sandaug-lawe of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

There are some more species of this family of *Ardeidæ* indicated by Sir Stamford Raffles as inhabiting Sumatra, and there are also some birds in the Sumatran collection not referred to in the foregoing list. A more perfect enumeration of both will be given in the *Museum Rafflesianum.*

Genus Ibis.

Ibis falcinellus, *Temm.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Fam. Scolopacidæ.

Genus Numenius, *Brisson.*

Num. arquata.
Terok of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Num. phæopus.
Gajahan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Limosa, *Brisson.*

Lim. melanura, *Leisl.*
Biru-lahut of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Lim. Terek, *Temm.*
Bedaran or *Choweyan* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Totanus, *Bechst.*

Tot. affinis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 191.
Trinil of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Tot. hypoleucos.
Trinil batu of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Tot. acuminatus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 192.
Trinil gung of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Tot. tenuirostris, *Id., Ib.*
Keeyo of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Tot. Damacensis, *Id., Ib.*
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Tot. Glottis, *Bechst.*
Benonchung of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Scolopax, *Linn. et Auct.*

Scol. gallinago, *Linn.*
Sekadidi of the Sumatrans.
Burchet of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Scol. saturata, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 191.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 5. *pl.* 7.
Tekken of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Scolopax? Sumatrana, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 327.
Kooning Kaki of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

This is a small species, with its bill turned upwards, the situation of which in the present family remains to be investigated.

There is a species in the Sumatran cabinet nearly allied to the British *Woodcock*, which remains to be examined.

Genus Rhynchæa, *Cuv.*

Rhynch. Capensis.
Habitat in Sumatrâ, *Raffl.*

Rhynch. Orientalis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 193.
Pengung of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Tringa, *Linn.*

Tringa subarquata, *Temm.*
Mayatan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Fam. Rallidæ.
Genus Parra, *Linn.*

Parra superciliosa, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 194.—*Zool. Researches, No.* 8. *pl.* 7.
Pichisan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Rallus, *Linn.*

Rall. gularis, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 196.
Ayam Ayam of the Sumatrans.
Tikussan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Rall. fuscus, *Linn.*
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Rall. quadristrigatus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 196.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Gallinula, *Linn.*

Gallin. lugubris, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 195.
Bontod of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Gallin. Orientalis, *Id., Ib.*
Pro or *Opel-opellan* of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Gallin. phœnicura, *Penn.*
Sri-bombo of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Porphyrio, *Briss.*

Porph. Indicus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 194.
Porph. smaragdinus, *Temm.*
Pellung of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Fulica, *Linn.*

Ful. atra, *Linn.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæo Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Fam. Charadriadæ.

Genus Cursorius, *Lath.*

Curs. isabellinus, *Meyer.*
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Vanellus, *Brisson.*

Van. melanogaster, *Beehst.*
Chibugan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Van. tricolor, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 186.
Terek of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Charadrius, *Linn. et Auct.*

Char. Cantianus, *Lath.*
Trendasan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Char. pluvialis, *Linn.*, var.
Cheruling of the Sumatrans.
Trull of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Char. Asiaticus, *Gmel.*
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Char. pusillus, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 187.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Char. haticula, *Linn.*, var.
Burong Booi of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Genus Himantopus, *Brisson.*

Himant. melanopterus, *Meyer.*
Gagang-bayem of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Genus Œdicnemus, *Cuv.*

Œdicn. crepitans, *Temm.*
Gadang Kapala of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Ordo V. Natatores.

Fam. Anatidæ.

Genus Anas, *Linn. et Auct.*

Anas arcuata, *Cuv.—Horsf., Zool. Researches, No.* 8. *pl.* 8.
Bilibi of the Sumatrans.
Melivis of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

A species of *Teal* is in the Sumatran collection, which requires examination.

Fam. Colymbidæ.

Genus Podiceps, *Lath.*

Pod. minor, *Lath.*
Titihan of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Fam. Pelecanidæ.

Genus Pelecanus, *Linn.*

Pel. onocrotalus, *Linn.*
Lampipi of the Malays.
Walang Kadda of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Phalacrocorax, *Brisson.*

Phal. Africanus.
Pelecanus Africanus, *Lath.*
Pechuch of the Javanese.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Genus Sula, *Brisson.*

Sula Bassana.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Genus Tachypetes, *Vieill.*

Tach. Aquilus, *Vieill.*
Pelecanus Aquilus, *Linn.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Tach. leucocephalus, *Id.*
Pelecanus leucocephalus, *Gmel.*
Dandang Laut of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Genus Plotus, *Linn.*

Plot. melanogaster, *Gmel.*
Dandang Ayer of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ et Javâ.
In Musæis Socc. Zool. et Ind. Orient.

Fam. Laridæ.

Genus Sterna, *Linn.*

Sterna stolida, *Linn.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Sterna Cantiaca, *Gmel.?*
Samur Laut of the Sumatrans.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Sterna Panayensis, *Gmel.*
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

Sterna Javanica, *Horsf., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 198.
Sterna melanogastra, *Temm.*
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Sterna media, *Id., Ib.*
Toyang-kacher of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Sterna grisea, *Id., Ib.*
Puter-lahut of the Javanese.
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Sterna affinis, *Id., Ib.*
Habitat in Javâ.
In Musæo Soc. Ind. Orient.

Sterna Sumatrana, *Raffl., Linn. Trans., Vol.* XIII. *p.* 329.
Habitat in Sumatrâ.
In Musæo Soc. Zool.

This bird seems to be immature, with the tail feathers not grown to their full length. It appears to be the *Larus Pulo-condor* of the *Index Ornithologicus*, and of the *Mus. Carlson. Fasc.* 4. *t.* 83.

CLASS PISCES *.

Acanthopterygii.

Fam. Percidæ.

In the list of Fishes given by Sir Stamford Raffles, in his Descriptive Catalogue of a Zoological Collection made in Sumatra, (Linnean Transactions, Vol. XIII., pages 335 and 336,) ten species of Perca are stated to have been obtained; but as no particulars respecting them are mentioned, it is impossible to identify them, or to refer them to their proper stations. The undermentioned species are in the Sumatran Collection.

Genus Serranus, *Cuv.*

Serr. confertus.

Serr. corpore pinnisque omnibus undique confertim maculatis; corporis maculis majoribus subhexagonis, pinnarum capitisque minoribus rotundatis.

D. $\frac{11}{15}$.

Serr. diacopæformis.

Serr. præoperculo supra angulum subemarginato, angulo rotundato dentibus 4 vel 5 majoribus; corpore pinnisque rotundatis maculatis; maculis pinnæ dorsalis plagæformibus, reliquis rotundatis.

D. $\frac{11}{17}$.

Genus Mesoprion, *Cuv.*

Mes. Malabaricus? *Cuv. et Val., Hist. Nat. des Poiss., Tom.* II., *p.* 480.
Sparus Malabaricus? *Schn., Blochii Syst. Ichth., p.* 278.

Mes. ————

Genus Holocentrum, *Cuv.*

Hol. orientale, *Cuv. et Val., Hist. Nat. des Poiss., Tom.* III., *p.* 197.

Hol. Diadema, *Cuv. et Val., Hist. Nat. des Poiss., Tom.* III., *p.* 213.
Holocentrus Diadema, *Lacép., Hist. Nat. des Poiss., Tom.* IV., *p.* 372., *Tom.* III., *pl.* 32, *f.* 3.
Perca pulchella, *Benn., Zool. Journ., Vol.* III., *p.* 377, *pl.* 9, *f.* 3.

* The Fishes specified in the following catalogue are in the collection presented by Sir Stamford Raffles to the Zoological Society, and they were all collected by him during his residence in Sumatra. No reference, consequently, is made to their *habitat*, or the museum in which they are preserved, as in the foregoing classes of *Mammalia* and *Aves*. The species marked by a star * are those indicated in Sir Stamford's Catalogue in the Linnean Transactions, but of which no specimens are in the Sumatran Collection.

Genus Uranoscopus, *Linn.*

Ur. malacopterus.

Ur. pinnâ dorsali unicâ, vix spinosâ, anali longiore; pinnis pectoralibus rotundatis, dorsalem vix attingentibus.

Genus Polynemus, *Linn.*

Two species of this genus are mentioned in the "Descriptive Catalogue," but there is no specimen referable to it in the Sumatran Collection.

Fam. Triglidæ.

Genus Dactylopterus, *Lacép.*

Dact. orientalis, *Cuv. et Val., Hist. Nat. des Poiss., Tom.* IV., *p.* 134, *pl.* 76.
Mooree Godoo, *Russel, Coromandel Fishes,* 161.

Genus Platycephalus, *Schn.*

Plat. Sumatranus.

Plat. capite elongato, cranio cristis spinosis quatuor; cristâ superciliari anticè 1-spinosâ, posticè serratâ; infra-oculari spinâ brevi acutâ pone oculum alterâque brevi terminali.

D. $\frac{8}{10}$, 11. A. 11. C. 11.

Genus Pterois, *Cuv.*

Pter. volitans, *Cuv. et Val., Hist. Nat. des Poiss., tom.* IV., *p.* 352. *pl.* 88.
Gasterosteus volitans, *Linn., Syst. Nat., p.* 491.
Scorpæna volitans, *Gmel., Linn. Syst. Nat., p.* 1217. *Schn., Blochii Syst. Ichth., p.* 193.

Pter. antennata, *Cuv. et Val., Hist. Nat. des Poiss., tom.* IV., *p.* 361.
Scorpæna antennata, *Gmel., Linn. Syst. Nat., p.* 1217. *Schn. Blochii Syst. Icth., p.* 193.

Genus Synanceia, *Schn.*

Syn. horrida, *Schn., Blochii Syst. Ichth., p.* 194.
Scorpæna horrida, *Gmel., Linn. Syst. Nat., p.* 1217. *Lacép., Hist. Nat. des Poiss., tom.* III., *p.* 263., *tom.* II., *pl.* 17., *f.* 2.

Genus Gasterosteus, *Linn.*

One species of this genus is mentioned in the "Descriptive Catalogue," but does not exist in the collection, unless the Pterois volitans be meant, which was with Linnæus a Gasterosteus.

Fam. Sciænidæ.

Four species of Sciæna are noticed in the Descriptive Catalogue. The following are in the Sumatran Collection of the Zoological Society.

Genus Diagramma, *Cuv.*

Two species of this genus are contained in the collection, but the bad condition of the specimens does not admit of their being satisfactorily determined.

Genus Scolopsis, *Cuv.*

Scol. cancellata, *Val. MSS.*

Scol. dorso brunneo-fusco, rivulis duobus longitudinalibus albidis, superiore usque ad finem pinnæ dorsalis percurrente, inferiore dimidiato, inter hos plagæ quadratæ variæ magnitudinis 4 vel 5: ventre flavido-argenteo.

Genus Leiopsis.

Pinna dorsalis unica. Radii membranæ branchiostegæ quinque. Præoperculum osque suborbitale integra, squamato-crenata. Operculum ad angulum breviter 1-spinosum. Dentes velutini caninique. Linea lateralis continua. Dorsum subrectum.

Leiops. Rafflesii.

Genus Amphiprion, *Bloch.*

Amph. Polymnus, *Bloch, Ichth., tab.* 316. *f.* 1.

Var. marginatus, *Ib., f.* 3.

Genus Pomacentrus, *Lacép.*

Pom. nuchalis.

Pom. maculâ elongatâ nucham circumdante, maculâque rotundatâ dorsi utrinque albidis.

Genus Dascyllus, *Cuv.*

Dasc. Aruanus, *Cuv.*

Chætodon Aruanus, *Linn., Mus. Ad. Frid. R., p.* 63. *t.* 33, *f.* 8.

Fam. Sparidæ.

Genus Monotaxis.

Dentes antici velutini caninique; laterales molares in unicâ serie. Operculum supernè emarginatum.

Mon. Indica.

Fam. Chætodontidæ.

Seven species of Chætodon are noticed in the "Descriptive Catalogue." Those in the Sumatran Collection are the following.

Genus Chætodon, *Linn.*

Chæt. Rafflesii.

Chæt. flavescens, fasciâ oculari nigrâ, pinnis dorsi anique nigro intra marginem circumdatis, caudali fasciâ nigrâ.

Genus Chelmon, *Cuv.*

Chelmon rostratus, *Cuv.*

Chætodon rostratus, *Linn., Mus. Ad. Frid. R., p.* 61., *t.* 33., *f.* 2.

Genus Platax, *Cuv.*

Platax orbicularis, *Cuv.*

Chætodon orbicularis, *Forsk., Faun. Arab., p.* 59.

Chæt. pentacanthus, *Lacép., Hist. Nat. des Poiss., Tom.* IV., *p.* 476., *pl.* XII., *f.* 2.

Acanthinion orbicularis, *Id., ib.* IV., *p.* 500.

Fam. Scombridæ.

The " Descriptive Catalogue" mentions the Scomber Madagascariensis, (*Shaw*, Scomberoides Commersonii, *Lacép.*,) and five others. Only one species of this family exists in the Sumatran Collection.

Genus Caranx, *Lacép.*

Car. præustus.

Car. corpore ovali, fronte obliquo parum convexo : dentibus parvis in seriebus pluribus dispositis: pinnâ dorsali secundâ superrè nigrâ.

D. 8, $\frac{1}{24}$. A. 2, $\frac{1}{21}$. C. 18.

One species of Zeus, *(Linn.,)* and the

* Coryphæna Hippurus, *(Linn.)*

are also mentioned in the " Descriptive Catalogue ;" but neither of these fishes exists in the Sumatran collection presented to the Zoological Society by Sir Stamford Raffles.

Fam. Trichiuridæ.

Genus Trichiurus, *Linn.*

The " Descriptive Catalogue" includes one species,

* Trichiurus lepturus, *Linn.*

but it is probable, from the habitat, that the fish was rather the Trichiurus Haumela, *Schn.*

Fam. Gobiidæ.

No specimen of this family exists in the Sumatran collection of the Zoological Society. The "Descriptive Catalogue" enumerates the

* Gobius niger, *Linn.*, var.

probably specifically distinct from the European race.

* Gobius Schlosseri.
(Periophthalmus Schlosseri, *Schn.*)

and two other species of the Linnæan genus Gobius, which are noticed as probably undescribed.

Fam. Batrachidæ.

This family is also without a representative in the Sumatran collection. The "Descriptive Catalogue" has

* Batrachus Tau, *Bloch.*
Gadus Tau, *Linn.*

Fam. Labridæ.
Genus Julis, *Cuv.*

Julis Argus, *Benn., Zool. Journ., Vol.* III., *p.* 577., *pl.* 13., *f.* 7.

Genus Gomphosus, *Lacép.*

Gomph. ornatus.

Gomph. brunneus, pinnis verticalibus flavescentibus, caudali suprà infràque nigro marginatâ; pinnâ pectorali apicem versus purpurascente, fasciâ dilutè cæruleâ.

MALACOPTERYGII.

* ABDOMINALES.

Fam. Esocidæ.

Of the Linnæan genus Esox no specimen exists in the Sumatran collection. The three following are enumerated in the "Descriptive Catalogue."

* Esox belone, *(Linn.*, Belone vulgaris, *Cuv.)*
* Esox marginatus, *(Forsk.*, Hemirhamphus marginatus, *Cuv.)*
* Esox Becuna, *(Shaw*, Sphyræna Picuda, *Schn.*, Sphyr. Becuna, *Lacép.)*

The latter species is properly referable to the Percidæ.

Genus Exocœtus, *Linn.*

Exoc. exiliens, *Linn.*, *Syst. Nat.*, *p.* 316.

The

* Exoc. volitans, *Linn.*

occurs in the " Descriptive Catalogue."

Fam. Siluridæ.

Two species of Silurus, *Linn.*, are included in the " Descriptive Catalogue," but they are not particularized. Those in the Sumatran collection are

Genus Bagrus, *Cuv.*

Bag. Sumatranus.

Bagr. cirris sex; capite ovali, cranio rudo, granuloso, vix radiato; pinnâ adiposâ brevi.

D. $\frac{1}{7}$, 0. A. 19. P. $\frac{1}{9}$. C. 15.

Genus Plotosus, *Lacép.*

Plot. marginatus.

Plot. plumbeus, lineis longitudinalibus 4 albis, pinnis verticalibus nigro limbatis: pinnarum dorsalis pectoraliumque radio primo utrinque serrato, breviori.

D. $\frac{1}{5}$, cum C. et A. 100 +. V. 13. P. $\frac{1}{12}$.

Fam. Salmonidæ.

One species is mentioned in the " Descriptive Catalogue," but none exists in the collection.

Fam. Clupeidæ.

Genus Clupea, *Linn.*

Clup. ovalis.

Clup. corpore ovali: pinnâ dorsali mediâ, anticè elevatâ: maculâ humerali nigrâ.

D. 18. A. 17. C. 18.? P. 15. V. 7.

Genus Alosa, *Cuv.*

Al. elongata.

Al. corpore elongato: ossibus maxillaribus intermaxillaribusque dentibus minutis acutis instructis: pinnâ dorsali mediâ, brevi, anticè elevatâ; anali prælongâ; pectorali radio primo complanato.

D. 17. A. 49.

Genus Megalops? *Cuv.*

Meg. filamentosum? *Cuv.*

Kundinga? *Russel, Coromandel Fishes*, 203.

** THORACICI.

Fam. Pleuronectidæ.

No specimen of this family is in the Sumatran collection. In addition to one unnamed species, the following are enumerated in the "Descriptive Catalogue:"

* Pleur. macrolepidotus, (*Bloch, Ichth., Tab.* 190, Hippoglossus macrolepidotus, *Cuv.*)

* Pleur. Zebra, (*Bloch, Ichth., Tab.* 187, Solea Zebra, *Cuv.*)

* Pleur. bilineatus, (*Bloch, Ichth., Tab.* 188, Achirus bilineatus, *Lacép.*, Jerre Potoo, E., *Russel, Tab.* 74.)

Fam. Echeneidæ.

The "Descriptive Catalogue" contains

* Echeneis Neucrates, (*Linn.*)

*** APODI.

Fam. Murænidæ.

Genus Conger, *Cuv.*

Cong. longirostris.

Cong. pinnâ dorsali ante basin pinnarum pectoralium incipiente; linea laterali inermi; dentibus vomerinis maximis, triangularibus, acutis.

Genus Ophisurus, *Lacép.*

Ophis. apicalis.

Ophis. pinnis pectoralibus mediocribus, dorsali analique caudæ apicem pene attingentibus: dorso fusco, ventre pallidiore, rufo fuscoque pallidè nebuloso.

Genus Muræna, *Thunb.*

Mur. picta, *Thunb., Spec. Ichth. de Mur. &c., p.* 8., *Tab.* 2., *f.* 2.

Gymnothorax pictus, *Schn., Blochii Syst. Ichth., p.* 529.

Murænophis pantherinus, *Lacép., Hist. Nat. des Poiss., Tom.* V., *p.* 643.

Mur. nebulosa, *Thunb., Spec. Ichth. de Mur. &c., p.* 7., *tab.* 1., *f.* 2.

Gymnothorax nebulosus, *Schn., Blochii Syst. Ichth., p.* 528.

Murænophis stellata, *Lacép., Hist. Nat. des Poiss., Tom.* V., *p.* 644.

Mur. grisea.

Murænophis grisea, *Lacép., Hist. Nat. des Poiss., Tom.* V., *p.* 644.

Genus Gymnomuræna, *Lacép.*

Gymn. Zebra.

Muræna Zebra, *Shaw, Gen. Zool., Vol.* IV., *p.* 31. *Nat. Misc., pl.* 322.
Gymnothorax Zebra, *Schn., Blochii Syst. Ichth., p.* 528.
Gymnomuræna doliata, *Lacép., Hist. Nat. des Poiss., Tom.* V., *p.* 649, *pl.* 19, *f.* 4.

BRANCHIOSTEGI.

Fam. Syngnathidæ.

A species of Hippocampus, *Cuv.*, is indicated in the "Descriptive Catalogue" as the

* Syngnathus Hippocampus, (*Linn.*)

Fam. Diodontidæ.

* Diodon Hystrix, (*Linn.*)
* Tetrodon hispidus, (*Linn.*)

These species are enumerated in the "Descriptive Catalogue."

Fam. Balistidæ.

Genus Balistes, *Linn.*

Bal. ?

Genus Monacanthus, *Cuv.*

Mon. Sinensis? *Cuv.*

Balistes Sinensis? *Gmel., Linn. Syst. Nat., p.* 1470.—*Bloch, Ichth., Tab.* 152, *f.* 1.

Genus Triacanthus, *Cuv.*

Triac. biaculeatus, *Cuv.*

Balistes biaculeatus, *Gmel., Linn. Syst. Nat., p.* 1465.—*Bloch, Ichth., Tab.* 148, *f.* 2.
Bouree, or Abatoo, *Russel, Coromandel Fishes,* 21.

Genus Ostracion, *Linn.*

Ostr. quadricornis, *Linn., Syst. Nat., p.* 331.—*Bloch, Ichth., Tab.* 134.
Ostr. cornutus, *Linn., Mus. Ad. Frid. R., p.* 59.—*Bloch, Ichth., Tab.* 133.

CHONDROPTERYGII.

Fam. Squalidæ.

Genus Scyllium, *Cuv.*

Scyll. marmoratum.

Scyll. dorso maculis subrotundatis nigris albisque vario, illis longitudinaliter coalitis vittasque moniliformes circiter sex fingentibus: pinnâ dorsali secundâ ultra analem extensâ.

Scyll. plagiosum.

Scyll. dorso pallidè brunneo, plagis latis saturate brunneis subfasciæformibus undecim maculas rotundas pallidas includentibus: pinnâ dorsali secundâ longe ante analem positâ, hâc cum caudali subcoalitâ.

Genus Carcharias, *Cuv.*

Carch. melanopterus? *Quoy et Gaim., Voyage de Freycinet, Zool., pl.* 43. *f.* 1.

Genus Zygæna, *Cuv.*

Zyg. Blochii, *Val., Mem. du Mus. d'Hist. Nat., Tom.* IX., *p.* 227, *pl.* 11., *f.* 2.
Squalus Zygæna, *Bloch, Ichth., Tab.* 117, haud *Linn.*

Fam. Raiidæ.
Genus Rhinobatus, *Schn.*

Rhin. typus?
Rhinobatus Rhinobatus? *Schn., Blochii Syst. Ichth., p.* 353.

M. Cuvier regards as a variety of this species the Raia Thouiniana, *Shaw*, mentioned in the "Descriptive Catalogue."

Rhin. Djiddensis
Raja Djiddensis, *Forsk., Faun. Arab., p.* 18.
Rhin. lævis? *Schn., Blochii Syst. Ichth., p.* 354.
Walawah Tenkee? *Russel, Coromandel Fishes,* 10.

Genus Trygon, *Adans.*

Trygon immunis.

Tryg. corpore subquadrato, omnino lævi; caudâ longiore, spinis duabus serratis citra medium armatâ.

Tryg. pæcilurus.
Raja pæcilura, *Shaw, Gen. Zool., Vol.* V., *p.* 291.
Tryg. Kunsua, *Cuv.*
Tenkee Kunsul, *Russel, Coromandel Fishes,* 6.

Genus Myliobatis, *Dum.*

Myl. Narinari, *Cuv.*
Raja Narinari, *Euphr., N. S. A.,* XI., *p.* 205, *t.* 10.
Eel Tenkee, *Russel, Coromandel Fishes,* 8.

This is the Raja guttata of Dr. Shaw's General Zoology, under which name it is enumerated in the "Descriptive Catalogue." In addition to it, and to the Raja Thouiniana, eight other species are mentioned, but without names or references.

Classis REPTILIA.

Ordo I. Testudinata.

Genus Emys.

Em. crassicollis, *Bell, M.S.*

Hitherto unpublished.

Genus Trionyx.

Tr. subplanus, *Geoff., Ann. Mus. d'Hist. Nat., Tom.* XIV. *p.* 11.

A dry specimen.

Tr. carinatus, *Geoff., L. C. p.* 14. *T.* IV., Testudo rostrata, *Auctorum.*

These specimens are particularly interesting, as they establish the habitat of two species which had been described by Geoffroy, and the latter by other authors, but without any certain knowledge of their native country.

Ordo II. Loricata.

Genus Crocodilus.

Cr. biporcatus, *Cuv., Ossem. Foss.*, V., *Pt. 2. p.* 49.

Ordo III. Sauria.

There are several species of this order in the collection, but one apparently undescribed They will be particularized in the "*Museum Rafflesianum.*"

Ordo IV. Serpentes.

Genus Anguis.

Two specimens of this genus, of doubtful synonymy, if as yet described, are in the collection.

Genus Boa.

B. Phrygia, *Auctorum.*

Genus Coluber.

Col. ornatus, *Merrem, p.* 109.
Kalla Jin, Russell, Ind. Serp., II., *p.* 4., *t.* 2.

Col. umbratus, *Daud., Rept.* VII. 144.
Dooblee, Russell, Ind. Serp., II., *p.* 5. *t.* 3.

Col. 8-lineata, *Auct.*

There are several other species, but the foregoing are amongst the most interesting.

Genus Dryinus, *Merrem.*

Dr. nasutus, *Bell, Zool. Journ.* II. *p.* 327.
Dr. oxyrynchus, *Id., Ib. p.* 326.

Genus Leptophis, *Bell.*

Leptophis purpurescens? *Id., Zool. Journ.* II. *p.* 328.

Another interesting and beautiful species of this genus, probably not described, is in the collection.

Genus Pelamis.

Pelamis bicolor, *Auct.*
Nallawahla-gillee Pam, Russell, Ind. Serp., I. *t.* 41.

P. Chloris, *Merr.* 139.

There is a peculiarly interesting specimen of this species, with eggs not yet excluded, which are enveloped with a thin membranous covering only, like all those serpents which are ovi-vivipa-rous, which is undoubtedly the case with this.

Genus Naja, *Merrem.*

N. repudians, *Id.* 147.

Genus Hurria, *Daud.*

H. bilineata, *Daud.*, V., *p.* 277., *T.* LXVI.

Genus Dipsas.

Dips. dendrophila, *Wagler, Amphib. Fasc.* I., *T.* VIII.

Genus Cophias.

Of this genus there are three species which do not appear to have been figured, and are probably undescribed.

ANNULOSA.

The *Insects* in the Sumatran collection have not as yet been accurately examined. The following is about the number of species contained in each department. A detailed account of them is in preparation for the *Museum Rafflesianum.*

Classis Mandibulata.

Ordo I. Coleoptera.

320 species.

Ordo II. Orthoptera.

30 species.

Ordo III. Neuroptera.

20 species.

Ordo IV. Trichoptera.

10 species.

Ordo V. Hymenoptera.

60 species.

Classis Haustellata.

Ordo I. Aptera.

None.

Ordo II. Hemiptera.

40 species.

Ordo III. Homoptera.

30 species.

Ordo IV. Lepidoptera.

200 species.

Ordo V. Diptera.

20 species.

ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

" For the general advancement of Zoological science, it is proposed that a Society shall be established, the immediate object of which will be the collection of such living subjects of the Animal Kingdom as may be introduced and domesticated with advantage in this country.

" For this purpose a collection of living animals belonging to the Society will be established in the vicinity of the metropolis; to which the members of the Society will have access as a matter of right, and the public on such conditions as may be hereafter arranged.

" It is proposed that the Society shall have a museum, as well as a library of all books connected with the subject; to which access will be given to the members and the public as above stated.

" As it is impossible to attain all the objects of the Society on its first establishment, those of utility will engage its earliest attention, and the more scientific views will be attended to as the means of the Society admit.

" The Society will be directed as other public societies are,—by a President, Council and Officers, and regulated by laws to be established with the concurrence of the members of the Society.

" A detailed Prospectus of the objects of this Society having been circulated privately last year, a corrected copy is annexed.

" The Terms of Admission to the Society will be Three Pounds, and the Annual Subscription Two Pounds; or the whole to be compounded for on the usual terms.

" A Committee consisting of the following noblemen and gentlemen was originally nominated by a meeting of friends of the proposed Society in July last, and the Prospectus is published under their authority:—

" *CHAIRMAN,*

" SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES, LL.D., F.R.S., &c.

" Duke of Somerset, LL.D., F.R.S., &c.

" Earl of Darnley, F.R.S., &c.

" Earl of Egremont, F.R.S., &c.

" Earl of Malmesbury.

" Viscount Gage, M.A., &c.
" Samuel, Lord Bishop of Carlisle, LL.D., V.P.R.S., &c.
" Lord Stanley, M.P., V.P.L.S., &c.
" Sir H. Davy, Bart., LL.D., *Pres.* R.S., &c.
" Sir Everard Home, Bart., V.P.R.S., &c.
" E. Barnard, Esq., F.L.S., &c.
" H. T. Colebrooke, Esq., F.R.S., &c.
" Davies Gilbert, Esq., V.P.R.S. &c.
" Rev. Dr. Goodenough, F.R.S., &c.
" Thos. Horsfield, M.D., F.L.S., &c.
" The Rev. W. Kirby, M.A., F.R.S., &c.
" T. A. Knight, Esq., F.R.S., *Pres.* H.S., &c.
" T. A. Knight, Jun. Esq., M.A., &c.
" W. Sharpe Mac Leay, Esq., M.A., F.L.S., &c.
" J. Sabine, Esq., F.R.S., &c.
" N. A. Vigors, Esq., M.A. F.R.S., &c.
" Chas. Baring Wall, Esq., M.P.

" Noblemen and gentlemen desirous of becoming members of this Society, are requested to give their names to any member of the above Committee, or to Mr. Griffiths at the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street.

" *Prospectus of a Society for introducing and domesticating new Breeds or Varieties of Animals, such as Quadrupeds, Birds, or Fishes, likely to be useful in Common Life; and for forming a General Collection in Zoology.*

" Zoology, which exhibits the nature and properties of animated beings, their analogies to each other, the wonderful delicacy of their structure, and the fitness of their organs to the peculiar purposes of their existence, must be regarded not only as an interesting and intellectual study, but as a most important branch of Natural Theology, teaching by the design and wonderful results of organization, the wisdom and power of the Creator. In its relation to useful and immediate œconomical purposes it is no less important. The different races of animals employed in social life, for labour, clothing, food, &c. are the direct objects of its attention; their improvement, the manner in which their number may be increased, the application of their produce, and its connection with various departments of industry and manufactures, are of the utmost importance to Man in every stage of his existence, but most so in proportion as he advances in wealth, civilization, and refinement.

" It has long been a matter of deep regret to the cultivators of Natural History, that we possess no great scientific establishments either for teaching or elucidating Zoology, and no public menageries or collections of living animals, where their nature, properties and habits may be studied. In almost every other part of Europe, except in the metropolis of the British empire, something of this kind exists; but though richer than any other country in the extent and variety of our possessions, and having more facilities from our colonies, our fleets, and our varied and constant intercourse with every quarter of the globe, for collecting specimens and introducing living animals, we have as yet attempted little and effected almost nothing; and the student of

Natural History, or the philosopher who wishes to examine animated nature, has no other resource but that of visiting and profiting by the magnificent institutions of neighbouring countries.

" In the hope of removing this opprobrium to our age and nation, it is proposed to establish a Society bearing the same relation to Zoology that the Horticultural does to Botany, and upon a similar principle and plan. The great objects should be, the introduction of new varieties, breeds, and races of animals, for the purpose of domestication, or for stocking our farm-yards, woods, pleasure-grounds, and wastes; with the establishment of a general Zoological Collection, consisting of prepared specimens in the different classes and orders, so as to afford a correct view of the Animal Kingdom at large in as complete a series as may be practicable, and at the same time point out the analogies between the animals already domesticated, and those which are similar in character, upon which the first experiments may be made.

" To promote these objects, a piece of ground should be provided in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, affording sufficient accommodation for the above purposes; with a suitable establishment, so conducted as to admit of its extension on additional means being afforded.

" As it is presumed that a number of persons would feel disposed to encourage an institution of this kind, it is proposed to make the Annual Subscription from each individual only Two Pounds, and the Admission Fee Three Pounds. The Members of course will have free and constant access to the Collection and Grounds, and might, at a reasonable price, be furnished with living specimens, or the ova of fishes and birds.

" When it is considered how few amongst the immense variety of animated beings have been hitherto applied to the uses of Man, and that most of those which have been domesticated or subdued belong to the early periods of society, and to the efforts of savage or uncultivated nations *, it is impossible not to hope for many new, brilliant and useful results in the same field, by the application of the wealth, ingenuity, and varied resources of a civilized people.

" It is well known with respect to the most of the Animal Tribes, that domestication is a process which requires time; that the offspring of wild animals raised in a domestic state are more easily tamed than their parents; and that in a certain number of generations the effect is made permanent, and connected with a change, not merely in the habits but even in the nature of the animal. The inconveniences of migration may be, in certain cases, prevented, and the wildest animals, when supplied abundantly with food, may lose the instinct of locomotion, and their offspring acquire new habits; and it is known that a breed, fairly domesticated, is with difficulty brought back to its original state. Should the Society flourish and succeed, it will not only be useful in common life; but would likewise promote the best and most extensive objects of the

" * We owe the peacock and common fowl to the natives of India; most of our races of cattle, and swans, geese, and ducks, to the aborigines of Europe: the turkey to the natives of America; the Guinea-fowl to those of Africa. The pike and carp, with some other fishes, were probably introduced by the monks."

Scientific History of Animated Nature, and offer a collection of living animals, such as never yet existed in ancient or modern times. Rome, at the period of her greatest splendour, brought savage monsters from every quarter of the world then known, to be shewn in her amphitheatres, to destroy or be destroyed as spectacles of wonder to her citizens. It would well become Britain to offer another, and a very different series of exhibitions to the population of her metropolis; namely, animals brought from every part of the globe to be applied either to some useful purpose, or as objects of scientific research, not of vulgar admiration. Upon such an institution, a philosophy of Zoology may be founded, pointing out the comparative anatomy, the habits of life, the improvement and the methods of multiplying those races of animals which are most useful to man, and thus fixing a most beautiful and important branch of knowledge on the permanent basis of direct utility."

"*March* 1*st*, 1825."

CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

MESSRS. DIARD AND DUVAUCEL.

The following series of letters comprises the correspondence alluded to in page 373, as containing the original contract between Sir Stamford Raffles and Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel, by which the services of these gentlemen were engaged on the part of the East India Company. The subsequent correspondence that took place on the subject, when circumstances rendered it necessary that their services should be dispensed with, is given in continuation. As some observations have been made on the Continent, which do not appear to set this action in its true light, it is considered expedient to publish the whole of this correspondence; and to publish it without note or comment. The facts of the case will best speak for themselves. An additional reason may be assigned for giving the whole of these letters, as they will exhibit not merely the zeal of Sir Stamford in promoting the cause of science, but the comprehensiveness of the views, and the judiciousness of the mode, by which he lent his own assistance to the attainment of this object. There are few individuals involved in the serious and important duties of so elevated a station as that which he held at the time of this correspondence, who could have commanded time or ability for drawing up the appropriate instructions for collecting and describing subjects of natural history, which will appear in the course of these letters. Indeed, the account of the animals collected in Sumatra under his immediate inspection and influence, which he subsequently drew up himself*, and sent to England with the collection, when deprived of the assistance of the French naturalists, gives a striking proof of the versatility of his genius, which could embrace, as if by intuition, that clearness and exactness in the technical details of science, which less gifted individuals attain alone by a previous professional education, and a long course of study. Another distinguishing feature in his character will be equally prominent in the accompanying correspondence, the liberality by which he pursued his praiseworthy objects. It will appear by some passages in these letters, that, when likely to be deprived of the public means of recompensing Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel, he volunteered to prevent the loss which would accrue to science by their discontinuance of their services, by defraying their expenses from his private resources.

* See Linn. Transactions, Vol. XIII. pp. 239—341.

" *To Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel.*

" GENTLEMEN,

" I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, explanatory of the object of your researches, and of the circumstances in which you are placed.

" It is my intention at an early period, to submit to the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, and also to the Honourable the Court of Directors, my opinion on the advantages which may result to science and general knowledge, by the prosecution of the pursuits in which you are engaged, and in the mean time request to make you the following offer :—

" Your researches to be confined to Sumatra, and the smaller Islands in its immediate vicinity.

" The draftsmen, &c. engaged by you to be entertained at the charge of Government, who will also defray all incidental and necessary expences to which you may be subjected in the prosecution of your researches, on condition that such researches are made for and on account of the Honourable the East India Company, and that your collections, &c. are considered as their property.

" An estimate to be framed of your monthly expences for such establishment, &c. on which a fixed sum will be paid to you to cover all charges of every description, and the arrangement and transmission to Europe, or to Bengal, of such information and materials as you may collect, to be subject to the orders of Government.

" With reference to your present establishment, and the expences you must necessarily be subjected to, a fixed monthly allowance of 500 ducats is considered adequate to cover all your disbursements, and at the same time to provide draftsmen, &c. for the botanical department; this sum will therefore be authorized until I may be honoured with the further orders of the Supreme Authorities, and I shall hereafter have the honor to communicate with you personally, my sentiments regarding the arrangement of your materials, and the plan which it may be advisable to pursue in order to combine economy and efficiency.

" I am, &c.

(Signed) " T. S. RAFFLES.

" *Prince of Wales's Island, March* 7, 1819."

" *To Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel.*

" GENTLEMEN,

" A period of six months having elapsed since you commenced your important labours in the Eastern Islands, it becomes my duty to communicate to the higher authorities the progress you have made, and the plan on which you propose to prosecute your further enquiries and collections. It is, therefore, necessary that I should receive from you a general catalogue of the col-

lections you have made, accompanied by such observations as may be necessary to aid my judgment in framing this Report.

" Catalogues framed on the principle of that which you have recently submitted to me for the class *Aves* seem sufficient to answer the purpose of general reference, but I would recommend the introduction of another column of genera being reserved for the Linnæan names.

" I avail myself of this occasion to point out to you the arrangement which appears to me best calculated for insuring the efficiency of your labours and my own convenience, it is essential towards a proper understanding that some regular and consistent mode should be observed.

" In order to enable me to comprehend the importance and extent of your discoveries and collections, as well as to provide against the inconvenience which might otherwise arise in the eventual communication of your observations in England, in consequence of the difference of language, and difficulty of reading a foreign hand-writing, I am desirous that a particular and scientific description, however dry and laborious, should be made of every subject which you collect, which may in any one respect differ from the already received and published accounts of Europe, or which may be imperfectly described. The forms of which I have availed myself on a former occasion, and which are prescribed by the leading members of the Royal Society in England, are such as I would recommend to your adoption. I enclose sketches for the *Mammalia*, *Aves*, and *Pisces*, and I have no doubt you will at once perceive the extent of my wishes in this respect. The *generic character*, as well as the essential part of the specific character, I would recommend to be invariably in Latin; the remaining points may either be in Latin or French as you may find most convenient; the miscellaneous observations, which are not limited either as to extent or form, will of course be invariably in French, and are intended to include whatever additional particulars you may be desirous of stating.

" Of the three first classes I conceive a very short time will enable you to complete the detailed descriptions thus required. The amphiboe may next be proceeded on, and eventually the insects may be included in a general descriptive catalogue, arranged according to the Linnæan system.

" A separate sheet should be appropriated and numbered for each subject, and a duplicate transmitted to me as soon as prepared, accompanied by a dried specimen and a drawing, when completed, which latter I can compare and return.

" Whenever you may have completed the descriptions of those animals you already possess, I conceive that it will be easy for you to make me a monthly report of your proceedings, accompanied by descriptions of the collections you have made during the preceding month.

" I would wish you to lose no time in sending me the descriptions of all the subjects you possess, framed on the principle now laid down; and until these are fully completed, I shall be happy to receive your daily labours, in preference to waiting until you have completed any given number or class. By these means I can bestow a certain portion of each day to your pursuits,

and communicate to you without delay on all questions which may occur. As your collections are already extensive and important, it appears to me that it would be advisable to bring up the arrears of descriptions on the plan now proposed, in preference to the commencement of more extensive researches in the interior of the Island. A few days' delay will be of no material importance, and the advantage of arranging your materials as you proceed is incalculable.

" Each of the descriptions will be dated, and of course open to revision at a future period, as your observations may be corrected and enlarged.

" I am aware that in requiring of you to attend scrupulously to the forms I have submitted, I am imposing an irksome, and perhaps, in your opinion, in some respects an unnecessarily laborious task, but you are to consider that, however unnecessary these details and forms are to persons whose lives are devoted to the subject, and whose acquisitions and experience place them above such considerations, I am myself a plain man, and do not possess these advantages. I have undertaken that your labours shall be duly appreciated in England; and to effect this, it is necessary I should go hand-in-hand with you, and that you should *descend* to the forms which are indispensible for my assistance.

" In conclusion, I request to call your attention to the importance of making a selection of a few objects of interest preserved in spirits, or prepared as skeletons, for transmission to the East India Company by the first favourable opportunity, a similar selection annually should be contemplated. Each of the subjects sent home should be fully described here, and the description printed according to such form as may be agreed upon.

" I am, &c.

(Signed) " T. S. Raffles."

" *Fort Marlborough, September* 18, 1819."

" *A Monsieur Raffles, Lieutenant Gouverneur à Bencoulen.*

" Monsieur le Gouverneur,

" Nous avons l'honneur de vous adresser ci-joint la lettre officielle que vous avez bien voulu nous communiquer; ses conclusions ne pouvaient pas nous surprendre beaucoup, et nous les avons trouvées d'ailleurs trop justes pour nous en plaindre, et trop libérales pour ne pas être pénétré de la plus vive reconnoissance envers son Excellence le Gouverneur Général.

" Ne pouvant plus par conséquent, Monsieur, compter sur un établissement fixe et sur des moyens pécuniaires qui nous eussent permis de continuer, pendant un grand nombre d'années, un plan de recherches dont nous avions tout lieu d'espérer d'immenses résultats, nous nous permettrons de vous soumettre quelques réflexions auxquelles nous nous sommes arrêtés dès le moment où nous avons été informés de la décision du Concile Suprême.

" Une année d'expérience nous ayant appris au Bengal, que dans l'Inde notre fortune particulière serait bien loin de pouvoir suffire aux dépenses dans lesquelles nous entrames en poursui-

vant le plan de recherches Zoologiques que nous avions conçu; persuadés en outre que quelques fussent les sommes dont nous pussions disposer, nous ne pouvions jamais espérer d'atteindre de bien grands résultats sans l'assistance immédiate du Gouvernement local de l'Honorable Compagnie, nous nous décidames, Monsieur, d'après les propositions que notre excellent ami Monsieur Ricketts voulut bien nous faire en votre nom, à cesser toutes nos correspondences avec la France, et à faire taire dans l'intérêt de la science le désir si naturel de consacrer nos travaux tout entiers à nos parens et à notre pays; nous partimes donc avec vous et serions bien ingrats si nous ne nous applaudissions pas chaque jour de notre vie d'avoir écouté les présentimens que quelques instans d'entretien avec vous avaient suffi pour faire naitre en nous. Ces présentimens, Monsieur, ont été plus que réalisés, en m'honorant en particulière du titre de votre médecin; vous nous avez permis de nous nous considérer comme faisant partie de votre famille; et, en mettant à notre disposition tous les moyens que la plus extrême bienveillance a pu vous inspirer à notre égard, vous nous avez mis en état d'explorer avec fruit tous les pays intéressans que nous avons visité avec vous: bien plus, Monsieur, au milieu des importantes négociations que vous venez de terminer au Bengal, vous n'avez pas oublié ceux que vous vous plaisez à nommer vos amis, et nous voyons avec la plus vive reconnoissance combien vous êtes peinés de ce que les circonstances n'ont pu permettre le changement de la décision de son Excellence le Gouverneur Général. Heureusement pour nous, Monsieur, nous sommes persuadés que cette résolution ne peut nous forcer à nous éloigner de Sumatra, et même, après y avoir réfléchi, nous sommes allés jusqu' à penser, qu'elle pourrait bien au contraire nous fournir l'occasion de nous attacher plus particulièrement à vous.

" En effet, Monsieur, puisque nous ne pouvons plus compter sur l'établissement fixe que vous aviez eu la bonté de solliciter pour nous, l'état brillant de votre fortune ne pourrait-il pas vous permettre de disposer vous-même d'une certaine somme pour cet objet? nous pourrions de notre coté, sans déranger beaucoup la notre, faire une partie des frais des collections que nous pourrions recueillir; elle serait de même en somme, et de cette manière nous aurions le double avantage de pouvoir trouver l'occasion de vous donner quelques preuves de notre reconnoissance, et de poursuivre avec les mêmes moyens des recherches qui ont commencé sous d'aussi heureux auspices.

" Voilà, Monsieur, l'idée à laquelle nous nous sommes plus à nous arrêter depuis deux mois; si elle vous était agréable, elle nous en plairait bien d'avantage encore; mais, Monsieur, quelques soient vos propres résolutions, nous vous prions de rester bien convainçu que nous mettons toute notre confiance et toutes nos espérances en vous, et que notre seule ambition est de continuer avec votre assistance des travaux que nous serions probablement obligés d'interrompre, si nous étions obligés de les continuer à nos propres dépens.

" Nous avons l'honneur, &c.

(Signed) " Diard et D. C.

" 9 *Mais*, 1820."

" Nous venons de recevoir votre beau tigre et nous allons nous en occuper de suite; nous vous remercions beaucoup pour nos caisses."

To A. M. Diard.

"*Sunday, March* 12, 1820.

"My Dear Sir,

"I fear the plan you propose for making the future collections, may be attended with more difficulties than you are aware of, and it besides appears to be open to several objections. I can hardly see any other course than the two following:—either that you should continue to make your collections as heretofore, proceeding on a more limited scale, or that you should at once make the collections on *your own account*, or on account *of your Government*.

"We have hitherto gone on so well, that in my extreme desire to meet your wishes, and to give all the possible aid in my power to your highly important and interesting labours, I am willing to make great sacrifices, and though the Supreme Government do not approve of my first proposition in your favour, I will undertake to supply you with funds to the extent of 600 rupees monthly, at my own risk, provided you are willing to continue your collections on the same terms as heretofore.

"Whatever I do must necessarily be in my public capacity, or with reference to it, whether I pay the money out of my own pocket or not; and it will be expected of me, that the *collection be received and noticed in England in the first instance;* after this, and the scientific description has once appeared in England, I shall be most happy to *transfer to you the spare subjects*, and you will, of course, be at perfect liberty *to publish in France any more detailed or elaborate account* that you may think proper, on your own account.

"Yours very truly,

(Signed) "T. S. Raffles."

"*A Monsieur Raffles, Lieutenant Gouverneur, &c. &c.*

"Monsieur le Gouverneur,

"En abandonnant des travaux heureusement commencés au Bengal, en renonçant à toute espèce de correspondence avec nos parens, nos amis, notre pays, en contentant enfin à vous accompagner à Sumatra, nous avions cru recevoir l'assurance d'un établissement qui nous eut dédommagé des sacrifices que nous nous imposions, en nous permettant de donner au plan de recherches Zoologiques que nous avions conçu, un développement et une importance dignes du gouvernement de l'Honorable Compagnie.

"Devant nous considérer dans ce cas comme chargés d'une mission publique, nous nous fussions scrupuleusement interdit toute espoir de publication particulière avant d'en avoir reçu l'autorisation des autorités supérieures.

"Mais, Monsieur le Gouverneur, nos espérances n'ayant point été réalizées, nous ne pourrions

contenter à retarder d'une année la publication de nos observations, sans nous exposer à perdre le seul avantage que nous puissions retirer aujourd'hui de tant de peines et de tant de privations.

" Cependant, comme il ne serait pas juste que nous fissions connoître d'abord en France les résultats de recherches dont les frais ont été supportés par votre Gouvernement, nous vous proposerons un moyen convenable de parer aux inconvéniens d'un retard que nous ne pouvons trop redouter, sans diminuer en rien l'intérêt que peuvent avoir en Angleterre les collections que nous avons recueillies ; c'est de remettre à la Société des Recherches Asiatiques les notes que nous désirons publier sans détail.

" Si vous pensiez pourtant, Monsieur le Gouverneur, qu'à ces conditions l'Honorable Compagnie ne désapprouvat les frais qu'ont facilité nos recherches, alors plutôt que de renoncer à la libre disposition de nos observations, nous vous prierions de considérer les avances que nous avons reçues comme un simple prêt, que nous engagerions à rembourser, en conservant pour nous mêmes une collection sur laquelle nous croyons pouvoir fonder quelques espérances honorables.

" Nous avons l'honneur d'être, &c.

(Signed) " Diard,

" A. Duvaucel.

" 13 *Mars*, 1820 "

" *A Monsieur Raffles, Lieutenant Gouverneur à Bencoolen, &c. &c.*

" Monsieur le Gouverneur,

" Nous avons pensé devoir répondre séparément à la seconde proposition que vous avez bien voulu nous faire.

" D'abord, puisque nous ne pouvons compter sur un établissement fixe, nous désirons ne pas continuer plus long tems nos recherches pour le compte de l'Honorable Compagnie ; nous aurons au contraire infiniment de plaisir à les poursuivre avec votre assistance particulière.

" Nous acceptons donc bien volontiers les propositions que vous voulez bien nous faire, et en ajoutant nous mêmes 400 Rupees avec 600 que vous consentez à nous fournir chaque mois, nous osons vous promettre des résultats dignes des sacrifices qu'un tel projet exige.

" Nous n'avons pas hésité, Monsieur le Gouverneur, à vous soumettre le plan auquel vous voulez bien accéder, parceque nous savons que vous êtes convaincu qu'aucun motif d'intérêt ne peut être le mobile de nos déterminations, et qu'en toutes choses nous ne sommes guidés, comme vous, que par notre zéle et notre amour pour la science.

" Nous avons l'honneur d'être, &c.

(Signed) " Diard."

" 13 *Mars*, 1820."

To Messrs. Diard and Duvaucelle.

" GENTLEMEN,

" I have to acknowledge the receipt of two letters from you of this date, one signed by Mons. Diard, and one by you jointly.

" In answer to the former, I apprehend that you must have misunderstood my offer. It is impossible for me to recognize your services, except in my public capacity, and I expressly stated, that there were objections to the joint plan which you had proposed.

" Your joint letter has occasioned me no less surprize than regret, surprize at the tone in which it is couched, and the pretensions which it advances, and regret that my endeavours and views should have been so ill appreciated. Nothing can be clearer than the condition under which I undertook to engage your services on account of the Honourable Company, and while you might have been assured of every liberal consideration, and fair acknowledgment, it was clearly understood that the whole of your collections, with the result of your observations, were the property of the East India Company, and it was from its liberality alone, and not as a matter of right, that you could expect an authority for publishing on your own account. You were bound in duty and honour to leave the full disposition of your collections, &c. at my disposal, without condition or limitation, as to the use I might make of them, and I very much regret that you have not been content to rely on that liberality and indulgent consideration, which you have so often acknowledged.

" The terms on which you were engaged do not authorize the pretension which you appear to advance, with regard to the free disposition of your materials; and the whole tenor of your letter is altogether so much at variance with what I expected, and with the explicit and unequivocal proposals made to and accepted by you, as to render it impossible to continue to you the support you have hitherto received, or to prolong the term of our agreement.

" Under these circumstances, it is not necessary for me to enter into a refutation of several statements and insinuations contained in your letter, in regard to the disappointment you represent yourselves to have experienced; but I request expressly to state that I know not of a single instance in which any expectations held out to you have not been more than realized, nor was I prepared to receive such a complaint, after the repeated acknowledgments of a contrary nature, which you have so often expressed. That your indefinite continuance in the service of the Company depended on a higher authority you were always aware. That superior authority disapproves of your employment, and I regret that consistently with my public duty, I cannot, after your present communication, authorize you to expect further encouragement. I am, therefore, under the necessity of declining the consideration of any of your proposals, and I have to request that you will be prepared to deliver to such persons as may be appointed for the purpose, the whole of your collections and descriptions.

" To prevent the possibility of future misunderstanding, it may be proper to state, that I

hold you bound not to communicate or permit to be communicated to the public any of the results of your researches in the Eastern Islands, except with my express and written permission. I expect that you will transfer all your collections and descriptions without reservation, in order that I may, by your ready compliance with this requisition, be afforded the opportunity of still extending to you the liberal consideration which it was always my intention to shew you.

" I am, &c.

(Signed) " T. S. Raffles.

" *Fort Marlborough, March* 13, 1820."

" *A Monsieur Raffles, Gouverneur de Bencoolen, &c. &c.*

" Monsieur le Gouverneur,

" La proposition que vous nous avez faite par votre lettre du 7 Mars, 1819, n'ayant pas eu la sanction du Gouvernement Suprême, nous vous avons manifesté dans notre lettre du 13 Mars, 1820, l'intention où nous étions de rembourser à l'Honorable Compagnie les avances que nous en avions reçues, en considérant tous les objets recueillis comme notre propriété particulière.

" Par votre lettre du même jour, vous vous êtes refusé à cette juste proposition, en vous croyant fondé à nous demander d'autorité la remise entière de notre collection.

" Sans examiner, Monsieur le Gouverneur, jusques où peuvent s'entrer vos droits, à cet égard, nous vous ferons observer qu'un tel acte de votre part est loin d'être en harmonie avec les intentions libérales de l'Honorable Compagnie.

" En effet, en refusant nos services, l'Honorable Compagnie a consenti à acquitter nos dépenses.

" Nous devons donc en conclure qu'elle a désiré nous être favorable.

" Or, Monsieur le Gouverneur, ce serait nous rendre un bien mauvais service, ce serait mal interpréter sa bienveillante décision que de vouloir nous forcer à accepter un don préjudiciable, lorsque au contraire elle a témoigné le désir de nous accorder une faveur.

" Nous réitérons donc la demande que nous avons faite le 13 Mars, de prendre à notre compte la totalité de nos dépenses.

" Cependant, Monsieur, désirant autant que possible entrer dans vos vues, nous mettrions avec plaisir entre vos mains tous les objets que nous avons recueillis, si vous vouliez bien consentir aux propositions suivantes :—

" Les objets envoyés seront accompagnés d'un catalogue numérique des espèces.

" Les espèces en nombre pair seront partagées également.

" Et quand à celles en nombre impair, la Compagnie en prendra la moitié plus une.

" Dans ce cas, Monsieur, nous renonçons à toute espèce de droit sur les dessins, et vous pourrez les publier ainsi que vous le jugerez convenable ; nous engagerous même, si vous le pré-

férez, à ne rien imprimer qu'en Angleterre, et l'un de nous deux à cet effet partirait pour accompagner et soigner cette précieuse collection.

" Recevez, Monsieur le Gouverneur, l'assurance de notre profond respect.

(Signed) " DIARD, A. DUVAUCEL."

" *Le* 14 *Mars*, 1820."

To Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel.

" GENTLEMEN,

" I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, in reply to my communication of the preceding day.

" The assumption on which you proceed, is so unfounded in fact, that I decline entering into any argument with you on the subject, and the offer you pretend to make of reimbursing the government is altogether so frivolous and evasive, that I am much surprised that you should persist in it.

" You would wish to make it appear that I solicited you to accompany me from Bengal, and that you made great sacrifices for the purpose. This is altogether at variance with the fact; on the contrary, you requested to accompany me, and offered to place the whole of the collections and observations at my disposal, on any terms I might think proper. You subsequently represented, that notwithstanding the aid I was otherwise enabled to afford you, you could not proceed without considerable pecuniary assistance, as your own funds had already been expended in Bengal. I then agreed to pay you a sum not exceeding 1000 rupees monthly, on account of the Company, and to recommend to the Superior Authorities, that such an allowance should be continued to you as long as I might feel myself justified in continuing your services. This was done on the express condition accepted by you, that the whole of your collections and researches should be the absolute property of the East India Company, and that you should obey whatever instructions I might issue to you regarding them. During the past year, you have continued to receive from me the allowance of 1000 rupees per month, which has been sanctioned by the Supreme Government, but that authority considers it inexpedient to continue your services.

" Under these circumstances, it rested with me simply to notify to you the period at which these allowances were to cease; but with a view of enabling you to continue your collections, I offered, at my own risk, to continue your employment on the same footing, though on somewhat a more limited scale; one, however, fully adequate to the further prosecution of every useful research. This you have rejected.

" With these facts, I am utterly at a loss to account for the principle on which you pretend to assert that my agreement with you has not been more than fulfilled, or that you have any right to demand conditions and stipulations at variance with it.

" With regard to your reimbursing me the expences already incurred, you will excuse me, if

under your pecuniary circumstances, as repeatedly stated to me by yourselves, I am compelled to consider the proposal as absolutely nugatory; to detain the collections while you go in search of money, would be ridiculous. On this point, I will only notice, that you seem to have forgotten in the account the many advantages you have enjoyed independently, and in excess of this allowance. From the period of your departure from Bengal, until your arrival in Bencoolen, in August last, a period of nine months, you and your whole establishments were accommodated on board ship, and elsewhere, entirely at my expence; and since your arrival here, have occupied one of the government houses, with various indulgences, which, if it were possible to estimate the value of, would not perhaps fall short of the direct pecuniary assistance. Even had you funds to repay the whole of these, I am at a loss to conceive in what light you would consider the influence and authority I have exerted, and the requisitions under which I have laid all my friends in order to contribute to the extent of the collection. You seem to forget that many of the subjects were not collected by you, but merely placed in your charge by me. For instance, the Duyong, both subjects of which were delivered into your hands by myself, as intended for Sir Everard Home;—the large deer, and a variety of others. In short, you would, as you have often acknowledged, have been unable to effect *any thing whatever* without the aid of my influence and authority, and what equivalent you can propose for that, is more than I can imagine.

" This proposition of yours, therefore, being, as you must be well aware, absolutely inadmissible, I cannot take into consideration the conditions you pretend to dictate in the subsequent part of your letter, as you can have no right to make any stipulations whatever. I now confine myself to requiring from you the simple performance of your duty in delivering over the whole of the collections, descriptions, &c. now under your charge, and have to acquaint you that a committee has been appointed for this purpose, with whose instructions you will be made acquainted. It is also to be understood, that I can receive no further communications from you, that do not distinctly recognize my absolute right of disposal, and that your claim to future consideration must entirely depend on your prompt compliance with my directions. I cannot persuade myself that you will persevere in an opposition which can neither be supported by honour or justice.

" Before concluding this letter, I must further observe, that even had the Supreme Government sanctioned the continuance of the allowance to you of 1000 rupees per month, I should, on the knowledge I now have of your sentiments, and the disregard you have lately shewn to my repeated instructions, have felt it my duty at once to have discontinued your employment. On leaving this place for Calcutta, I left with you precise directions for drawing up accurate Linnæan descriptions of every subject; but it now appears you have thought fit entirely to disregard those orders. Your neglect in this respect will oblige me to supply the deficiency otherwise, and whatever may be the course adopted, the consequence to yourselves will be entirely attributable to your unwarrantable disregard of my desire. On these accounts, and considering the whole tenor of your late conduct, and the disposition you have manifested, I should feel it impossible to continue

to employ your services under any circumstances, and have only to convey to you my determination to bring your engagement to an immediate close.

" I am, &c.

(Signed) " T. S. RAFFLES.

" *Fort Marlborough, March* 15, 1820."

Captain Watson, William Lewis, Esq., and Lieutenant Trueman.

" GENTLEMEN,

" I have thought it proper to appoint you to be a Committee for the purpose of taking charge from Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel of the several subjects of natural history in their possession, and of superintending the packing and shipment of that portion which is intended to be transmitted to Europe by the Mary.

" You are accordingly directed to proceed forthwith to Mount Edgecumbe, and after apprizing these gentlemen of your appointment, require of them to deliver into your charge the whole of their collections of every description, whether dried, in skeleton, or in spirits.

" In the first place you will take charge of the whole of the drawings and sketches of every description, and forward them without delay to me.

" This effected, you will proceed to take an account of the several subjects in the collection, and forthwith to send one of each to the Government-house in the most convenient package at hand. You will next set apart a duplicate of each to be sent to Europe, and take measures for having them packed in the best manner, and with the least possible delay.

" In the packing of these last, it is expected that Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel will themselves give every aid, under your general superintendence. You will of course attend to all their suggestions on the subject for the preservation of the articles, and you are to furnish all further materials which may be required, such as boxes, spirits, casks, &c.

" Rooms in the lower part of the old Government-house have been appropriated for the surplus of the collections beyond those two sets above mentioned, and you are to take measures for removing these as soon as possible.

" Your immediate attention should be directed to a general catalogue of the whole collection, according to the accompanying form. Each individual subject is to be ticketed with the number corresponding to that in the catalogue. This is an object of essential importance, and will deserve your particular care.

" You are to send the cases for Europe, when packed, to the Company's warehouse, where they are to be placed under the charge of the store-keeper, whose receipt will be your acquittance, and who will be held subsequently responsible for them until shipped. You will of course take an account of the contents of each case, and affix a number to each.

" It is to be hoped that no difficulties or delays will be thrown in the way by Messrs. Diard

and Duvaucel, and that they will go hand in hand with you in carrying these measures into effect. Should a contrary disposition be evinced, you will of course use your discretion in the adoption of all necessary precaution for preventing injury or defalcation in the collection, or delay in the execution of the duties imposed on you.

"Enclosed I transmit an intimation to Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel of your appointment.

"I am, &c.

(Signed) "Thos. S. Raffles.

"*Fort Marlborough, March* 15, 1820."

FORM OF CATALOGUE.

No.	NAMES.			Dry Specimens.	In Spirits.	In Skeleton.	Remarks.
	Linnæan.	Cuvier.	Malay.				

To Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel.

"Gentlemen,

"I have to acquaint you that a Committee, consisting of Captain Watson, Mr. Lewis, and Lieutenant Trueman, has been appointed to receive charge of the Honourable Company's collections under your care, and further to express my expectation that you will afford every facility to those Gentlemen in the execution of the duty confided to them.

"I am, &c.

(Signed) "T. S. Raffles."

"*Fort Marlborough, March* 15, 1820."

To Captain Watson, William Lewis, Esq. and Lieutenant Trueman.

" GENTLEMEN,

" As you have verbally reported that you will, in the course of to-morrow, receive over the whole of the remaining collections of subjects in natural history, I request to give you the following additional instructions with regard to the descriptions, &c.

" By the enclosed copy of the terms on which I engaged the services of Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel, you will perceive that they are bound to deliver over not only the whole of the subjects contained in the collection, but also their descriptions and observations on the same.

" You will, in consequence, call upon those Gentlemen to fulfil their agreement, by delivering over to you the whole of their papers on the subject.

" In the event of a ready compliance with this, and their giving you their assurance on honour that they have made over the whole of their collections, drawings, and descriptions, without reservation, I authorize you to make them the following communication. I have no objection to take upon myself to draw up a short account, or descriptive catalogue, of the collection formed under my authority, for the purpose of being published in England. This I can effect in two ways, either with occasional reference to their papers, or from the specimens alone, without referring to their descriptions. Should they prefer the former, and pledge themselves not to publish on their own account, within twelve months, the whole of their papers shall be returned to them, or to such persons as they may appoint, within a month from the date of their delivery, with full permission to make them public at the expiration of the twelve months. Should they further give their unequivocal assent to this arrangement, and comply in full with the condition, it will afford me pleasure to recommend to the Court of Directors that a donation be made to France of some of the most interesting duplicates of the subjects which have been prepared; and in order to make this the more valuable, I shall be happy to receive from them a statement of the objects which, in their opinion, will be most acceptable.

" Should Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel hesitate to give their full assent to this arrangement, you will be pleased to acquaint them that it will become my duty to act upon the literal construction of the terms of the engagement.

" I am, &c.

(Signed) " T. S. RAFFLES.

" *Fort Marlborough, March* 18, 1820."

To the Honorable Sir Stamford Raffles, Lieutenant Governor.

" HONOURABLE SIR,

" We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter under date the 15th instant, appointing us a Committee to receive charge of the collection of specimens of Natural

History which have been made by Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel, under the direction of the British administration at Fort Marlborough.

" Having assembled at Mount Edgecumbe on the morning of the 16th instant, we communicated to Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel the object of our nomination, putting into their hands at the same time your letter acquainting them of it. These gentlemen, in reply to our request that the specimens of Natural History, which had been collected by them during the period of their having received an allowance from the Honourable Company, might be delivered over to us, gave us distinctly to understand they would not oppose our taking possession of them, but that they protested against our doing so; yet, as the Government thought proper to lay claim to the collection, and to possess themselves of it, they would certainly use every exertion to deliver it over in the best state of preservation possible.

" We accordingly took charge of all the drawings they professed to have made, which we forwarded forthwith to Government, transmitting a list of the same.

" We then commenced making a catalogue * of the different articles, agreeable to the form transmitted with your letter of instructions, which we have the honour to enclose; and having separated them according to the form prescribed, forwarded each set to the destination allotted; that is to say, one set the most complete direct to Government, one duplicate to Civil Store-keeper for immediate transmission to Europe, and a triplicate to old Government House for deposit. It will be seen from the accompanying catalogue, that the duplicate for Europe is wanting in several articles contained in the original set sent to Government; and the triplicate is still more deficient generally, whilst, on the other hand, it is more than complete in some particular articles.

" The early departure of the ship Mary for Europe, induced the Committee to report verbally to Government the progress they had made in the duties assigned them; in consequence of which Government thought proper to direct, that the specific names of each subject should be affixed to the different numbers in the catalogue, in addition to the general classification which had been adopted; the Committee accordingly requested Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel to afford their assistance in effecting this object; these gentlemen, however, excused themselves on the plea of unwillingness to venture a positive opinion where they had no extensive means of reference, as it might ultimately prove detrimental to their scientific reputation.

" In conformity with additional instructions from Government, dated 18th instant, the Committee again assembled at Mount Edgecumbe, and having submitted to Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel a copy of their original engagement with Government, whereby it is stipulated, in consideration of a certain monthly allowance, ' That their researches are to be made for and on account of the Honourable Company; that their collections, &c. are to be considered as their property; that the arrangement and transmission to Europe or Bengal of such information and

* See Enclosure No. 1.

materials as they may collect, are to be subject to the order of Government; and that the payment of the said allowance is accordingly authorised by the local Government, pending a reference to the superior authorities.'

" Having pointedly brought this engagement to their notice and recollection, Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel were addressed by the Committee as follows.

" ' As it appears that you are bound by the terms of your engagement with Government to deliver over the whole of the subjects of Natural History which you have collected since the date thereof, together with their descriptions and your observations on them, we now call on you to complete its fulfilment by delivering over the whole of your papers connected with your researches during that period: in the event of your doing so, and giving us your assurance, on honour, that you have made over the whole of your collection, drawings, and descriptions, without reservation, we are authorized to make you a certain communication.'

" In reply to this, Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel positively refused to give up the papers required; and in order that this refusal might be more explicit, and the grounds of it the more apparent, they requested time to draw up a note on the subject; they accordingly retired, and after due deliberation they delivered a paper to the Committee, wherein they set forth their reasons for non-compliance with the requisition. The Committee being of opinion that the first part of this paper exhibits an assertion which not only carries contradiction on its face, but appears so improper and disrespectful, they decline entering it into their proceedings*. The last paragraph, however, of their note requires and has received due consideration. On a reference being made to Mr. Jennings, who was in charge of the Government during the month of January, 1820, it appears that the refusal of their services was not signified to them at the period asserted in their note, or at any time whilst he was in charge of the Government. It further appears that this refusal has not yet been officially communicated, and that a bill presented by these gentlemen on the 12th instant, for their allowances from the 1st of January, 1819, to the 1st of April, 1820, has passed and ordered to be paid, which document is in our hands. Whether the amount so passed has been yet received by those gentlemen or not, does not concern the Committee; its being authorized is sufficient to obviate the objection stated, as the amount is of course payable on demand; and should these gentlemen wish to refuse receiving any part of it, it rests with them to make the necessary application to Government to that effect; and should the Government think proper to consider the services of Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel as having ceased from the time specified by them, doubtless they will be permitted to retain such part of their collection as they can prove to have been made since that period, and to have been obtained altogether independent of the aid and assistance of the public establishment of Government. The Committee holding in their hands the bill of these gentlemen for the whole of their allowances for fifteen months, ending

* See Enclosure No. 2.

the 1st of April, 1820, which has received the sanction of Government, must consider them as in the service of Government during the whole of that period. The objection, therefore, on the ground of the services of Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel having been refused by Government, appears to be unsupported by facts; and as they in the same note fully admit 'that the written agreement obliges them to place at the disposal of the Company the whole of the collections and observations,' the Committee trust that no further obstacle will arise to its fulfilment, and therefore proceed to make known to them the liberal intention of the Lieutenant Governor, provided they comply with their original obligation.

"An extract* from the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor's letter was accordingly read and explained to them, and they were requested to state explicitly whether they would avail themselves of the terms proposed. After a few minutes' deliberation they gave the Committee to understand, that the whole of their collections, and all their notes on the subject of their researches, should be delivered up without reservation, to which they pledged their honour, as well as not to publish any thing for the time specified; but they expressed a determination not to accept their allowance for the months which remained unpaid. The Committee recommended them, in this case, to make out a list of the articles collected by them during those months, giving it as their opinion, that the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor would not hesitate to consider such as their private property; but they declined this, saying, it would now be difficult to select the articles, besides they were anxious to have permission to depart as soon as possible from Bencoolen.

"They then informed the Committee of a robbery which had been committed the preceding night, when, amongst other things that were carried off, was a box containing the papers of Mr. Duvaucel; they had made application to the police on the subject, and hoped that it might be recovered. The papers of M. Diard were safe, and were to be forwarded to the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor as soon as they could be put in order.

"We have the honour, &c.

(Signed) "Thos. C. Watson,
"Wm. T. Lewis,
"N. S. Trueman.

"*Fort Marlborough, March* 21, 1820."

MEMORANDUM.

"Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel having pledged their word of honour, that they have fulfilled their public engagements with the Company, as expressed in the letter addressed to them under date the 7th March, 1819, Sir Stamford Raffles is happy to extend to them the consideration

* See Enclosure No. 3.

which he has always been desirous of shewing them, and in order that no possible misunderstanding may hereafter arise, this Memorandum is exchanged between Sir Stamford Raffles and those gentlemen.

" 1*st.*—Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel on their part pledge themselves not to publish in France, or in any country foreign to England, any particulars regarding their Researches in the Eastern Islands until the expiration of a year from this date.

" *2d.*—Sir Stamford Raffles on his part will return to them or their agents, within one month from this date, all papers which have or may be delivered by them.

" *3d.*—Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel are at liberty hereafter to publish them, if they think proper, in the Asiatic Researches in Bengal, or in the Transactions of the Royal Society of London.

" *4th.*—As a proof of Sir Stamford Raffles' desire to shew every possible consideration to Messrs Diard and Duvaucel, they have been requested to select from the duplicates whatever articles they are desirous of sending to France; they have in consequence delivered in the annexed List of Specimens which is complied with, on condition that the articles do not arrive in France before those sent to England are received and noticed; and with a view to secure this object, it is mutually agreed that these articles shall be consigned to Mr. Palmer, at Calcutta, by Sir Stamford Raffles, with the instructions hereunto annexed.

" *5th.*—In conclusion, it is mutually agreed, that on the fulfiment of the above conditions the present shall be a full acquittal of all claims and demands on both sides.

(Signed) " DIARD,
" DUVAUCEL."

On the above being signed, a similar memorandum, under the signature of Sir Stamford Raffles, was delivered to Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel.

List of Specimens requested by Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel.

A Siamang.
A Champay.
A Chinco.
A Coo.
A skeleton of Rhinoceros.
A skin and skeleton of Tapir.
A Kidjang, male and female.
A skeleton of the Duyong.
One of each species of Birds and Insects, of which there may be triplicates or quadruplicates.

To John Palmer, Esq.

"*Calcutta.*

"SIR,

"In pursuance of an understanding between myself and Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel, several specimens of Natural History, as per annexed memorandum, are consigned to you, with a request that you will receive charge of them, for the purpose and on the condition hereafter mentioned.

"These gentlemen having been engaged to make collections on account of the Company, I have made over to them these specimens, at the close of their engagement, on condition that the same do not arrive in France before the originals, of which they are duplicates, be received in England. These originals have been forwarded by your ship, the Mary, *via* Batavia, and it is left to your discretion to place these gentlemen in possession of these specimens, whenever you may be satisfied that the object of the condition is attained.

"I am, &c.

(Signed) "T. S. RAFFLES.

"*Fort Marlborough, March* 27, 1820."

To Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel.

"GENTLEMEN,

"In reply to your letter of this date, I request to inform you that I am not aware of any impediment which exists to your embarking on the Indiana, or any other ship you think proper; and whenever you may furnish me with the list of your establishment, the necessary certificates shall be granted.

"I request to dispense with a personal visit from either yourself or Mr. Duvaucel before your departure.

"I am, &c.

(Signed) "T. S. RAFFLES.

"*Fort Marlborough, March* 27, 1820."

To Captain Watson, W. T. Lewis, Esq., and Lieutenant Trueman.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Mr. Diard having intimated the desire of himself and Mr. Duvaucel to proceed to Batavia on the Indiana, I think it necessary to re-assemble you, for the purpose of receiving from those gentlemen the fulfilment of their pledge, and enabling them to close their accounts, and quit the settlement without delay, and with the least possible inconvenience to themselves.

"You will accordingly call upon those gentlemen to place in your possession all the remaining specimens, drawings, and descriptions which may be forthcoming.

" I enclose for your information, a copy of a letter I addressed to those gentlemen on receipt of your Report, together with their reply, and the list of specimens which they have in consequence selected; and in furtherance of the desire therein expressed in order to obviate future misunderstanding, I at the same time enclose a memorandum, which, if signed, shall be exchanged for a similar document under my signature.

" Whenever you shall have satisfied yourselves of the complete fulfilment of the terms of their engagement and pledge, you will make your Report accordingly.

" I am, &c.

(Signed) " T. S. Raffles.

" *Fort Marlborough, March 27*, 1820."

To Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel.

" Gentlemen,

" The proceedings of the Committee having closed in a satisfactory manner, I lose no time in assuring you that it was with very sincere regret I felt myself compelled by an imperious sense of public duty, to adopt a course so unpleasant to my feelings; the public question being now at rest, I am permitted to evince towards you that attention and consideration, which it was always my wish and intention to offer you.

" No man can appreciate more highly than myself the zeal and personal exertion which you have displayed in making these collections and researches; I am sincerely desirous of securing to you the full measure of credit due to them, and I think you must be satisfied that it has always been my wish to contribute to this end as much as was in my power.

" I had always anticipated such a satisfactory close of your labours, that it would not have been necessary to adhere to the rigid performance of the terms of agreement; I expected that we might mutually contribute to the extension of science, by co-operating eventually in some unobjectionable plan for publication, and that while I secured to the Honourable the East India Company the credit of having patronized and supported these Researches, your own character and fame would have been proportionately advanced: it was further my intention, after the collection of the Company was completed, that a portion of the duplicates should be placed at your disposal, a consideration due to your indefatigable exertions, and as the best acknowledgment I could make to you.

" The satisfactory conclusion of your arrangement with the Committee enables me to assure you that these sentiments and intentions remain unaltered, and that I shall be most happy to confer with you on any plan you may suggest.

" I conclude with expressing my regret at the necessary close of our public relation, but at the same time my satisfaction at its being about to terminate in an amicable adjustment.

" I am, &c.

(Signed) " T. S. Raffles.

" *Fort Marlborough, March* 22, 1820."

Additional Proceedings of the Committee appointed to receive Charge of the Specimens of Natural History collected by Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel on Account of the Honourable East India Company.

" *Fort Marlborough, March* 29, 1820.

" Pursuant to instructions communicated to the Committee under date 27th March, they assembled at the old Government-House this day, where Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel met them by appointment, and requested them, in conformity therewith, to deliver over the remaining specimens of drawings, descriptions, and papers appertaining thereto, in compliance with their former agreement. The naturalists accordingly made over a parcel of papers and drawings, which they declare to be the only documents of the kind remaining in their possession, having burnt the duplicates, as well as those of such as have already been given up; and that those which were formerly reported to the Committee as having been stolen, have not since been recovered. They further state, that at this time no articles whatever of their collection remain in their hands.

" The memorandum accompanying the above-mentioned instructions was handed to Messrs. Diard and Duvaucel, and their signature was affixed to it after due deliberation, and a perfect comprehension of its contents.

" The Honourable the Lieutenant Governor's letter to Mr. Palmer was also read to them, and they approved of the plan proposed with reference to the articles which have been presented to them, which are now in possession of the store-keeper.

(Signed) " Thos. C. Watson,

" Wm. T. Lewis,

" N. L. Trueman."

A Monsieur Raffles, Lieutenant Gouverneur, &c. &c.

" Monsieur le Gouverneur,

" S'il nous a été pénible d'entrer avec vous dans une discussion publique, il doit nous être bien agréable en récompense de recevoir de vous l'assurance, que cette opposition de notre part

n'a pas altéré l'estime que vous nous avez toujours témoignée: nous nous empressons donc de vous faire connoître combien nous avons été sensibles à cette nouvelle preuve de votre bienveillance.

" Il est trop satisfaisant pour nous, Monsieur le Gouverneur, de voir que vous avez sçu apprécier les motifs de notre conduite, pour que nous puissions désormais avoir d'autre désir que celui de nous conformer aux vues que vous nous avez manifestées, nous vous prions donc d'être persuadé que nous souscrions avec plaisir à toutes vos propositions et que rien ne peut être plus satisfaisant pour nous, avant de quitter Bencoolen, que de vous prouver notre parfaite confiance en vos intentions amicables.

" Nous avons l'honneur, &c.

(Signed) " DIARD,

" A. DUVAUCEL."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

ON THE

ADMINISTRATION OF THE EASTERN ISLANDS IN 1819.

THE necessity of adopting a more uniform and consistent plan for the security and superintendance of our interests to the Eastward is generally admitted, and as recent events at Penang and Bencoolen have called for the immediate interposition of the superior authorities, the following suggestions on the subject are respectfully submitted for consideration.

The failure of the settlements alluded to, in the objects of their original establishment, the difficulties and irregularities which have hitherto attended their administration, and the dangers to which our political interests were exposed, in a recent instance, by the clashing of divided powers, indicate the propriety of uniting them under one authority, on a system more suited to their nature and object, and which shall be at once simple, efficient, and comprehensive. Such a reform becomes more urgent, from a consideration of the greater extent and importance which these interests have assumed in consequence of late political events and arrangements.

In order to shew in how far the establishments hitherto formed to the Eastward have failed in their objects, it may be sufficient to advert to the instructions of the Court of Directors on the formation of the government of Penang in 1805. This island, from its position and resources, appeared to the authorities in Europe "well calculated to secure the British interests, political and commercial, on the eastern side of Bengal." The attention of the new government was in consequence directed to the importance of forming establishments at Acheen and Mergui, and of extending our influence among the Malay States by the negociation of treaties with their respective chiefs; above all, the command of the Straits of Malacca, and the exclusion of foreign European nations, were insisted upon as political objects connected with the establishment of Penang as an extensive naval station. In a commercial point of view, it was expected to become a general depôt for the commodities of India and China, and "an emporium so situated as to afford a convenient approach from every part of India, from the extremity of China to the coasts of Africa, and where merchants of all nations might conveniently meet and exchange their goods." It was considered, "a reasonable expectation that the commercial advantages of Prince of Wales' Island" (to the Company as traders in opium, pepper, &c.) "would reimburse the expences which had already been sustained, and were likely to be sustained in maintaining that settlement."

Of these expectations, political and commercial, not one has been realized. Instead of availing itself of the opportunity early afforded of establishing the British interests at Acheen, while the authority of its chief was yet respectable, various local interests were allowed to influence its proceedings, and all the communications to the superior authorities only served to embarrass and defeat the object originally contemplated. The question of excluding foreigners from Mergui and the adjacent coasts of Pegu, seems never to have been considered; and so far from extending our influence among the Malay states in the manner directed, not a single attempt appears to have

been made to negociate a treaty with any one of them, until a Dutch force had actually arrived off Malacca in 1818, and disputed our right to do so. The restitution of Malacca to the Dutch was an event which could not have been contemplated in 1805, but as the command of the Straits was one of the first objects in the establishment of Penang, it was the duty of the local government to have provided for the emergency. The consequence of inattention to this object, and the embarrassment created at Acheen, have been so recently and so sensibly felt, that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon them. The plan for establishing an arsenal and dock-yard has long been abandoned, and the port is no longer considered convenient for the refitment or supply of his Majesty's navy.

Of the great commercial advantages contemplated, it may be observed, that instead of an increased resort of shipping and prows, its trade never rose into importance, and is already on the decline. The inconveniences and expences of the port are generally complained of, and ships passing through the Straits usually prefer Malacca, as a port of refreshment. The commercial profits which were to reimburse the Company by a trade in pepper, spices, &c. have never been realized. The pepper produce of Penang was expected to supersede that of the west coast of Sumatra, and a high estimate was formed of the spice cultivation. Of the former no purchases have ever been made; and of the latter not a single pound has been exported in a fit state for the Europe market. The practice of sending out Europe goods on account of the Company, has been discontinued as an unprofitable concern.

In explanation of these disappointments it may be observed, that although a higher estimate of the resources of the place may have been formed than subsequent experience has justified, many of the failures must be considered attributable to the defects inherent in a government unsuited to the nature and objects of the establishment. The island affords no natural advantages for a naval arsenal or docks; but with a decisive influence at Acheen and on the coast of Pegu, it would be a commanding station on the Eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, both for political and commercial purposes. Connected with Acheen it may be said also to command the northern entrance of the Straits of Malacca, but it can exercise no influence to the eastward, and the free navigation of the Straits must always depend on the power in possession of the southern and more important entrance. This fact was not overlooked by the Court of Directors; for it is observed in their first instructions, that "while the Dutch were in possession of Malacca, they always had it in their power to prevent the Malay and Bugguese prows from passing that station."

Possessing no internal resources, trade could alone be attracted by the facilities and advantages of the port; and it is obvious that as restrictions were introduced and duties exacted, the object of rendering it a general emporium would be defeated. The Government were early apprized of the impolicy of levying duties on the passing trade, and it would not be easy to account for the deviation from so essential a principle, did we not find a solution of the difficulty, and some explanation of the contradiction, in the nature of the government itself. Failing in the more extensive objects of their appointment, and confining themselves within the narrow precincts of a small island, the whole weight of a cumbrous machinery fell direct on the people, while the formalities, processes, and delays of a complicated administration contributed to depress the energy and check the commerce of the place. To uphold the existing system, in which the personal interests of all were concerned, it was attempted to make the local revenues equal to the expenditure, and the true end and purpose of the establishment seem to have been overlooked in a premature and inordinate desire of attaining this mistaken object. Further, it is not to be supposed that men in possession of power and dignities would be content to forego the exercise of them; and as the necessary duties of the place could not afford useful employment for so many heads, the natural result was

the creation of unnecessary business, and a meddling interference in the concerns of individuals; to say nothing of the differences and disputes among the members of government themselves, which made as many parties in the settlement as there were opinions in the council.

Having thus exemplified the defects of the existing system in an establishment which was intended to supersede all others, and to embrace the whole field of our eastern policy on this side Bengal, it may be proper, previous to the consideration of the changes which are expedient, to take a general review of the interests which are involved, and of the objects to be attained.

Of the countries which lie to the eastward of Bengal, those which first attract our attention are continental, and included within the great and populous empires of Ava and Siam.

The northern provinces of the Burman Empire coming in contact with those of Bengal, and negociations having been carried on with the Court of Ava, under the immediate authority of the Governor-General, it is unnecessary in this place to enter on any particular exposition of its nature and policy. It may be sufficient to observe, that its nature is peculiar, and its policy, particularly towards us, has of late been extremely jealous: in consequence of which, obstructions at the principal port of Pegu have considerably increased; and the general intercourse and trade in a great measure been checked. The importance of Pegu, if only considered with reference to the supply of teak timber to Bengal, will require that some measures, if not of a direct political tendency, at least for obtaining an indirect influence, should be early adopted: but it should be taken into consideration, that it is in the more southern provinces that the principal supplies of timber are to be obtained, and the best and largest are from Martaban. In these provinces, and particularly such as border on the Siamese territory, the people are less subject to the jealous restraint of Government, more readily enter into commercial pursuits, and keep up a considerable intercourse with Penang, where many of them have settled. By means of this intercourse a new and extensive field may be opened for commercial speculation, particularly in woollens and cottons, articles of which the consumption is general, and which might thus be introduced without exciting the jealousy which has hitherto obstructed the demand.

When it is considered that Siam extends its influence over the whole of the Malay peninsula, with the exception of Johore, and that our settlement of Penang is but an islet recently subordinate to one of its dependencies, and that this influence prevails over states with which our unrestricted intercourse is indispensable, the advantage of a good understanding with that Court is obvious. The long continued wars between the Burmahs and Siamese have contracted the territorial limits of the latter; but if they have on one side given way to the encroachments of a more powerful neighbour, they have on the other hand extended and strengthened their resources by opening their ports to general commerce. In this respect the policy of Siam is widely different from that of Ava, and the contiguity of its principal port to China has led to the establishment of a numerous Chinese population, which has given to its commerce the same stimulus which that enterprising people produce, wherever they are allowed to colonize. Siam has always carried on an extensive trade with the northern ports of China, and in former times kept up an intercourse with Japan. The latter, though reduced in importance, might again be opened and revived, and the Gulf of Siam become the centre of the same commerce which it commanded before the terror of the Portuguese arms, and the restrictions of the Dutch paralyzed the native energies of the Archipelago. Siam is, in fact, to the northern portion of the Archipelago what Java may be considered to the south: it is the granary of these countries. In the important articles of rice and salt, it maintains a successful competition with Java, and its sugar is sold to advantage in the Batavia market. Of the demand for cottons and opium, it may be observed that the former is daily increasing, and that the

latter amounts to several hundred chests per annum. The disposition of the Court is considered favourable to commerce, even with Europeans, and notwithstanding the impediments and inconveniences that still attend the port, it was frequented during the last year by numerous American and some French and English vessels. The higher prices and vexations of the port of Batavia are daily turning a portion of its commerce towards Siam, and the attention of foreign nations, particularly the French, has long been directed to a political influence in that quarter.

Contiguous to Siam, and between it and China, are the countries of Camboja and Cochin China. The former, though acknowledging the political supremacy of the latter, is in a great measure independent. An extensive junk trade has always been carried on at this port; and although our information is yet very imperfect regarding the interior districts of Laos Champa, &c. there is reason to believe that a very extensive population exists, with which a most advantageous commerce might be established.

Respecting Cochin China much information is yet wanting, but from what we already possess of a general nature, its importance and interests in various respects is fully proved. The extent of coast, the number of its harbours, its great population and resources, its contiguity to and connection with China, are circumstances which deserve serious attention, and the consequences to our interests, particularly in China, which might result from the establishment of a foreign European power in this quarter are not to be overlooked. If we consider the extent and vastness of the designs formed by the French, with reference to that country, as shewn in their treaty with the king of Cochin China so late as 1788, and by what unforeseen events its execution was interrupted, the subject will derive additional interest. By this treaty, which was concluded in Paris, it was stipulated, that in return for the immediate aid to be afforded by twenty French ships of war, seven regiments and one million of dollars, half to be paid in specie and half in military stores, to enable him to retrieve his affairs, the king of Cochin China should pay the permanent expences of fourteen ships of the line, for which officers and establishments should be sent from Europe; should allow resident consuls on every part of the coast, with unlimited authority to build ships and frigates, and to fell the timber necessary; should cede in perpetuity the Bay of Turon and Peninsula; and authorize the levy of a large body of native troops to be trained in French discipline, and be placed at the disposal of the French government, to be sent to any part of India that might be required. The expedition was on the point sailing from the Isle of France, when the breaking out of the Revolution checked the proceeding; but although the treaty was not fulfilled on the part of France, her emissaries continued to maintain a powerful influence in the country, which operated, in 1804, to defeat the mission sent from Canton on our part.

Our consideration is next directed to the islands, particularly Sumatra, along the coast of which our influence is extensive.

Although the kingdom of Acheen has long ceased to exercise an extensive influence, and the state of anarchy into which it has been thrown has rather repelled than invited foreign intercourse, the political importance of its position in commanding the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, particularly since the discovery of a safe and defensible harbour, cannot be disputed, while the trade which it carries on, even under its present disadvantageous circumstances, is still considerable. This trade on the eastern coast consists in exports, which are principally carried to Penang for the China market, such as pepper, betel-nut, and rattans; but the resources of the country, particularly of the more eastern provinces, are calculated to afford considerable exports in grain and cattle. The imports on this coast are chiefly opium and piece-goods, and to a considerable extent. On the western coast the produce is principally pepper, to the amount of 5000 tons annually,

which is for the most part purchased by Americans with specie; the other imports are opium, and India and Europe piece-goods: benjamin, camphor, and gold-dust, are sometimes obtained in return. Of the west coast of Sumatra generally, a few observations will suffice. The more northern ports are by far the most important. Tappanooly, on account of its extensive and almost unrivalled harbour, is considered politically valuable; and in a commercial view, in connnection with Nattal, it commands the trade of a large portion of the Batta country, and participates in that of Rau, Agam, and Menangkabu. Padang, which may be considered as the key of the rich and populous districts of the interior, and which has latterly assumed a commercial importance, is now in the hands of the Dutch. The districts to the southward of this are comparatively insignificant, whether viewed politically, or with reference to their commercial resources; they are included under the authority of Bencoolen.

Of Bencoolen it may be sufficient to quote the opinion expressed by the Court of Directors in 1805. "As a commercial establishment," they observed, "Bencoolen has become of no importance: the only produce of it, pepper, is a losing concern to the Company. It has no value in a political view, for no other European nation can turn it to much account, or bear the expense which must be incurred in maintaining it." Severe as this sentence may appear, it must be admitted, that with the exception of the finer spices which have since been successfully cultivated, and now confer on it a peculiar interest with reference to the abolition of the Dutch monopoly of those articles, the place has little to recommend it, either in a political or commercial view. It however includes a large portion of the western coast of the island; and the population having long been under our influence, are habituated to our government, and, as far as their means extend, are inclined to consume the manufactures which we import. A bad system has depressed their energies and impoverished their resources, but under a more enlightened and liberal policy, they may be expected to assume a more important rank.

On the eastern coast of Sumatra, the rivers of Siak and Indragiri afford a direct communication with the rich and populous country of Menangkabu, and were their navigation secured by a good understanding with the native chiefs, the course of commerce might soon be diverted from Padang on the west coast, and the productions of the interior, of which gold is not the least important, brought down those channels by which the tide of population anciently flowed to the coasts of most of the other islands. The navigation of the river Jambi also affords corresponding advantages; and the comparatively improved state of Palembang, while it distinguishes that capital as the most civilized part of Sumatra, offers the prospect of an extensive and well regulated trade as long as it maintains its independence. The island of Banca, in its extensive mines of tin and rising population of Chinese, is not the least important of these countries.

The immense island of Borneo, even the shores of which are yet imperfectly known, contains in its interior a more numerous agricultural population than has generally been supposed, and the rivers on its southern and western coast have long attracted the enterprize of the merchant. Large colonies of Chinese have established themselves, and in their demand for Indian and European produce, and export of gold, offer a wide and almost inexhaustible field of commercial speculation. The amount exported of gold alone, by far the largest portion of which finds its way to China, has been estimated at not less than half a million sterling. The northern provinces of this island, though more out of the general track of shipping, are not unimportant in a commercial view, particularly when considered in connection with Magindanao and the Suolu Archipelago. The valuable pearl-fisheries of the latter are at present carried on almost exclusively on account of the Chinese, who maintain an extensive junk trade with these islands. The maritime enterprize

of these people, though latterly too much devoted to piratical objects, might easily be directed into better channels.

The island of Celebes, of which a portion only is yet known to Europeans, is inhabited by a race of people remarkable for their energy and spirit. From one of the states in particular, extensive commercial speculations and distant voyages are undertaken to every part of the Archipelago, even to the coast of New Holland, and in every Malay state colonies of Buggueses are found established. When Europeans first visited these seas, the spice trade of the Moluccas in a great measure centered in this island, and though the political power and the restrictions of the Dutch have turned the course of this commerce, the main object of their establishment at Macassar is avowedly for securing this monopoly; but the influence of the Dutch on Celebes generally is not sufficient to prevent the commercial enterprize of the inhabitants from being directed to other channels.

Of Java and the Moluccas our recent possession of these important colonies has afforded the means of most ample information, and though their territorial resources are now transferred to another power, the trade must always be in part open to the general merchant. National interests and jealousies may obstruct the European merchant at the principal ports, but the native trade of such extensive coasts must always continue in a great degree unfettered, and at liberty to seek the best markets, and native carriers will always be found in the Bugguese and Chinese junks, as well as in the numerous Arab vessels which navigate the Archipelago.

The fate of the Philippines, in the present struggle between Spain and her colonies, is at least uncertain, and cannot be contemplated with indifference by us, considering the nature and importance of these interesting islands, and their proximity to China.

The countries included in the review, extend in a connected series from the Bay of Bengal to the coast of New Holland in one direction, to those of China in another, and occupy a space, from west to east, of upwards of two thousand geographical miles. It may be difficult to form a very accurate estimate of the population inhabiting these various countries, which differ so much in the several degrees of civilization, and whose interior is so little known; but if we take the continental empires of Ava and Siam, and the countries immediately beyond at fifteen millions *, which is much below the usual estimate, even of the two former, we shall not over-rate the Archipelago generally at an equal number; but as an accurate census has only been taken at Java, where the population was found to be about five millions, and that of Sumatra has recently been estimated at about three, we cannot possibly exceed in allowing two millions for Borneo and the rest of the Archipelago, making a total population of certainly not less than twenty-five millions, an estimate which will be found on enquiry rather to fall short than exceed the reality. In this estimate, however, are not included the countries in the immediate vicinity of China nor the Philippines, which latter alone contain a population of about three millions; so that the field of our commerce, exclusive of China, involves the interests of at least thirty millions of the human race.

Of this extensive and varied population, the gradations in civilization are wide, from the rude untutored Harafora to the comparatively civilized Javan and Siamese; but the absence of inveterate prejudice, and a spirit of enterprize and freedom distinguishes the whole. In the interior of the larger islands, the population is almost exclusively devoted to agriculture; but on the coasts, the adventurous character of the Bugguese, and the speculative industry of the Chinese, have given a stimulus and direction to the energies of the maritime and commercial states. Establish-

* The population of the Burman Empire alone has been estimated at fifteen millions; that of Siam at six millions; and Camboja and Cochin China at about the same.

ments are formed on each of the principal rivers, and while the less civilized inhabitant of the country is engaged in collecting its valuable raw products, in traversing the woods, or sweeping the shores, these native merchants become the carriers to more distant markets. The natural demand and necessities which must exist in so extensive an Archipelago, in which the employments and condition of the inhabitants are so various, give rise to a constant intercourse between them, and consequently to an extensive native trade, which from its nature must be beyond the reach of fiscal regulations.

The whole of this population, at least on the Malay Peninsula and throughout the islands, have imbibed a taste for Indian and European manufactures, and the demand is only limited by their means. Artificial impediments may for a time check their means; but in countries where, independently of the cultivation of the soil, the treasures of the mines seem inexhaustible, and the raw produce of its forests has in all ages been in equal demand, it is not easy to fix limits to the extension of these means.

But the peculiar and still higher interests which these countries excite, arises from their vicinity and intimate connection with China. From the earliest periods the Chinese would appear to have derived many of their luxuries, and to have considerable resources, from the Eastern Islands. Constant intercourse has made them acquainted with the different products, and the advantages of trading and mining operating upon a redundant population have given rise to extensive emigration. The number of Chinese settlers in Java does not amount to less than a hundred thousand; an equal number may be found at Siam, and still more on Borneo. The intercourse is principally carried on with Amoy and the northern provinces of China, to which the influence of the Hong merchants does not extend, and where trade is comparatively free. It is certain, that while the British were in possession of Java, the Junks from these ports conveyed to China large quantities of woollens and other articles of British staple and manufacture, and it is well known that the cargoes of the ten Junks which annually proceed from China to Japan consist almost entirely of these articles.

The number of Chinese which is annually imported into the islands is almost incredible, and is only checked by the want of capital to defray the immediate expense of their passage. Any speculator wishing to open a tin or gold-mine may obtain from ten to twenty thousand in a season, by paying their passage-money at the rate of twelve dollars a head, and reimburse himself for the same out of the profits of their labour, which they are willing to give gratuitously for three years as a consideration. Hundreds of these people have often been seen at Penang, anxiously waiting on board the ship on which they had been brought as a speculation from China, until some Chinese capitalist settled on the island became willing to land them on these terms. In Java we know that the extent of their colonization is only checked by the fears of the Dutch government, lest they should become too numerous. In the interior of Borneo the recent increase has been enormous, and the country in the vicinity of the mines has in every respect the appearance of a Chinese province. The Chinese establishments on Borneo would appear to have always been extensive. The circumstance of one of their emperors having formerly retreated to it, and having been buried on its shores, is a proof of their early intercourse; and abundant evidence in their tombs and ruins of their establishments, is adduced to shew the extent to which it was carried, before the excluding system of the Dutch destroyed the trade of the coast. If an instance were wanting to shew the eagerness of this extraordinary people to establish themselves wherever they are likely to enjoy the fruits of their industry, a recent instance at Singapore might be adduced.

When the British flag was first hoisted, there were not perhaps fifty-three Chinese on the island: in three months the number did not fall short of three thousand, and this was rapidly increasing.

After this general review, our attention is directed to the nature and importance of the intercourse which the English have held with these countries and people; the objects of that intercourse, political and commercial; and the national interests which are involved in the protection and improvement of the existing connection.

Politically, the securing of a free and safe passage for our China trade, both from Europe and India, at all times and under all circumstances, has been considered of paramount importance, independently of excluding European powers from establishing themselves to the eastward of Bengal, so much insisted upon on the first establishment of Penang. To these may be added the necessity of at all times preserving such a political influence and consideration, as may secure our full participation in the general trade of the Archipelago.

Commercially, the nature of our intercourse and objects may require a more particular explanation. When Europeans first frequented the Archipelago, the trade had long collected at certain established emporia; of these Acheen, Malacca, and Bantam were the principal; Macassar or Celebes had also become an emporium of the more eastern commerce. With the exception of the coffee in Java and the spices of the Moluccas, nearly the whole produce of the islands may be considered as a trade of collection, which, by means of the smooth seas of the Archipelago, is readily conveyed to the most advantageous markets. Foreign traders in large vessels found it more to their interest to proceed to the emporia, where they might at once procure a full cargo, than to run the risk of collecting the articles in detail on a more extensive and hazardous voyage, and thus the interests of both were promoted. The foreign commerce was carried on with ease and safety, and to the manifest advantage of all parties.

The valour of Portugal broke the power of the native states, and left them exposed to the more selfish policy of their successors. The Dutch had no sooner established their capital at Batavia, than not satisfied with transferring to it the emporium of Bantam, they conceived the idea of making it the sole and only depôt of the commerce of the Archipelago. Had this object been combined with a liberal policy, and had the local circumstances of Batavia not obstructed it, the effect might have been different, and instead of the ruin and desolation which ensued throughout a large portion of these islands, they might have advanced in civilization, while they contributed to raise the prosperity, and support the ascendancy of the Dutch metropolis. But when we advert to the greedy policy which swallowed up the resources of this extensive Archipelago in a narrow and rigid monopoly, and that instead of leaving trade to accumulate as it had previously done at the natural emporia, it was forced by means of arbitray and restrictive regulations into one, which, independent of other disadvantages, soon proved the grave of the majority of those who were obliged to resort to it, we shall find the cause which has proved as ruinous to the Dutch as to the people. By attempting too much, they lost what under other circumstances might have been turned into advantage; and the native states, deprived of their fair share of commerce, abandoned all attempts, and sunk into the comparative insignificance in which they were found at the period when our traders began to navigate those seas from Madras and Bengal. The destruction of the native trade of the Archipelago by this withering policy, may be considered as the origin of many of the evils, and of all the piracies of which we now complain. A maritime and commercial people suddenly deprived of all honest employment, or the means of respectable subsistence, either sunk into apathy and indolence, or expended their natural energies in piratical attempts to recover by

force and plunder what they had been deprived of by policy and fraud. In this state of decay they continued to degenerate, till the appearance of our country traders revived their suppressed and nearly extinguished energies, and awoke to a new life the commerce and enterprise of this interesting portion of the globe. The decline and corruption of the Dutch power in the East offered little obstruction: as our intercourse increased, their establishments were withdrawn, and long before the conquest of Java we had already possessed ourselves of the largest portion of this trade.

This trade, which may now be considered natural to and belonging to Bengal, is of course carried on, on the true principles of commerce; it is not supported by any artificial means, and no restrictions are considered necessary for its security. It consists chiefly in the exportation from India of opium and piece goods, to an extent which has gradually been increasing from its commencement: the returns are principally in specie and gold-dust. Other articles, the produce of the Eastern Islands, find their way to the general market of Calcutta, but they are for the most part adapted for sale in China, whither they are annually carried in native and country vessels. It is not necessary to enter into a detail, on the present occasion, of the extent to which the trade of the Eastern Islands is now carried; the nature of the cargoes, both of import and export from Europe, is generally known, and the increasing importance of the commerce, both to our territories in India and the mother country, is universally admitted. Particular branches of trade which have excited most interest, and channels of commerce which appear most important to be encouraged and improved, will be hereafter noticed.

The preceding statements have prepared us to enter upon the immediate purpose of this paper, the consideration of the objects now in view, and the policy to be pursued in their attainment. The subject naturally divides into three heads, which will be considered in succession.

1. The high importance of our connection with these countries, whether considered with reference to the national interest in general, or to those of British India in particular.

2. The nature of our connection is and ought to be purely commercial, and our interference politically, no further extended than to secure the general interests of that commerce.

3. The object of our connection being purely commercial, our establishments should be conformable, and our relation with the native states conducted exclusively on that principle.

On the first point it would be superfluous, after what has been said, to enter on further discussion. The importance of the connection is great and obvious, and is generally admitted; but it is impossible to pass over without some notice, the peculiar and additional interest which recent events have given to our relation with the Eastern Islands. The supremacy of Great Britain having now been established over the whole of the continent of India, and our empire consolidated by the late territorial acquisitions, and by the liberal principles and enlightened policy which have raised it to its present pitch of unrivalled eminence and prosperity, it remains for the wisdom which accomplished these to draw forth and develop the resources of the country, and to open and secure the channels through which they must flow. To insure a market for the manufactures of India, and thus promote its industry and prosperity, and give an advantageous and beneficial direction to the energies of its people, becomes an object of great and increasing importance. The extraordinary advance of British manufactures having in a great measure excluded those of India from the European market, it is to the populous and less civilized countries of the further east, that we can alone look for a permanent demand. It is on these countries that India has always depended for the consumption of her opium and piece-goods, and the demand for them, even under the unfavourable circumstances which have hitherto attended the trade, has been always on the

increase. The consequences which would attend the loss of this trade, limited as it now is, are too obvious to require explanation, and the security and improvement of it are in consequence most intimately connected with the prosperity of our Indian empire, and essential to the attainment of the full benefits and eventful results of our late great and unparalleled success.

On the second point, that our connection should be confined to purely commercial objects, it may be necessary to make a few observations. The extent and high value of our possessions in India renders the acquisition of further territory, particularly in new and less civilized countries, comparatively unimportant, and perhaps objectionable. The only position that might have been valuable to us in this point of view, has been transferred to another power; and although other European nations might find their interest in colonizing, it would perhaps neither suit the finances or policy of Great Britain to make the outlay, or involve itself in the necessary difficulties of the undertaking. The paramount importance of our commerce, and of securing its interest, being admitted, it is to this object that our policy should be steadily directed. It will therefore be essential to our interests to acquire and maintain such an influence in the countries in question, as shall best secure this object, without involving ourselves in extensive establishments and local difficulties and disputes, which might distract our attention, and divert us from our proper and more immediate interests.

On the third point, enough has been said to show the fallacy of conducting our establishments on any other than purely commercial principles. The effects of a contrary line of policy have been exemplified in the ruinous losses and entire failure of all other plans. It has been shewn that the establishment of Penang failed in its object from this cause, and the same observation applies to Bencoolen. Of the latter it may be observed, that although the object was professedly commercial, the deviations in practice from what may be considered the true commercial spirit, were such as to defeat itself and entail poverty and ruin on the country. The true and vivifying spirit of commerce is one which tends as much to raise and excite the energies of the cultivator who sells, as to promote the interest of the merchant who buys, and is directly opposed to that system of forced cultivation and undue monopoly, which while it destroys every motive to exertion, must eventually defeat the object of those by whom it is enforced, and thus, even as a simple matter of calculation, turn to the loss of both parties.

On these general principles we proceed to the consideration of the nature, extent, and definite objects of the establishments we may form.

Having shewn that trade, and not territory, is our object, and that this trade is intimately connected and interwoven with the interests of British India, it is of the first importance that the nature of this commerce, and the principles on which it can alone be secured and extended, should be clearly understood. Our establishments should be directed to no partial or immediate views of commercial profit, but to the preservation of a free and unrestricted commerce, and to the encouragement and protection of individual enterprize and the interests of the general merchant. The advantages of these establishments are not to be sought in the columns of a debtor and creditor account, but are to be felt in a wider sphere than can be subjected to ordinary rules of calculation, in the general diffusion of a spirit of industry and enterprize, and in the far-spread benefits which flow from the extension of our general trade and resources. It has been from the enterprize of individuals that India has hitherto derived advantages in this commerce, and it is to this alone she can look for their continuance and improvement. It is to the general trade of India that we must look for the effects and benefits of our more Eastern establishments, and not to the local and comparatively insignificant resources of any particular settlement, which should never be allowed for

one moment to weigh against the higher and more general interests at stake. We should consider what may be the real value to us of this general trade, and what we can afford to pay for its security and improvement. We must look upon all establishments to the eastward as an outlay for these purposes, and these purposes alone. Our establishments should be looked upon as so many out-posts or stations erected for the convenience and security of our general commercial interests, and not as governments intended for the rule and detailed management of a dominion.

It follows that the economy of these establishments is to be sought in their fitness for the objects intended: they should neither be too large and weighty, as at Penang; nor so confined as to affect their efficiency, and thus defeat their object. Wherever the British flag is raised, it should be adequate to afford the full measure of its protection. The establishments should be respectable, and such as to be consistent with our national character, and the promptitude and efficiency of the public service.

The nature of the Eastern Islands, and the knowledge we possess of their resources and of the course of their internal trade, afford abundant evidence that where political obstructions do not oppose, trade must and will accumulate wherever protection is afforded and advantage to be obtained. We have seen that this was the case when Europeans first visited these seas, and that the flourishing era of that commerce may be considered to have been while it continued in this state. Its decline may be dated from the period when the Dutch attempted to divert the trade from its natural course, and every attempt at improvement on our part must be founded on a recurrence to these general principles; and it is fortunate that an attention to these principles is in every respect consistent with our present views, interests, and means. The events of two centuries have necessarily effected a considerable change in the course and channels of this commerce, but the principle remains unaltered, and may be applied with little modification to existing circumstances. Thus, although Bantam and Acheen may have long ceased to be two of the principal emporia, the place of the former has been supplied by Batavia, while the trade of the latter now centres in Penang. Dutch policy destroyed the emporium of Malacca, which had by political necessity been transferred from Singapore, once the great emporium of these seas, whose history is lost in the mists of antiquity, but whose greatness and importance are still preserved in the records of tradition. The more eastern emporium of the Moluccas has shared the fate of Malacca, and the object of the Dutch settlement at Macassar is solely to prevent its rise. Such, however, is the tendency of this trade to collect at its natural entrepôts, that it requires but the protecting influence of an opposite policy to revive that commerce and restore the ancient order of things.

Thus by the possession of Penang and Singapore, and the facilities which the latter affords of establishing another station still further east, we have the means of reviving and re-establishing at least two of the ancient emporia, and this without any interference with the territorial rights of the Dutch, to whom the emporium of Batavia will still remain.

It is therefore proposed, that the existing establishments be reformed on this principle, and that one uniform system be adopted for the protection of the British interests to the eastward, and the present establishments reduced and modified to a scale more suited to their object and duties.

With this view it will be necessary to place the establishments forthwith on the footing of commercial stations, similar in principle to what has lately been adopted at Singapore, and that the general superintendence of these stations be vested in the hands of the Supreme Government of India, whose duty it will be at all times to protect and advance their real objects, and to exercise such political influence over the native states, as circumstances and the security of our interests may render necessary.

For the duties of Penang and Bencoolen, under this arrangement, a local resident, with two or three principal assistants at each, will be sufficient for the civil and general administration. At Singapore, the establishment is already on this principle; and as a minor station with reference to the importance of its harbour, and to the trade of the north-western coast of Sumatra, a small establishment on the same principle may be advisable at Tappanooly.

Under this arrangement, Penang might become an extensive emporium at the northern entrance of the straits, and would embrace the trade from the westward, and in particular of the countries on the eastern coast of Acheen, of the southern provinces of the Burman territories, as well as those of Siam in its immediate vicinity, and the Malay states on the western side of the Peninsula. The share which it would possess of the more eastern trade would depend on the advantages of its market, to which the course would be unobstructed. Singapore would receive that which flowed from the surrounding states, comprising those of the eastern coast of Sumatra and adjacent islands, Johore and its dependencies, Borneo and Celebes, the Malay states on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, Siam, Camboja, a large portion of the native trade of China, together with such part of that of Java and its immediate dependencies, as may be repulsed by the restrictive regulations and heavy duties of the Dutch settlements. On the west coast of Sumatra, the extensive pepper trade of the northern ports, which has hitherto been almost exclusively in the hands of Americans, would centre in Tappanooly, while Bencoolen would become the depôt of the more southern provinces.

To proceed to details, the changes to be effected at Penang first came under our consideration. The manner in which its local duties are performed by a Governor and Council is objectionable in principle, and must be reformed. The Collector of Customs and *Land Revenues* has hitherto been considered the first officer under government, and has always held a seat in council with five per cent. on the duties collected: this office will become useless, as no duties are to be levied beyond such as would more properly fall within the province either of the master attendant or the magistrate. The next office of importance is the Warehouse and Store-keeper, who is also a member of council: this office will become unnecessary under the system proposed, by which the supplies required by government are proposed to be obtained on another and more economical principle than that of keeping extensive civil and marine stores. The commissariat duties performed by this officer would be better conducted in the military department. A separate Pay-master will become unnecessary for the reduced civil establishment, and in the military may be advantageously combined with the commissariat. The duties of Secretary, Accountant, and Sub-treasurer would be so reduced as to render unnecessary the continuance of these separate offices. The limited duties would be performed by the assistants to the resident; but it is a point of the first importance that he himself should personally superintend all matters of cash and account, and be responsible for every item. The existence of separate offices for these departments, only tends to remove responsibility from the chief authority, to whom alone government look, and to an unnecessary increase in the minor establishments. The only offices which may be considered separate and distinct from the immediate duties of the resident himself, are those which must be performed by the magistrate and master attendant, and the efficiency of these two offices is essential. The reduction of expense, the relief which the settlement and its trade would feel, and the superior efficiency which would be established as the necessary consequences of such a change, are too obvious to require comment.

At Singapore the duties are already performed on this principle by a resident and one assistant with a master attendant; and at Bencoolen, the public interests have long recommended

the reduction of the establishment to a resident and two assistants, with a magistrate and master attendant.

When it is considered that the immediate duties of the port, and of police, are provided for by the appointment of efficient officers in those departments, and that where security is afforded, and obstructions removed, trade flourishes most where it least feels the weight and interference of government, the duties of the resident and his assistants will not be found very heavy. The expense of establishments will be clearly defined, and at all times subject to the control and revision of the superior authority. Where, however, an establishment is limited in number, strict attention to the efficiency of each officer is indispensable, and much must always depend on the character and talent of the local chief authority. On many accounts, the union of the chief civil and military authority, when practicable, will be found advantageous. The rank and commanding influence of a military officer has a considerable weight, and tends to prevent collision between the civil and military branches of the service, unfortunately so frequent at remote stations. The character also of a military man precludes him from trade, and his habits of subordination and duty insure promptitude and regularity in the fulfilment of his instructions. The simplicity and economy of this union are also in its favour.

It has hitherto been usual at Bencoolen and Prince of Wales' Island to maintain a regular establishment of civil servants, rising from the rank of writers to the highest offices. Admirable as this system has proved to be on the large scale, it is to be feared, that in these small establishments the same advantages have not resulted. The number is too limited to admit of competition or selection, and the narrowness of the field is too apt to contract their ideas to the local habits and prejudices of the place, and prevent the acquirement of those liberal and just views which are obtained in a more general intercourse of society. On the reformed plan of our Eastern establishments, it is conceived that it would be far more advantageous that the selection should be made from the service in India generally. The line of assistants will of course be that in which local experience may be obtained, and in which the opportunity would be afforded for the display of the requisite qualifications for the higher stations.

In order to confine the duties of the proposed establishments within their proper sphere, and to prevent loss or embarrassment by any partial recurrence to the old system, it should be laid down as a fixed rule, that with the exception of the military department, no public stores whatever should be imported or kept on account of government, and that whenever any articles may be required for the public service, they shall be purchased by contract or tender in the general market as required. The universal adoption of this principle would be advantageous to the general trade, and economical to government, and the injurious effects which have resulted and the losses which have accrued to the Company from a contrary practice need not be dwelt upon.

On the military establishment and defence of these stations, it is unnecessary to enlarge in this place. If the general plan is adopted, no difficulties will arise on this head, while a considerable improvement may be anticipated in its efficiency. The present very expensive mode of effecting the reliefs seems to require amendment, and the health and efficiency of the regular troops may be improved by the extension of local corps for the minor and more harassing duties. For the staff, an adjutant or station staff, with an officer who should perform the joint duties of the commissariat or pay departments, will be sufficient for each station; the latter should be a permanent appointment. An engineer officer for the general superintendence of public works over the whole will be sufficient.

In countries so circumstanced, and with objects so defined, an extensive military establishment

is not necessary, and at all times the general defence and protection of our interests must depend more on the naval force. In ordinary times, when we have no European enemies to oppose, the occasional visit of one of his Majesty's frigates, with two properly equipped vessels on account of the Company, will be adequate for all purposes. These vessels should be suited to the nature of the eastern seas, and calculated to afford accommodation to officers and small detachments that may require to be sent from one station to another, by which and the occasional transport of military stores, much of the heavy expense now incurred in private tonnage will be avoided. In order to define and limit the expense of such vessels, it is proposed that they be engaged on contract at a certain rate per month, government appointing the officers. The expense of a vessel of the description required will not exceed four or five thousand rupees per month, and no contingencies or further outlay need be calculated upon. The advantage of this mode over that of building or purchasing vessels to be kept in repair and equipped by government is evident, when we consider the enormous expenses which invariably accrue at out-stations in all kinds of repairs, and in keeping up a stock of marine stores to provide for occasional demands, to say nothing of the accumulation of dead stock, and the loss which usually attends the resale of the vessels when unfit for further service. A certain and definite expense is substituted for one which in its nature is fluctuating and increasing, at the same time that it has a manifest superiority in point of efficiency.

The duties of the superintending authority form the next subject of consideration. These naturally divide themselves into two heads, the controul of the different stations, and those of a political nature.

The local duties of the stations having been provided for by the establishments in each, the residence of a superintending authority is not necessary in either, and they may be at once placed under the supreme government of India, whose duty it will be to controul and enter into the details of each, as far as may be deemed necessary to the public service, to keep the establishments efficient, and to check and regulate their expenditure and accounts, according to such forms as may enable that authority to form a correct judgment on them. Measures will be taken for raising the pecuniary supplies by drafts on Bengal or otherwise, on one uniform system, which will prevent the recurrence of inconsistency and loss; and on this head it need only be observed, that in raising these supplies, it is not the object to obtain any partial advantage by artificial means, as it will be found that a fair competition in the market will always secure the interest of government, at the same time that it promotes that of the general merchant.

The political duties are of a more extensive and different nature. They will comprize the maintenance of a due influence among the native states, and such an interference in each, as may tend to secure the British interests and remove obstructions in the way of a free commercial intercourse with them. It will be an object to avoid all interference which may involve our government in their internal disputes, at the same time that we cultivate and improve our connection with them by all the influence and support that they can reasonably look for from a powerful ally and protecting authority. Our own interests are so manifestly connected with the advancement and improvement of the native states, that it is obvious we can have no views which are not equally to their advantage, and our interference is in consequence more likely to be invited than looked upon with jealousy and distrust. On the same principle that we consult our general interests by fostering and promoting the individual enterprize of our own traders by giving them the utmost freedom in their speculations, we shall, on a wider and more extensive field, advance our higher political interests, by encouraging and improving the energies and resources of these states, by upholding their independence, and strengthening their power and importance. Our interference is not

intended to depress but to raise these states, and by the establishment of a free and unrestricted commercial intercourse, to draw forth their resources while we improve our own.

Thus at Acheen, by upholding the legitimate authority with our countenance and influence, we may give effect to our recent political engagements with that state, and at the same time restore confidence and the general tranquillity and prosperity of the country. To heal the long-continued dissensions, and to turn into more advantageous channels the energies of the country, is an object equally beneficial to the people themselves and to our interests; and it is considered that this is rather to be attained by the political support of the chief authority, than by any direct interference either to enforce obedience or accomplish our purposes. While the safety of the ports is secured, and general intercourse may be carried on without danger, this direct interference on our part is unnecessary, and even objectionable; but to secure this important object, a political influence may be essential, whether it is to be obtained by aiding the king with arms and troops, or by the establishment of a secret or avowed agent, to direct his councils.

The supreme government would further turn its attention to the improvement of the intercourse already subsisting between the southern provinces of Ava and Penang, and in an especial manner to our connection with Siam. Considering the peculiar character of these people, the little intercourse we have hitherto had with them, and the general want of information which exists, our more immediate object seems to be the acquirement of a knowledge of the policy and disposition of the chiefs and people, and of the general nature and resources of the country; and it might perhaps be sufficient to obtain this, in the first instance, through the medium of intelligent agents, who might be induced to fix their residence in the country for commercial objects, and without any avowed political connection with our government. Thus at Rangoon, the agent, who as a merchant might be employed to supply the arsenal of Fort William with teak timber, might, without exciting suspicion or jealousy, obtain and secretly communicate the information required. Of course every thing would depend on the ability of this agent; but it is conceived, that the allowance which might be granted by government for this duty, would be sufficient to command the necessary talent. The facilities and command which our position at Singapore affords to the prosecution of an intercourse or negociation with Siam are great, and a proper understanding with that power would immediately be felt in the general extension of our influence throughout the Archipelago. The more open and unrestricted the intercourse with Siam may be, the less will be the dependence of the islands generally on the power which may command the resources of Java.

Our influence at Siam would be attended with immediate effects throughout the Malay states on the Peninsula, which naturally look to us, as a powerful ally, for the relief it would be our object to obtain. Released from these continued vexations, which are of no advantage to Siam, but ruinous to them, they would, under our fostering care and protection, gradually rise into importance.

Throughout the Malay states in general, it will be proper to maintain an influence by the means of occasional negociation, which, while it shall secure every commercial object, will protect them from the interference of a foreign European power. Our commercial treaties will have for their object the free and safe navigation of the coasts and rivers, and the security of intercourse at the different ports, rather on a principle of responsibility than one of direct check and controul. By raising the importance of the acknowledged chiefs, and making them responsible for the prevention of piracy, this important object may be obtained with far greater facility and certainty, than by the largest establishment of gun-boats and cruizers.

Having now laid down the principles and detail of the proposed plan for reforming our esta-

blishments to the Eastward, the obstacles which stand in the way of its immediate and full adoption are next to be considered; these fortunately are few, and comparatively unimportant, and may be comprized in a few words. The existing form of government at Penang, of a Governor and Council, under the especial authority of the Court of Directors, the connection of that form of government with the court of justice there established, and the supernumerary civil servants at Penang and Bencoolen.

On the first two it may be observed, that while it may be expedient, pending a distant reference, to continue this form of government, there is nothing to prevent its being so modified, as to render it subservient and accordant with the general plan. The members of council may still retain their present rank as counsellors, judges, and magistrates, by which means the form and authority of the Recorder's court would still be preserved, and the duties of police would be duly provided for. It is in the transaction only of the affairs of government that modification would be necessary. Instead of the council meeting once in each week, it might be left optional to the governor to assemble them whenever he might require their advice on affairs of moment. They always hold other offices, and their duties as councillors might indeed be confined to the enactment of legislative provisions and general regulations. During the absence of the chief authority, one of the members of council might be appointed to act as vice-president, under such instructions as may become necessary, and the allowances of this officer on such occasions placed on a par with the acting authority at Singapore and Bencoolen; all affairs with the other stations and with the native states would be conducted by the superintending authority, and not be within the cognizance of the local council. These modifications may be made without inconvenience to the public service, or injury to the interests of individuals, and would be sufficient to admit the immediate operation of the reformed plan.

With regard to the Court of Justice, it may be observed that the personal interference of the members of the government as judges could never have been contemplated in its original constitution, and has given rise to much inconvenience and irregularity in the administration of justice; and the want of adherence to a more simple and obvious line of proceeding has long been complained of. The following observations on the subject, by the Solicitor to the East-India Company, may be adduced in proof. " However simple," he observes, " the establishment and mode of proceeding in such courts may be directed to be, yet foppery and fashion, which have as much influence in legal as in other institutions of mankind, will be continually tending to aggrandize, and of course, to increase the expense of the theatre, and the performances of the court. I fear," he adds, " that the attempt to restrain the forms of legal proceedings to practical use at Prince of Wales' Island have been in a great measure ineffectual." The Court of Directors have already abolished one member of the council; and by the modifications now suggested, the simplicity of the court will be still further promoted, and the Recorder left to the more free exercise of his judicial functions.

With regard to the civil servants, who will become supernumerary under the proposed arrangements, the number at Penang is not at present considerable; and if those of Bencoolen are transferred to Bombay, it may only be necessary to prevent the further increase by new appointments from home. Some additional expense may be occasioned in the first instance, by retaining more assistants at each station than may be eventually necessary, in order to afford a provision to some of these, but this need only be temporary. Under these modifications, the proposed plan of administration for the Eastern Islands may be at once adopted.

Having thus far endeavoured to prove the necessity and advantage of uniting our several esta-

blishments to the Eastward under one uniform and appropriate system of administration, and suggested the principles and plan on which the proposed reform might be effected, and their future management conducted and superintended, a few general observations on the immediate and eventual results of the change naturally present themselves.

The immediate advantages have already been shewn; they will be felt in the greater economy, efficiency, and simplicity of the establishments, the defined nature of their objects, and the general stimulus that will be given to commercial activity and enterprize. So much confusion, obscurity, and difference of opinion, have hitherto existed, as to the nature and objects of our Eastern establishments, that it is not among the least of the advantages of the proposed plan to render them intelligible and consistent. Instead of forming detached, and too often discordant portions of our Indian empire, it is now proposed to place them on such a footing as to make them parts of one harmonious and connected system, in which, while they rise in individual importance, they add to the strength and completeness of the whole.

Of the eventual and more remote advantages which may be contemplated in a political and commercial view, the prospect is unbounded. When we consider the extent of this unparalleled Archipelago, the variety and peculiar character of its people, the infinity of its resources, its contiguity to China and Japan, the most populous regions of the earth, and the extraordinary facilities it affords to commerce from the smoothness of its seas, the number and excellence of its harbours, and the regularity of its seasons, it would be vain to assign limits, or to say how far and wide the tide of commerce may flow, when once allowed to pursue its free and uninterrupted course, protected by the policy of an enlightened and powerful government, and receiving its impetus from the energies of an ardent and enterprizing people.

On a nearer view of the subject, there are some points which cannot fail to attract attention as more immediately connected with our own interests. It is obvious that the intercourse between a manufacturing country and a people who have made but little advance in the arts, must be to the manifest advantage of the former. It has been shewn that the extent of the demand for British and Indian manufactures is proportioned to that of the population, and that the tendency which exists to a rapid increase of that population by accessions from China, is almost without limits.

As an example of the effect of the stations which have been proposed, the instance of Singapore may be adduced. This station, though violently opposed by the Dutch government on principles which it would be difficult for them to avow, was hardly established as a free port, when speculations were immediately entered into by the Dutch merchants of Batavia, and several ships are already engaged by them to proceed to Singapore for the purchase of our Indian goods, which they are thus enabled to import without the charge of double duties, which the articles would be liable to if imported into Batavia in British bottoms. The produce of Java is also imported into Singapore on equally favourable terms, and thus the double duties exacted from foreign vessels at Batavia and Calcutta are naturally evaded, to the manifest advantage of the commerce of both countries.

If this has already been the case in defiance of the jealousy of the Dutch government, some idea may be formed of the greater advantages which may accrue from allowing our manufactures to be carried to China by native vessels on the same principles. The remittances of the Chinese population to the mother country are always extensive, and the Chinese trader has the advantage of importing free from those duties and exactions, with which the commerce of foreigners is clogged at Canton. Of the extent to which the import of our manufactures to China might be carried, some idea may be formed, when it is considered that the annual import of raw cotton, the

produce of our territories, does not fall short of ten thousand tons. As a manufacturing nation, it is an extraordinary fact, that we are thus encouraging the industry of a foreign nation at the expence of our own manufactures. If the exactions and difficulties to the foreign merchant at the port of Canton are such as to render the speculation unprofitable, the same objection does not apply to their introduction through the medium of the native trader, and it can hardly be expected that this branch of commerce can long remain on its present footing. The opening which has been afforded by our establishment at Singapore may possibly turn it more to our advantage.

It would swell this paper to an unnecessary length to enlarge further on this subject, and it may be concluded by a few reflections which naturally occur, on the advantages which will result to the natives of these countries, from the extension of our influence and commerce on the liberal principles now proposed. The advantages of commerce so conducted are reciprocal; if it enriches the one party, it raises the other in the scale of civilization, it creates new wants, and by opening new sources of enjoyment encourages industry and emulation.

Among the Malay states we shall find none of the obstacles which exist among the more civilized people of India, to the reception of new customs and ideas. They have not undergone the same artificial moulding: they are fresher from the hand of nature, and the absence of bigotry and inveterate prejudice leaves them much more open to receive new impressions and adopt new examples. Whatever may have been their former religion, its character does not appear to have been deeply imprinted, and they have carried the same moderate and temperate spirit into their new faith. They have no knowledge of the odious distinction of castes, but mingle indiscriminately in all society. With a high reverence for ancestry and nobility of descent, they are more influenced, and are quicker discerners of superiority of individual talent, than is usual among people not far advanced in civilization. They are addicted to commerce, which has already given a taste for luxuries, and this propensity they indulge to the utmost extent of their means. Among a people so unsophisticated and so free from prejudices, it is obvious that a greater scope is given to the influence of example; that in proportion as their intercourse with Europeans increases, and a free commerce adds to their resources, along with the wants which will be created, and the luxuries supplied, the humanizing arts of life will also find their way; and we may anticipate a much more rapid improvement than in nations, who having once arrived at a high point of civilization and retrograded in the scale, and now hardened by the recollection of what they once were, are brought up in a contempt for every thing beyond their own narrow circle, and who have for centuries bent under the double load of foreign tyranny and priestly intolerance. When these striking and important differences are taken into the account, we may be permitted to indulge more sanguine expectations of improvement among the tribes of the Eastern Isles. We may look forward to an early abolition of piracy and illicit traffic, when the seas shall be open to the free current of commerce, and when the British flag shall wave over them in protection of its freedom, and in promotion of its spirit. Restriction and oppression have too often converted their shores to scenes of rapine and violence, but an opposite policy and more enlightened principles will, ere long, subdue and remove the evil.

Thus in the spirit of personal independence which distinguishes these people, their high sense of honour, and the habits of reasoning and reflection to which they are accustomed from their infancy, we shall find the rudiments of improvement, and the basis on which a better order of society may be established. By confining our national regulations to the society which may collect at our proposed emporia, they will become centres of civilization as well as of commerce; while by avoiding with the native states all interference which may not be of a political

nature, we shall expose to their view, and recommend for their adoption, those arts and rules of civilized life, which contribute to the superior happiness of our condition, and leave them free to adopt and apply them among themselves, in the degree and manner which may be most accordant with their own notions and feelings.

The peculiar interest which these people excite may be illustrated by the general feeling which exists towards them on the part of almost every Englishman who has been among them, and become acquainted with their character. Notwithstanding their piracies and the vices usually attributed to them in their present state, there is something in the Malayan character which is congenial to British minds, and which leaves an impression very opposite to that which a much longer intercourse has given of the more subdued and cultivated natives of Hindostan. Retaining much of that boldness which marks the Tartar stock, from whence they are supposed to have sprung, they have acquired a softness not less remarkable in their manners than in their language. Few people are more habitually polite, or attend more to the courtesies of society. Among many of them traces of a former higher state of civilization are obvious, and where the opportunity has been afforded, even in our own times, they have been found capable of receiving the highest state of intellectual improvement.

The field which is thus open to the philanthropist needs no comment. He will look to the remoter effects which may be produced by the diffusion of knowledge by the aid of the press, and of moral instruction by the means of our schools, which would emanate from our principal stations to the surrounding countries; and to results which could not fail to be as creditable to us as Christians, as worthy of our character as Britons.

The subject of this paper cannot be dismissed without adverting to a question which may naturally be started. By the proposed plan the general interests of commerce are alone considered, what are the advantages to the Company in their commercial capacity?

To this it may be answered, that when the first and most important duties of government are fulfilled, the proposed arrangements, so far from obstructing the commerce of the Company, are calculated to improve its advantages and resources, in a degree at least commensurate with the increased facilities and security which they are intended to afford to trade in general. Heretofore the Company's trade in this quarter has not only been a losing one to themselves, but has tended to the depression of industry among the people, and to the exclusion and discouragement of the private merchant. This has been in a great measure owing to the mode in which it has been conducted, and to the erroneous system of combining the speculations of commerce with the powers of government; under another system the result may be very different. By separating entirely the two departments, and by conducting her commerce on the principle of wholesale and not of retail, the Company may in her commercial capacity yet be enabled to reap the full advantage of her command of capital, at the same time that she opposes no obstacles to the extension of commerce or to individual enterprize.

Of monopoly it may be said as of slavery, that it is twice cursed; that its effects are not less ruinous to those who enforce it, than to those who are subjected to it. The whole experience of Eastern commerce goes to prove this fact, and particularly the example of the Dutch, to say nothing of the striking instance afforded in our own establishment of Bencoolen. Commerce, like liberty, is a jealous power, and refuses her blessings to all who restrain her course.

It can no longer be the interest or duty of the East-India Company, to carry into her Indian administration that union of monopoly and coercive exaction, which has so long been exploded as impolitic and unjust. She now stands on a higher and more exalted footing; the strongest bul-

wark of her constitution will be found in the attention which she pays to the improvement and happiness of her subjects, and in the sacrifice she is always willing to make of her pecuniary interests, when these appear to stand in the way of the civilization and advancement of the human race. The time is past when the Company looked for her profits from the sale of a yard of broadcloth or a pound of nails: she now acts in a more extended sphere, and her principles have expanded with the growth of her empire. She now looks to the wealth and enterprize of those whom she governs, as the sure and only sources of her own financial prosperity. While these did not exist, it was necessarily left to the Company to supply the wants of her Indian population, in detail; but now that, under her fostering and enlightened rule, this wealth is fast accumulating, and the enterprize and energies of individuals are excited in no common degree, she must look to her trade in the Indian empire being conducted on the same principles as it is in the mother country. It is only on the great scale which is consistent with her capital and character, that her purchases and sales can be made with advantage to herself and benefit to the country. It is by the introduction of capital that trade is to be improved and extended. The entrance of a great capitalist into the market is an accession to its value; and so far from excluding the lesser capitals, and the enterprize of individuals, it opens to them a wider field than their own unaided exertions would be capable of. In no part of the world, perhaps, is capital more wanted than in the Eastern Islands, and were that of the Company thrown into it, so far from repressing the industry of individuals or checking the improvements contemplated, the additional stimulus would only tend to excite and encourage new energies, to accelerate the progress of general commerce, and the civilization to which it must inevitably lead. But for this end the Company must not enter into detail: she must not become a cultivator on her own account, she must not be a retail merchant. If she competes with the private merchant, it must be on true mercantile principles; she must look for success from the influence of her superior capital alone, and must be satisfied with a moderate profit proportioned to its extent. On these principles, and while the fabric of her civil administration would remain unshaken, her purchases would be made by contract with inferior capitalists, who would collect the articles, and her sales being made to a similar description of speculators, they would distribute them in detail. Thus her capital would be employed to open new channels of trade, to encourage industry, and by diffusing wealth and exciting enterprize, tend to promote the best interests of mankind, and would resemble those sea-born clouds, which descending in showers on her Indian mountains, return in a thousand fertilizing streams to the source from whence they rose.

MINUTES BY SIR T. S. RAFFLES,

ON

THE ESTABLISHMENT

OF A

MALAY COLLEGE AT SINGAPORE.

1819.

It is the peculiar characteristic of Great Britain, that wherever her influence has been extended, it has carried civilization and improvement in its train. To whatever quarter of the world her arms or her policy have led her, it has been her object to extend those blessings of freedom and justice for which she herself stands so pre-eminent. Whether in asserting the rights of independent nations, whether in advocating the cause of the captive and the slave, or in promoting the diffusion of truth and knowledge, England has always led the van. In the vast regions of India, where she has raised an empire unparalleled in history, no sooner was the sword of conquest sheathed, than her attention was turned to the dispensing of justice, to giving security to the persons and property, and to the improvement of the condition of her new subjects; to a reform in the whole judicial and revenue administration of the country, to the establishment of a system of internal management calculated to relieve the inhabitants from oppression and exaction, and to the dissemination of those principles and that knowledge, which should elevate the people whom conquest had placed under her sway, and thus to render her own prosperity dependent on that of the people over whom she ruled. A desire to know the origin and early history of the people, their institutions, laws, and opinions, led to associations expressly directed to this end; while by the application of the information thus obtained to the present circumstances of the country, the spirit and principles of British rule have rapidly augmented the power and increased the resources of the state, at the same time that they have in no less degree tended to excite the intellectual energies, and increase the individual happiness of the people.

The acquisitions of Great Britain in the East have not been made in the spirit of conquest; a concurrence of circumstances not to be controlled, and the energies of her sons, have carried her forward on a tide whose impulse has been irresistible. Other nations may have pursued the same course of conquest and success, but they have not like her paused in their career, and by moderation and justice consolidated what they had gained. This is the rock on which her Indian empire is placed; and it is on a perseverance in the principles which have already guided her that she

must depend for maintaining her commanding station, and for saving her from adding one more to the list of those, who have contended for empire and have sunk beneath the weight of their own ambition. Conquest has led to conquest, and our influence must continue to extend: the tide has received its impetus and it would be in vain to attempt to stem its current; but let the same principles be kept in view, let our minds and policy expand with our empire, and it will not only be the greatest, but the firmest and most enduring that has yet been held forth to the view and admiration of the world. While we raise those in the scale of civilization over whom our influence or our empire is extended, we shall lay the foundations of our dominion on the firm basis of justice and mutual advantage, instead of the uncertain and unsubstantial tenure of force and intrigue.

Such have been the principles of our Indian administration wherever we have acquired a territorial influence; it remains to be considered, how they can be best applied to countries where territory is not our object, but whose commerce is not less essential to our interests. With the countries east of Bengal an extensive commercial intercourse has always been carried on, and our influence is more or less felt throughout the whole, from the banks of the Ganges to China and New Holland. Recent events have directed our attention to these, and in a particular manner, to the Malayan Archipelago, where a vast field of commercial speculation has been opened, the limits of which it is difficult to foresee. A variety of circumstances have concurred to extend our connections in this quarter, and late arrangements, by giving them a consistency and consolidation, and uniting them more closely with our best interests both in India and Europe, have added much to their importance and consideration. Our connection with them, however, stands on a very different footing from that with the people of India; however inviting and extensive their resources, it is considered that they can be best drawn forth by the native energies of the people themselves, uninfluenced by foreign rule and unfettered by foreign regulations, and that it is by the reciprocal advantages of commerce, and commerce alone, that we may best promote our own interests and their advancement. A few stations are occupied for the security and protection of our trade, and the independence of all the surrounding states is not only acknowledged but maintained and supported by us.

Commerce being therefore the principle on which our connection with the Eastern States is formed, it behoves us to consider the effects which it is calculated to produce. Commerce is universally allowed to bring many benefits in its train, and in particular to be favourable to civilization and general improvement. Like all other powerful agents, however, it has proved the cause of many evils when improperly directed or not sufficiently controlled. It creates wants and introduces luxuries; but if there exists no principle for the regulation of these, and if there be nothing to check their influence, sensuality, vice and corruption will be the necessary results. Where the social institutions are favourable to independence and improvement, where the intellectual powers are cultivated and expanded, commerce opens a wider field for their exertion, and wealth and refinement become consistent with all that ennobles and exalts human nature. Education must keep pace with commerce, in order that its benefits may be ensured and its evils avoided; and in our connection with these countries, it should be our care that while with one hand we carry to their shores the capital of our merchants, the other should be stretched forth to offer them the means of intellectual improvement. Happily our policy is in accordance with these views and principles, and neither in the state of the countries themselves, nor in the character of their varied and extensive population, do we find any thing opposed. On the contrary, they invite us to the field, and every motive of humanity, policy, and religion seem to combine to recommend our early attention to this important object.

A few words will be sufficient to shew the nature and extent of this field. Within its narrowest limits it embraces the whole of that vast Archipelago, which stretching from Sumatra and Java to the Islands of the Pacific; and thence to the shores of China and Japan, has in all ages excited the attention and attracted the cupidity of more civilized nations; whose valuable and peculiar productions contributed to swell the extravagance of Roman luxury, and in more modern times has raised the power and consequence of every successive European nation into whose hands its commerce has fallen. It has raised several of these from insignificance and obscurity, to power and eminence, and perhaps in its earliest period among the Italian states, communicated the first electric spark which awoke to life the energies and the literature of Europe. The native population of these interesting Islands cannot be estimated at less than from ten to fifteen millions, of which Java alone contains five or six, and Sumatra not less than three.

In a more extensive view must be included the rich and populous countries of Ava and Siam, Camboja, Cochin-China, and Tonkin, the population of which is still more extensive than that of the Islands. And if to this we add the numerous Chinese population which is dispersed throughout these countries, and through the means of whom the light of knowledge may be extended to the remotest part of the Chinese empire and even to Japan, it will readily be acknowledged that the field is perhaps as extensive, interesting, and important, as ever offered itself to the contemplation of the philanthropic and enlightened mind.

When we descend to particulars, and consider the present state and circumstances of this extensive and varied population, and the history and character of the nations and tribes of which it is composed, we shall be more convinced of the necessity which exists, and of the advantages which must result from affording them the means of education and improvement. Among no people with whom we have become acquainted shall we find greater aptness to receive instruction, or fewer obstacles in the way of its communication.

With the exception of Java, the Moluccas, and Philippines, nearly the whole of the native states of the Archipelago may be considered independent. The European settlements on the coasts of Sumatra and Borneo are confined to commercial objects, and the interior of these large islands has never felt the effects of European interference. A large portion of their coasts and the whole of the smaller islands, as well as the states on the Malay peninsula, are exclusively under native authority.

Of the Malays who inhabit the interior of Sumatra, and are settled on the coasts throughout the Archipelago, it may be necessary to speak in the first place. The peculiar character of these people has always excited much attention, and various and opposite opinions have been entertained regarding them. By some, who have viewed only the darker side, they have been considered, with reference to their piracies and vices alone, as a people devoid of all regular government and principle, and abandoned to the influence of lawless and ungovernable passions. By others, however, who have taken a deeper view, and have become more intimately acquainted with their character, a different estimate has been formed. They admit the want of efficient government, but consider the people themselves to be possessed of high qualities, and such as might, under more favourable circumstances, be usefully and beneficially directed. They find in the personal independence of character which they display, their high sense of honour and impatience of insult, and in their habits of reasoning and reflection, the rudiments of improvement and the basis of a better order of society, while in the obscurity of their early history, the wide diffusion of their language and the traces of their former greatness, they discover an infinite source of speculation and interest.

That they once occupied a high and commanding political station in these seas appears

to be beyond a doubt, and that they maintained this position until the introduction of Mahomedanism seems equally probable. From the geographical situation of the more important countries then occupied by them, they were the first to come in contact with Mussulman Missionaries, and to embrace their tenets, to which circumstance may perhaps be attributed the dismemberment of the empire, and the decline of their power previously to the arrival of Europeans in these seas. At that period, however, the authority of Menangkabu, the ancient seat of government, was still acknowledged, and the states of Acheen and Malacca long disputed the progress of the Portuguese arms. The whole of Sumatra, at one period, was subject to the supreme power of Menangkabu, and proofs of the former grandeur and superiority of this state are still found, not only in the pompous edicts of its sovereigns, and in the veneration and respect paid to the most distant branches of the family, but in the comparatively high and improved state of cultivation of the country, and in the vestiges of antiquity which have recently been discovered in it. This country occupies the central districts of Sumatra, and contains between one and two millions of inhabitants, the whole of whom, with the exception of such as may be employed in the gold mines for which it has always been celebrated, are devoted to agriculture. The remains of sculpture and inscriptions found near the ancient capital correspond with those discovered in Java, and prove them to have been under the influence of the same Hindu faith which prevailed on that Island till the establishment of Mahomedanism there in the fifteenth century.

At what period the people of Menangkabu embraced the doctrines of the Prophet does not appear, and would form an interesting subject of inquiry. The conversion of Malacca and Acheen took place in the thirteenth century; but it is uncertain whether Menangkabu was converted previous to this date, although the religion is said to have been preached at Sumatra as early as the twelfth century. It was about this latter period (1160), that a colony issued from the interior of Sumatra, and established the maritime state of Singapura at the extremity of the Malay peninsula, where a line of Hindu princes continued to reign until the establishment of Malacca and the conversion of that place in 1276. Whatever may in more remote times have been the nature of the intercourse between foreign nations and Menangkabu itself, we know that Singapura, during the period noticed, was an extensively maritime and commercial state, and that on the first arrival of the Portuguese at Malacca, that emporium embraced the largest portion of the commerce between Eastern and Western nations. It is not necessary to enter into the history of the decline and fall of the Malay states of Malacca and Acheen, or of the establishment of Johor. The maritime and commercial enterprize of the people had already spread them far and wide through the Archipelago, and the power and policy of their European visitors, by breaking down their larger settlements, contributed to scatter them still wider, and to force them to form still smaller establishments wherever they could escape their power and vigilance.

From this general account it will appear that the Malays may be divided into two classes, agricultural and commercial. Our acquaintance with the latter being more intimate, and the opinion generally formed of the character of this people having been taken from the maritime states, it may be sufficient, on the present occasion, to advert to some particulars in the constitution of their government, and to the habits and character of the people who compose them.

The government of these states, which are established in more or less power on the different rivers on the eastern coasts of Sumatra and on the Malay peninsula, as well as on the coast of Borneo and throughout the smaller islands, is founded on principles entirely feudal. A high respect is paid to the person and family of the prince, who usually traces his descent through a long line of ancestors, generally originating on the Malayan side from Menangkabu or Johore, and not

unfrequently on the Mahomedan side from the descendants of the Prophet. The nobles are Chiefs at the head of a numerous train of dependants whose services they command. Their civil institutions and internal policy are a mixture of the Mahomedan with their own more ancient and peculiar customs and usages, the latter of which predominate: in the principal states they are collected in an ill-digested code, but in the inferior establishments they are trusted to tradition.

The Malays are distinguished not only by the high respect they pay to ancestry and nobility of descent, and their entire devotion to their chiefs and the cause they undertake, but by a veneration and reverence for the experience and opinions of their elders. They never enter on an enterprize without duly weighing its advantages and consequences, but when once embarked in it, they devote themselves to its accomplishment. They are sparing of their labour, and are judicious in its application, but when roused into action are not wanting in spirit and enthusiasm. In their commercial dealings they are keen and speculative, and a spirit of gaming is prevalent, but in their general habits they are far from penurious.

With a knowledge of this character, we may find in the circumstances in which they have been placed some excuse for the frequent piracies, and the practice of "running a muck," with which they have so often and justly been accused. That European policy which first destroyed the independence of their more respectable states, and subsequently appropriated to itself the whole trade of the Archipelago, left them without the means of honest subsistence, while by the extreme severity of its tortures and punishments it drove them to a state of desperation. Thus piracy became honourable; and that devotion, which on another occasion would have been called a virtue, became a crime.

Of the Javans a higher estimate may be formed. Though wanting in the native boldness and enterprize of character which distinguishes the Malays, they have many qualities in common with them, but bear deeper traces of foreign influence, and at the present period, at least, stand much higher in civilization. They are almost exclusively agricultural, and in the extraordinary fertility of their country they find sufficient inducements to prefer a life of comparative ease and comfort within their own shores to one of enterprize or hazard beyond them. The causes which have contributed to their present improved state are various, and however interesting, it would swell this paper beyond its due limits to enter on them.

The Madurese, who inhabit the neighbouring Island, are distinguished for more spirit and enterprize; but the people in that quarter who more peculiarly attract our interest are those of Bali, an Island lying immediately east of Java, and who at the present day exhibit the extraordinary fact of the existence of an independent Hindu government in this remote quarter of the East. It was in this island that, on the establishment of Mahomedanism in Java in the fifteenth century, the Hindus who adhered to their original faith took refuge, where they have preserved the recollection of their former greatness and the records and form of their religion. This Island, no part of which has ever been subjected to European authority, contains with Lombok, immediately adjoining, a population not far short of a million. The shores are unfavourable to commerce, and the people have not hitherto been much inclined to distant enterprize. The Island itself has long been subjected to all the horrors of an active slave-trade, by which means its inhabitants have been distributed among the European setttlements. A more honest commerce, however, has been lately attracted to it, and both Bugguese and Chinese have formed small establishments in the principal towns. In their personal character they are remarkable for a high independence and impatience of control. A redundant population added to the slave-trade has separated them into various states, which are generally at war with each other.

In the Island of Celebes we find the people of a still more enterprising character: the elective form of their government offers a singular anomaly among Asiatic states, and is not the least peculiar of their institutions. The Bugguese are the most adventurous traders of the Archipelago, to every part of which they carry their speculations, and even extend them to the coast of New Holland. They are remarkable for fair dealing and the extent of their transactions. They were converted to Mahomedanism at a much later period than either the Javans or Malays, and not generally till after the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. This Island contains an extensive population, but its interior and north-western provinces are but little known, and are inhabited by the same description of uncultivated people as are found in the interior of Borneo and the larger Islands to the Eastward.

Of the population of the Moluccas it may be remarked, that they are for the most part professing Christianity. The magnitude and importance of Borneo more peculiarly attracts our attention. Malay settlements are formed on its principal rivers, and extensive colonies of Chinese have established themselves in the vicinity of the gold mines a short distance inland, but the interior of the Island is yet unknown. Various estimates of its population have been formed, but the data are too uncertain to be depended upon. The tribes which inhabit the interior differ much in character, but the majority appear to be agricultural, and a race of people who might be easily improved and civilized. Others, again, are extremely barbarous; and it must be admitted, that the practice of man-hunting, for the purpose of obtaining the heads of the victims, is too frequent throughout. Of this latter description are various tribes still inhabiting the interior of Celebes, Ceram, and Jelolo, usually known by the name of Harafuras or Alfoors.

If we add to the above the population of the Philippines, which is not estimated at less than three millions, Magindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, the Battas and other inferior tribes of Sumatra, and the woolly-headed race occasionally found on the Peninsula and the larger Islands, and more extensively established in Papua or New Guinea, some idea may be formed of the extent and nature of the varied population of this interesting Archipelago. But the numerous Chinese settlers who now form a considerable portion of this population, and who have given a stimulus to the industry of its inhabitants, must not be passed over in silence. In the Island of Java the number of these settlers is not less than 100,000; a similar number is to be found in Siam: in Borneo they are still more numerous, and they are to be met with in every well regulated state. The valuable gold mines of the latter Island have offered a powerful inducement to their establishment: they are worked almost exclusively by Chinese, and an extensive population of Dayaks from the interior are rapidly extending cultivation in their vicinity. There seems to be no limits to the increase of Chinese on this Island, the redundance of population in the mother country, the constant intercourse which exists with it, and the inducements afforded for colonization in a new soil, where, in addition to agricultural and commercial resources, the produce of gold and diamonds appears to be only proportioned to the labour employed, are such that, to a speculating and industrious people like the Chinese, they must continue to operate in spite of political restrictions and partial exactions. It deserves remark, that of all the inhabitants of the Archipelago, the Chinese, as well from their assimilating more with the customs of Europeans than the native Mahomedans, as from their habits of obedience and submission to power, are uniformly found to be the most peaceable and improveable.

From the review now taken it will be seen how varied is the population of this Archipelago both in character and employments, and that it consists both of agricultural and commercial classes, of different ranks in the scale of each, from the wildest tribes who seek a precarious subsistence in

their woods and forests, to the civilized Javan who has drawn forth the riches of his unequalled soil, and made it the granary of these islands: and from the petty trader who collects the scattered produce of the interior, to the Chinese capitalist who receives it from them, and disperses it again to more distant regions. Situated between the rich and populous continents of China on the one hand and India on the other, and furnishing to Europe the means of an extensive commerce, the demand for the produce of those Islands is unfailing, and that produce is only limited by the extent of the population. By means of the variety of its tribes, their intermixture and connection with each other, and the accessible nature of the coasts washed by the smoothest seas in the world, while large and navigable rivers open communication with the interior, the stimulus of this commerce is propagated in successive waves through the whole, and the inexaustible resources of the country are drawn forth in a manner and to an extent that could not otherwise have been obtained. Each is dependant on the other, and receives and communicates a portion of the general activity. Thus the savage and intractable Batta collects and furnishes the camphor and benjamin, the spontaneous produce of his woods; the equally barbarous Dayak and wild Harafura ransacks the bowels of the earth for its gold and its diamonds; the inhabitants of Sulu seeks for the pearl beneath the waters that surround them, and others traverse the shores for the *tripang* or sea-slug, or descend into its rooky caverns for the Chinese luxury of birds' nests. Ascending from these we find the more civilized Sumatran, whose agriculture is yet rude, employed in the raising of pepper; the native of the Moluccas in the culture of the nutmeg, and the clove; the still higher Javan and Siamese, besides their abundant harvests of rice, supplying Europe with their coffee and sugar, and all impelled and set in motion by the spirit of commerce. Not less varied are the people who collect this produce from all these different quarters till it is finally shipped for Europe, India, and China, from the petty bartering trader who brings it from the interior of the ports and mouths of the rivers, the Malay who conveys it from port to port, the more adventurous Bugguese who sweeps the remote shores to concentrate their produce at the emporia, to the Chinese merchant who sends his junks laden with this accumulated produce to be dispersed through the empire of China, and furnishes Europeans with the cargoes of their ships. Through the same diverging channels are again circulated the manufactures of India and Europe, and thus a constant intercourse and circulation is maintained through the whole. How much this intercourse is facilitated by the nature of the countries, broken into innumerable islands, may be readily conceived, and the vastness of the field may be inferred from the extent to which its commerce has actually been carried, under every disadvantage of monopolizing policy and of insecurity of person and property, by which the condition of the people has been depressed and their increase prevented. When we consider that they are placed at the very threshold of China, a country overflowing with an enterprising and industrious population, anxious and eager to settle wherever security and protection is afforded, that it is this people who have chiefly contributed to maintain and support the energies of the native population, and have diffused the stimulus of their own activity wherever they have settled, and that protection only is wanted to accumulate them in any numbers, to create it may be said a second China, the resources and means of this extraordinary Archipelago will appear without limits.

Viewed in this light, Borneo and the Eastern Islands may become to China, what America is already to the nations of Europe. The superabundant and overflowing population of China affords an almost inexhaustible source of colonization, while the new and fertile soil of these islands offers the means of immediate and plentiful subsistence to any numbers who may settle in them. How rapidly, under such circumstances, these colonies may increase in population, where the climate is

at least as congenial to the Chinese as that of America to Europeans, may be readily conceived from the experience which the latter has afforded. The wealth of their mines and the extent of their own native population, added to the greater proximity of China, are advantages which were not enjoyed by America, and must contribute to accelerate the progress of colonization.

A scene like this cannot be viewed with indifference by the philosophic and contemplative mind. The diversified form in which the human character is exhibited, the new and original features which it displays, and the circumstances which have restrained or accelerated the development of our nature in these extensive and remote regions, offer sources of almost inexhaustible inquiry and research, while the obscurity which darkens the origin and early history of the people, the peculiarity of their languages, laws and customs, and the vestiges which remain of a higher state of the arts and of learning, offer, in a literary and scientific view, pursuits of no less interest than importance. Placed as we shall be in the very centre of this Archipelago, the life and soul of its extensive commerce, and maintaining with its most distant parts and with the adjacent continent a constant and rapidly increasing intercourse, the means are afforded to us, above all other nations, of prosecuting these studies with facility and advantage.

We here find human nature at its lowest point in the woolly-headed savage who roams his woods in absolute nakedness, deriving a precarious subsistence from roots and fish, and with no other habitation than a cavern or a tree. We can trace the progress of improvement in those whose agriculture is yet in its infancy, who clear a portion of their woods by fire, and take a contingency out of it by planting a little rice in the soil thus enriched by the ashes. We dwell with more pleasure on those rich tracts of cultivation which adorn the slopes of the central districts of Java and Sumatra, where the mountain torrent is arrested in its course, and made to flow over and fertilize successive terraces on which abundant harvests are reaped. We shall meet with states that have risen by commerce to wealth and eminence, and have now sunk since her soil has been displayed on other shores. To the historian and the antiquarian the field here presented is unbounded. The latter will trace in the languages and monuments, the origin and early history of these interesting people: he will find the Malayan language diffused under various modifications, from Madagascar on the coast of Africa, to the islands of the Pacific ; he will find it connected with Hinduism by an influx of Sanscrit words, and will trace the effects of subsequent conversion in an accession of Arabic terms. In their ancient monuments and inscriptions he will find proofs of the existence of the faith of Brama or Budh, and of their greatness as nations in the magnitude of their remains. He will find temples and sculptures which rival in beauty and extent those of continental India, and through the mists of tradition will discover the faint light of glories that have past away. He will find languages of a singular perfection and richness, that are no longer understood except by the learned; in short, he will find abundant proof of a former higher state of civilization from which they have fallen. The causes of this declension, the vicissitudes they have undergone, and their history in more modern times, when the progress of the Mussulman faith and of European arms overturned and threw into confusion the ancient order of things, are subjects not less interesting than untouched. Three centuries of intercourse have given but little information upon these and other interesting points. War or commerce has hitherto absorbed the attention of those who have visited these regions, with some exceptions, which have rather served to excite than to gratify curiosity. Late years have been more fertile, and have opened the way to further inquiries, and the spirit which has been awakened should not be suffered to sleep.

It would be endless to point out the desiderata which yet remain to be supplied, or the subjects of interest which are yet to be investigated. The origin of Budhism, as it may be traced

in Siam, and particularly Laos and other countries not yet visited by Europeans, but with which a commercial intercourse exists, is not the least of these. The objects of science are not less numerous, to say nothing of the vast field which the immense empire of China opens to the speculative mind. Through the means of her native traders who frequent those seas and are protected by our flag, we have it in our power to prosecute the most extensive researches, and to communicate as well as receive information which may be reciprocally useful and acceptable. While, as a manufacturing nation, we are compelled to supply this empire with the raw produce of our territories, we can never want an interest in inquiring into the principles and means by which they are thus able to supersede us, even with the advantage of our unrivalled machinery. The Chinese mind itself, the literature and character of this extraordinary people, of whom so little is known, that their place and rank in the scale of civilization is yet undetermined, are questions which have long attracted the attention of the western world. The current of their ideas, the mould of their minds, and the whole bent and direction of their powers differ so much from our own, that an estimate of them is no easy task. We find them dispersing themselves abroad, and carrying with them a spirit of enterprize and speculation combined with an industry and prudence, that makes them flourish and acquire opulence wherever they settle.

Such is the range of inquiry open to the philosopher; but to him who is interested in the cause of humanity, who thinks that the diffusion of the humanizing arts is as essential to the character of our nation as the acquisition of power and wealth, and that wherever our flag is carried it should confer the benefits of civilization on those whom it protects, it will appear no less important, that in proportion as we extend the field of our own inquiry and information, we should apply it to the advantage of those with whom we are connected, and endeavour to diffuse among them the light of knowledge and the means of moral and intellectual improvement.

The object of our stations being confined to the protection and encouragement of a free and unrestricted commerce with the whole of these countries, and our establishments being on this footing and principle, no jealousy can exist where we make our inquiries. When the man of science inquires for the mineral and vegetable productions of any particular country, or the manner in which the fields are cultivated, or the mines worked, no motive will exist for withholding information; but if, in return, we are anxious and ready to disseminate the superior knowledge we ourselves possess, how much shall we increase this readiness and desire on the part of the natives, and what may not be the extent of the blessings we may in exchange confer on these extensive regions? How noble the object, how beneficial the effects to carry with our commerce the lights of instruction and moral improvement. How much more exalted the character in which we shall appear, how much more congenial to every British feeling. By collecting the traditions of the country, and affording the means of instruction to all who visit our stations, we shall give an additional inducement to general intercourse; while the merchant will pursue his gain, the representative of our government will acquire a higher character and more general respect, by devoting a portion of his time to the diffusion of that knowledge and of those principles, which form the happiness and basis of all civilized society. The native inhabitant who will be first attracted by commerce, will imbibe a respect for our institutions, and when he finds that some of these are destined exclusively for his own benefit, while he applauds and respects the motive he will not fail to profit by them. Our civil institutions and political influence are calculated to increase the population and wealth of these countries, and cultivation of mind seems alone wanting to raise them to such a rank among the nations of the world as their geographical situation and climate may admit. And shall we, who have been so favoured among other nations, refuse to encourage the growth of intellectual im-

provement, or rather shall we not consider it one of our first duties to afford the means of education to surrounding countries, and thus render our stations not only the seats of commerce but of literature and the arts? Will not our best inclinations and feelings be thus gratified, at the same time that we are contributing to raise millions in the scale of civilization? It may be observed, that in proportion as the people are civilized, our intercourse with the islands will become more general, more secure, and more advantageous; that the native riches of the countries which they inhabit seem inexhaustible, and that the eventual extent of our commerce with them must consequently depend on the growth of intellectual improvement and the extension of moral principles. A knowledge of the languages of these countries, considered on the most extensive scale, is essential to all investigation; and may not the acquisition of these be pursued with most advantage in connection with some defined plan for educating the higher orders of the inhabitants? May not one object mutually aid the other, and the interests of philanthropy and literature be best consulted by making the advantages reciprocal?

There is nothing, perhaps, which distinguishes the character of these islanders from the people of India more than the absence of inveterate prejudice, and the little influence Mahomedanism has had over their conduct and mode of thinking. With them neither civil nor religious institutions seem to stand in the way of improvement, while the aptness and solicitude of the people to receive instruction is remarkable; and in the higher classes we often find a disposition to enjoy the luxuries and comforts of European life and to assimilate to its manners and courtesies. The states more advanced in civilization have embraced the Mahomedan faith, which still continues to make a slow progress throughout the Archipelago. This faith was not introduced by conquest, but by the gradual progress of persuasion exerted by active missionaries on a simple and ingenuous people. It is on the Mussulman teachers alone that they are at present dependant for instruction, but these are now comparatively few and of an inferior order; many of them little better than manumitted slaves, though assuming the titles of Seids and Sheiks. When we consider that the whole of the Archipelago is left open to the views and schemes of these men, that they promise the joys of paradise in recompense for the slight ceremony of circumcision, and in this world exemption from the pains of slavery to which all unbelievers are liable, we may account for the facility with which conversion is still effected, and the little impression it makes on the people. Institutions of the nature of colleges were formerly maintained by the native princes of Bantam and in the interior of Java and Sumatra, particularly at Menangkabu, to which latter a visit was considered only less meritorious than a pilgrimage to Mecca. These colleges have disappeared with the power of the native government which supported them, and their place is very imperfectly supplied by the inferior and illiterate priests who are settled among them. The want of an institution of this nature has long been felt and complained of by the higher orders, and a desire has even been expressed of sending their children to Bengal, but the distance and want of means to defray the expense has generally prevented them from doing so. In an instance, however, in which this has taken place, we shall find evidence of the capacity of the people to receive instruction, and are able to form some estimate of the degree of improvement to which they might attain if similar advantages were enjoyed by all. Shortly after the conquest of Java, two sons of the Regent of Samarang were sent to Bengal, where they remained only two years, but returned to their native country not only with a general knowledge of the English language, but versed in the elements of general history, science, and literature. The rapid progress made by these youths, not only in these attainments, but in their manners, habits, and principles, has been the surprize and admiration of all who have known them. It may be observed generally with regard to Maho-

medanism in the Eastern Islands, that although the more respectable part of the population pay some attention to its forms as the established religion of the country, they are far more attached and devoted to their ancient traditions and customs, insomuch that in most of the states the civil code of the Koran is almost unknown. In many of the countries which have not yet embraced Mahomedanism, such as those of the Battas and other interior tribes of Sumatra, the Islands along its Western coasts and the Dayaks of Borneo, it is difficult to say what are their religious tenets. Faint traces of Hinduism are occasionally discovered, blended with local and original ideas, and it has even been questioned whether some of them have any religion at all.

The inducements and facilities which are thus afforded, suggest the advantage and necessity of forming, under the immediate control and superintendence of government, an Institution of the nature of a native college, which shall embrace not only the object of educating the higher classes of the native population, but at the same time that of affording instruction to the officers of the Company in the native languages, and of facilitating our more general researches into the history, condition, and resources of these countries.

An institution of this kind, formed on a simple but respectable plan, would be hailed with satisfaction by the native Chiefs, who as far as their immediate means admit may be expected to contribute to its support; and a class of intelligent natives, who would be employed as teachers, would always be at the command and disposal of government. The want of such a class of men has long been felt, and is perhaps in a considerable degreee owing to the absence of any centre or seat of learning to which they could resort.

The position and circumstances of Singapura point it out as the most eligible situation for such an establishment. Its central situation among the Malay states, and the commanding influence of its commerce, render it a place of general and convenient resort, while in the minds of the natives it will always be associated with their fondest recollections, as the seat of their ancient government, before the influence of a foreign faith had shaken those institutions for which they still preserve so high an attachment and reverence. The advantage of selecting a place thus hallowed by the ideas of a remote antiquity, and the veneration attached to its ancient line of kings, from whom they are still proud to trace their descent, must be obvious.

The objects of such an institution may be briefly stated as follows:

First. To educate the sons of the higher order of natives and others.

Secondly. To afford the means of instruction in the native languages to such of the Company's servants and others as may desire it.

Thirdly. To collect the scattered literature and traditions of the country, with whatever may illustrate their laws and customs, and to publish and circulate in a correct form the most important of these, with such other works as may be calculated to raise the character of the institution and to be useful or instructive to the people.

In order to embrace these objects, it will be sufficient, in the first instance, that an European superintendant and assistant, with three native professors or head teachers and a few native assistants, should be appointed to conduct the duties. Hereafter, as the institution becomes more generally known and its advantages felt, an extension of this establishment may become necessary. The immediate expenses may be estimated not to exceed a thousand rupees per month, and ten thousand rupees for the construction of an appropriate building.

In the formation of the establishment the utmost simplicity will be necessary as well with a view to economy as with reference to the character and circumstances of the people. The rules for its internal discipline will be few and obvious, and the means of exciting emulation such as may be

best suited to the condition of the students. The establishment proposed will include a native professor in each of the three principal languages, Malay, Bugies and Siamese, with an assistant in each department, and four extra teachers in the Chinese, Javan, Burman, and Pali languages. The course of education will be the acquirement of such of the above languages as the students may select, together with Arabic, to which the same professors will be competent; and in the higher classes, the Roman character and English language will be taught, together with such elementary branches of general knowledge and history, as their capacity and inclination may demand. The extra number of Moonshees are intended to afford instruction to the Company's servants and others; and it will be the duty of the superintendant and native professors to form the collections, and carry into effect the third and last object, under such directions as they may from time to time receive.

The more immediate effects which may be expected to result from an Institution of this nature, have already been pointed out, and are such as will readily suggest themselves. Native schools on the Lancasterian plan have already been established at some of our stations, and may be expected to spread in various directions; connected with these an Institution of the nature now proposed is calculated to complete the system, and by affording to the higher classes a participation in the general progress of improvement, to raise them in a corresponding degree, and thus preserve and cement the natural relations of society. After what has been said, it is needless to enlarge on the more obvious and striking advantages which must result from the general diffusion of knowledge among the people so situated. The natural and certain effect must be the improvement of their condition, and a consequent advancement in civilization and happiness. The weakness of the chiefs is an evil which has been long felt and acknowledged in these countries, and to cultivate and improve their intellectual powers seems to be the most effectual remedy. They will duly appreciate the benefit conferred, and while it must inevitably tend to attach them more closely to us, we shall find our recompence in the stability of their future authority, and the general security and good order which must be the result.

There are, however, some results of a more distant and speculative nature, which it is impossible to pass over unnoticed. These relate more particularly to the eventual abolition of slavery, the modification of their more objectionable civil institutions, particularly those relating to debts and marriages, and the discontinuance of the horrid practices of cannibalism and man-hunting, but too prevalent among some of the more barbarous tribes, as the Battas and Alfoors.

It is almost unnecessary to state, that slavery is not only tolerated and acknowledged by the Malay law, but until recently it was openly encouraged by the chief European authority in these seas. Batavia for the last two centuries has been the principal and fatal mart to which the majority were carried, and the islands of Bali, Celebes, and Nias, are the countries whence the supplies were principally procured. Many thousands of the victims of this lawless traffic were annually obtained in much the same manner as on the coast of Africa, and the trade has always been a very profitable one and the principal support of piracy. While the British were in possession of Java, the act of Parliament declaring the trade felony on the part of its own subjects was made a colonial law; this prohibition does not appear to have been repealed, and much benefit may be anticipated from the Batavian Government not sanctioning the practice by its authority. But when we consider the extent and varied interests of the Archipelago, the number of slaves still in Java, and the right which every Mahomedan exercises, according to his ability, of converting or reducing to slavery every unbeliever he meets with, the extent of the population still unconverted, and the sanction given to slavery by the Malay custom, we can only look for the complete remedy of the evil by the

extension of our influence among the native states, and the effects which a better education may produce on the Chiefs.

Throughout the greater part of the Eastern states the Mahomedan law has never been adopted in its full extent. In some it has been blended with the original customs and institutions, and in others not introduced at all. The laws regarding debts and marriages are peculiarly illustrative of this, and however in principle they may have been applicable to a former state of society, are now in practice found to be in many places highly oppressive and injurious to the increase of population. The fact is fully exemplified in the vicinity of Bencoolen, where a large portion of the population is reduced to a state little better than that of actual slavery on account of debts, and fully one-fourth of the marriageable females remain in a state of celibacy from the obstacles which their customs oppose to marriage. The former arises from the custom which gives the creditor an unlimited right over the services of the debtor for any sum however small; in many cases the family and relations of the debtor are further liable in the same manner. In the case of marriage it may be observed that the daughters are considered to form a part of the property of the father, and are only to be purchased from him by the suitor at a price exceeding the usual means of the men. The effects of education may be expected to be felt in the gradual modification and improvement of these institutions, especially if aided by our influence and example. However attached the natives may be to the principles on which these institutions are founded, experience has proved that they are by no means unwilling to modify them in practice, on conviction that they are injurious in tendency. In a recent instance, they readily agreed to lower the price paid for wives, on the advantage of such a measure being urged and explained to them.

On the subject of the barbarous practices alluded to as common among the wilder tribes, it may be sufficient for the present purpose to state that the Battas, a numerous people having a language and written character peculiar to themselves, and inhabiting a large portion of the northern part of Sumatra, are universally addicted to the horrid practice of devouring the flesh of their enemies whom they take in battle; and that many tribes of the Dayaks of Borneo, and the Alfoors of the further East, are addicted to the practice of man-hunting, solely for the purpose of presenting the bleeding head as an offering to their mistresses. A man is considered honourable according to the number of heads he has thus procured, and by the custom of the country such an offering is an indispensable preliminary to marriage. It is not to be expected that our schools will have any direct or immediate influence on people where such practices are prevalent; but indirectly and eventually, as the Chiefs of the more civilized states in their neighbourhood acquire power and stability, they may be expected gradually to be brought under their influence and subjected to the restraints of a better state of society.

From this it will appear, how much more extensive are the advantages to be obtained from educating the higher classes, to whom alone we can look for effectually promoting the progress of improvement among the lower orders, and for extending the benefits of civilization to the barbarous tribes who would otherwise be entirely beyond the sphere of our influence, than could be obtained from any scheme which should reverse the order, and commence instruction from the bottom rather than the top of the scale. In every country the lights of knowledge and improvement have commenced with the higher orders of society, and have been diffused from thence downwards. No plan can be expected to succeed which shall reverse this order, and attempt to propagate them in an opposite direction; and more especially in countries where the influence of the Chiefs, from the nature of the government, must always be considerable.

In affording to such of the Chinese as are settled in the islands a participation in the benefits

of this Institution, the richer classes are particularly adverted to. Many of these, if not possessed of the advantages of birth, have raised themselves by their talents to opulence and a respectable rank in society. These men at present frequently send their sons to China for education, for want of an Institution of this nature which would supersede the necessity. A recent establishment of the kind has been formed at Malacca, under the superintendance of an enlightened missionary, and a branch of it is already extended to Singapore. It has been attended with considerable success, but must necessarily be limited in its operation by its more immediate and direct object being that of religious conversion. The rapid acquisition of the Chinese language which has been the consequence of this establishment, and the numerous tracts which have been issued from its press in that language, give the institution much interest, and the means which have thus been afforded of opening what may be termed a literary intercourse with this peculiar people are gradually increasing. The advantage of extending the plan on a broader and more general principle is acknowledged by those under whom it is conducted, and they may be expected, if not to combine their labours with the plan now proposed, at least to give it all the aid in their power. The expense of this branch of the Institution will probably be borne principally by the Chinese themselves, who are wealthy enough to do so, and are sufficiently aware of the advantages of education.

Having now shewn the extent and objects of the proposed Institution, the field presented for its operation, and pointed out some of the advantages which may be expected to result, it will be sufficient in conclusion to remark, that the progress of every plan of improvement on the basis of education must be slow and gradual; its effects are silent and unobtrusive, and the present generation will probably pass away before they are fully felt and appreciated. Few nations have made much advance in civilization by their own unassisted endeavours, and none have risen suddenly from barbarism to refinement. The experience of the world informs us that education affords the only means of effecting any considerable amelioration, or of expanding the powers of the human mind. In estimating the results of any scheme of the kind the advantages must always be in a great measure speculative, and dependant on the concurrence of a variety of circumstances which cannot be foreseen. This is admitted to apply with its full force to the Institution in question; but when it is considered that education affords the only reasonable and efficient means of improving the condition of those who are so much lower than ourselves in the scale of civilization, that the want of this improvement is no where more sensibly felt than in the field before us, and that the proposed plan has the double object of obtaining information ourselves, and affording instructions to others, it will be allowed to be at least calculated to assist in objects which are not only important to our national interests, but honourable and consistent with our national character. The outlay proposed is moderate, when considered even with reference to the immediate advantages, to say nothing of those which are of a more remote and speculative nature. One single family of rank raised into importance and energy by means of the proposed Institution, may abundantly repay our labour by the establishment of a better order of society in its neighbourhood, by the example it may set, and by the resources of the country it may develope. We are not plodding on a barren soil, and while the capacity of the people for improvement is acknowledged, the inexhaustible riches of the country are no less universally admitted.

If we consider, also, that it is in a great measure to the influence of Europeans, and to the ascendency they have acquired in these seas, that the decline of the people in wealth and civilization is to be ascribed, and that the same causes have contributed to take away the means of instruction they formerly possessed, it is almost an act of duty and justice to endeavour to repair the injury done them. The British influence in these seas is already hailed as bringing freedom

to commerce, and support to the independence of the native states; and shall we not also afford them the means of reaping the fruits of these blessings? Of what use will it be to protect the persons and raise the wealth and independence of these people, if we do not also cultivate and expand their minds in the same proportion? Besides the inducements of humanity, besides the consideration of what is due to our national character, shall we not best preserve the tranquillity of these countries and the freedom and safety of our own intercourse, by improving their moral and intellectual condition? Shall we not bind them to us by the firmest of all ties, and build an empire on the rock of opinion, where we neither wish nor seek for it on any other principle?

It may be urged, that the Institution here proposed is too limited in its extent, and too inadequate in its means to embrace the vastness of the object contemplated. It may be said, is the improvement of so many millions of the human race to be effected, and the light of knowledge diffused over such extensive regions by means so simple? The objection is in some respects just: an establishment on a much more extended scale would certainly have been desirable, but many obstacles have presented themselves to the immediate adoption of any very expensive plan.

The object has been to bring it to the very lowest scale consistent with efficiency, in order to avoid the chance of failure were too much attempted in the beginning. Voluntary endowments are what such institutions must depend on for support; but it has appeared unadvisable to commence a plan of this kind in a remote quarter of the world, where its advantages are not yet fully comprehended, on any uncertain calculation which might risk its success. A centre or nucleus is wanting which shall be placed on a footing beyond the reach of contingencies or accidents; and the support of government is necessary, in the first instance, to give stability and security to the infant institution: this once established, there can be little doubt of its extension in proportion as the benefits become more and more apparent. The noblest institutions of mankind have arisen from small beginnings, and where the principles are sound, and the benefits of unequivocal application, such a commencement is perhaps better than one of more boastful pretensions.

The object at present has been, with the least pretension to commence an Institution which shall continue to grow and extend itself in proportion to the benefit it affords. A situation has been chosen the most advantageous for this purpose, from whence, as a centre, its influence may be diffused and its sphere gradually extended, until it at length embrace even the whole of that wide field whose nature has already been shewn. That it will spread may be considered almost beyond a doubt. We know the readiness and aptness of the people to receive instruction; we know that they have had similar Institutions of their own in happier and more prosperous times, and that they now lament the want of them, as not the smallest of the evils that has attended the fall of their power. It is to Britain alone that they can look for the restoration of these advantages: she is now called upon to lay the foundation stone, and there is little doubt that this once done, the people themselves will largely contribute to rearing and completing the edifice.

But it is not to remote and speculative advantages that the effect of such an Institution will be confined; while the enlightened philanthropist will dwell with pleasure on that part of the prospect, the immediate advantages will be found fully proportionate. To afford the means of instruction in the native languages to those who are to administer our affairs, and watch over our interests in such extensive regions, is surely no trifling or unimportant object. In promoting the interests of literature and science not less will be its effect. To Bengal, where inquiries into the literature, history, and customs of oriental nations have been prosecuted with such success, and attended with such important results, such an institution will prove a powerful auxiliary in extending these

inquiries among the people of the further East. Many of the researches already begun can only be completed and perfected on this soil; and they will be forwarded, on the present plan, by collecting the scattered remains of the literature of these countries, by calling forth the literary spirit of the people and awakening its dormant energies. The rays of intellect, now divided and lost, will be concentrated into a focus, from whence they will be again radiated with added lustre, brightened and strengthened by our superior lights. Thus will our stations not only become the centres of commerce and its luxuries, but of refinement and the liberal arts. If commerce brings wealth to our shores, it is the spirit of literature and philanthropy that teaches us how to employ it for the noblest purposes. It is this that has made Britain go forth among the nations, strong in her native might, to dispense blessings to all around her. If the time shall come when her empire shall have passed away, these monuments of her virtue will endure when her triumphs shall have become an empty name. Let it still be the boast of Britain to write her name in characters of light; let her not be remembered as the tempest whose course was desolation, but as the gale of spring reviving the slumbering seeds of mind, and calling them to life from the winter of ignorance and oppression. Let the Sun of Britain arise on these islands, not to wither and scorch them in its fierceness, but like that of her own genial skies, whose mild and benignant influence is hailed and blessed by all who feel its beams.

SINGAPORE.

LOCAL LAWS AND REGULATIONS.

PROCLAMATION,

By the Honourable Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, *Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Marlbro' and its Dependencies.*

Instances having occurred in which the orders of Government have been misunderstood or not properly promulgated, and it being desirable that this irregularity should be prevented for the future, and that a fixed rule be laid down for the mode in which such orders should be publicly notified, as well as for the promulgation of whatever general Rules and Regulations may hereafter become necessary for the order and good government of the Settlement;

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN,

First, That all orders of Government from and after this date, having a general application, will be printed for public information, and that translations thereof in the Malay language will be affixed in convenient stations, to be selected for the purpose. It will be the duty of the Registrar to see that whenever they have reference to the native population, the native officers cause the same to be truly and correctly explained and made known throughout their respective divisions.

Secondly, That for the present, and until the establishment of a regular court of judicature, all Rules and Regulations of the nature of legislative provisions, affecting person or property, shall be drawn out and numbered according to a regular form, to be printed, translated, and published as above directed; the originals thereof being deposited in the Registrar's office, for public reference when necessary. The mode in which the Resident shall be assisted with advice in the enactment of such Regulations will be hereafter made known. In the mean time, and during the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor at Singapore, all general Regulations of this nature will be published under his signature, and have the force of law from the date of their being registered.

Regulation, No. 1, entitled "a Regulation for the Registry of Land," will this day be published according to the form prescribed.

Dated at Singapore, this 1st day of January, 1823.

(Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.

REGULATION, No. I, OF 1823.

A Regulation *for the* Registry *of* Land *at* Singapore.

It being expedient for the protection of property and the prevention of disputes hereafter, that a general register should be kept of all appropriations of land, as well as of the transfer, mortgage, or disposal of immoveable property in general, the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Marlbro' and its dependencies has this day been pleased to pass the following Rules and Regulations, to have effect from this date.

1. That an office be forthwith established for the registry of land, and conducted by a responsible officer of Government, to be termed Registrar.

2. That all appropriated land in the Island of Singapore, and its immediate dependencies, whether retained by the Sultan or Tumungung, or ceded to the British Government, be registered in the said office.

3. That the land retained by their Highnesses the Sultan and Tumungung be not considered as tranferable, or to be appropriated otherwise than for their own benefit or that of their families and immediate dependants; and all British subjects are forbidden to have any dealings therein.

4. That all grants by the British Government be made in conformity to public notification, under the signature of the chief authority, and according to the forms this day approved and established for the Registrar's Office.

5. That all applications for, or relating to land, be made to the Resident through this Office; and whenever land is appropriated by Government, it be the duty of the Registrar to issue the grants.

6. That no title will be admitted to any land which may not be regularly granted, or for which the party may not have obtained a previous certificate from the Registrar's office, authorizing him to clear according to the prescribed forms.

7. That no alteration of the original register of any land be made without the express authority of the Resident, made known by public notification under his signature.

8. That all persons at present in the occupation of land are required to report the particulars of the same, and apply for a grant thereof on or before the 1st of February next ensuing, in failure of which they will be considered to have forfeited all claim thereto.

9. That the quit-rents on all grants be payable on the 1st of January in each year, whatever may have been the date of the grant.

10. That a separate Register be opened in this office for registering all deeds of transfer of land, houses, &c. whether by sale, mortgage, or otherwise, and no transfers will be recognized unless they are so registered.

11. That all such deeds of transfer be registered within one month after date, unless the delay is proved to have been unavoidable.

12. That the Registrar be entitled to demand for his own benefit a fee of one Spanish dollar on the Registry of each grant and on each subsequent transfer that may pass through his Office.

13. That these Rules and Regulations be considered as provisional, until they may be confirmed by the Governor General in Council of Fort William.

Dated and promulgated at Singapore, this 1st day of January, 1823.

(Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.

Registered,

G. Bonham, Registrar.

REGULATION, No. II. of 1823.

A Regulation *for the* Port *of* Singapore.

The port of Singapore is a free port, and the trade thereof is open to ships and vessels of every nation free of duty, equally and alike to all.

The subsidiary Rules under these Regulations were revised on the 29th August 1823, as follows:

Provisional Regulations *for the* Port *of* Singapore.

1. The arrivals of all ships and vessels shall be immediately reported to the Master-Attendant in the ordinary Report-Book, and afterwards by the Commander, in person, at the Master-Attendant's office, as soon as the vessel shall have anchored.

2. The intended departure of any ship or vessel shall be reported to the Master-Attendant, twenty-four hours previous to her sailing; except in cases of emergency, which will be determined by the Resident.

3. Commanders of all vessels are requested to deliver, when boarded by the Master-Attendant's boat, all letters, packets, and despatches for the Settlement, and to receive and furnish a receipt for Post-office packets which may be sent on board on their departure.

4. With a view of affording an authentic record of the progress of the trade of the Settlement, all Commanders of European or square-rigged vessels, are required to give in, on honour, before sailing, to the Master-Attendant, an accurate specification of the goods imported and exported by them; such statement to be sealed, and not opened until the vessels shall have quitted the port. To facilitate this operation, the Master-Attendant will supply the Commanders with proper forms.

5. With the same objects in view, a verbal statement of the import and export cargoes of native vessels shall be given in by their Commanders.

6. After reporting at the Master-Attendant's office on their arrival, and immediately previous to their sailing, all Commanders of European or square-rigged vessels are required to wait on the sitting Magistrate, and supply him with a list of the passengers intending to remain at or depart from this Settlement.

7. All vessels, European and native, will promptly receive a port-clearance on application to the Master-Attendant's office, and such port-clearance will be given without fee or charge.

8. All cargo-boats shall be regularly admeasured, numbered, and registered in the Master-Attendant's office, and each boat shall have marked upon her bow her number and her tonnage.

9. All cargo-boats shall be supplied with good and sufficient covering, adequate to protect the goods from damage.

10. The following shall be the maximum for charges taken for boat-hire, wooding, watering, and ballasting, for ships touching at the port, and whose stay does not exceed forty-eight hours, as well as in all other cases, where no previous arrangement or contract is made;—

Boat-hire, 68 cents of a hard Spanish dollar per coyan of 40 pecul.
For a return boat, 34 cents, do. do.
Firewood per 1000 billets, (of 18 cattin per billet) 5½ hard Spanish dollars, with a proportional price if the billet is larger or smaller.
Firewood, boat-hire included, 8½ do. do. do.
Ballast (sand) per coyan, including boat-hire, 80 cents.
do. (stone) do. do. 90 cents.
Water if with ship's casks, 112 cents per ton, including boat-hire.
do. when ship's casks are not used, 100 cents.

11. The business of supplying wood, water, and ballast for ships, and the employment for cargo-boats, shall not be considered subject to any official restraint or regulation beyond those already mentioned; and the mediation and assistance of the officers of Government with regard to them is deemed, in the present advanced state of the trade of the port, no longer necessary.

12. Nothing contained in these regulations shall be construed to operate against the most perfect liberty to ships to wood, water, and ballast with their own boats.

These Regulations to have effect from the 1st September.

Singapore, 29th August, 1823.

(Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.

Registered,
G. Bonham, Registrar.

REGULATION, No. III. of 1823.

A Regulation *for the Establishment of a* Provisional Magistracy *and the Enforcement of a due and efficient* Police *at Singapore, with certain Provisions for the Administration of Justice in Cases of Emergency.*

POLICE.

The extent of population and capital already accumulated at Singapore requiring an immediate provision for the preservation of order and the protection of person and property, the Lieutenant-Governor is pleased, with the concurrence of their Highnesses the Sultan and Tumungung, to establish the following provisional Regulations for the department of Police; which being consonant with British principles, and adapted, as far as consistent, to the usages of the native settlers, seem best calculated to meet the existing circumstances of the Settlement.

MAGISTRATES.

1. The names of the several British inhabitants of interest and respect in the Settlement, and who may be considered competent to act as Magistrates, shall be enrolled in a list to be formed for the purpose, from which the chief authority will, on or before the 1st February, 1st May, 1st August, and 1st November in each year, select three gentlemen in rotation, to be commissioned to act as Magistrates, for the preservation of the peace and the maintenance of an efficient police during the ensuing quarter.

2. Of the three Magistrates so commissioned for the quarter, each shall in turn act as sitting Magistrate for the week or month, and the three Magistrates collectively shall, once in the quarter, at the least, or as often as occasion may require, hold a meeting, of the nature of quarter-sessions, for the hearing and deciding of cases which may exceed the authority of a single Magistrate, and doing all such things as are usually done at quarter-sessions in England, as far as the object and nature of that institution can be considered applicable to the circumstances of this Settlement.

3. The authority of the Magistrates who may be commissioned under this Regulation is to be considered the same as Justices of the Peace in England; with this reservation, that whenever it may become necessary to commit a British-born subject, except *in flagrante delictu*, or to affect his person or property, the warrant be countersigned by the chief local Authority.

4. The jurisdiction of the Magistrates will extend over all descriptions of persons resorting under the British flag; but for the present, as the military are subject to another tribunal, this class is not to be considered as falling under their immediate cognizance, unless in cases specially

referred to them by the Resident or commanding officer: and in all cases where the followers of their Highnesses the Sultan and Tumungung are concerned, due respect must be paid to those independent Authorities, and a reference made to the Resident, for advice as to the mode of procedure to be pursued.

5. In cases where the crews of vessels are concerned, or in which the convenience of the port or the superintendence of the Master-Attendant is in any way connected, that officer will act in concert with the Magistrates, taking his seat in his magisterial capacity with the sitting Magistrate or the Magistrates assembled in quarter-sessions, as the case may be.

6. For the adjustment of small debts, the Magistrates are empowered to decide in a summary manner in all cases of debt that may be brought before them, where the demand may not exceed fifty dollars, if brought before the sitting Magistrate only, or one hundred dollars if brought before two or more Magistrates assembled in sessions: the proceedings of the Magistrates, in such cases, being conformable to the practice of Courts of Conscience or Requests, and an appeal to a higher Authority being allowed under certain restrictions.

7. The high opinion which the Lieutenant-Governor entertains of the intelligence and respectability of the gentlemen whose names may be first enrolled to serve as Magistrates under this Regulation, renders it unnecessary for him to frame any detailed instructions for their guidance in the exercise of the important duty about to be entrusted to them. Such general rules of a local nature as may appear most important to be attended to on the first establishment of this jurisdiction, and for the Court of Requests, will be this day approved; and for the rest, the Magistrates will follow the course of the British magistracy, as far as local circumstances admit, avoiding legal technicalities and unnecessary forms as much as possible, and executing the duties of their office with temper and discretion, according to the best of their judgment and conscience, and the principles of substantial justice.

NATIVE CHIEFS.

8. Subordinate to the Magistrates there shall further be appointed one Native Captain or Head-man, with one or more Lieutenants or Assistants, over each principal class of the native inhabitants, who will be invested with especial authority over such class, and held responsible for the general conduct of the same.

9. These Captains or Head-men, with the assistance of their Lieutenants, when necessary, will have the power of adjusting and settling all disputes which may happen among the people of their respective classes, an appeal lying to the Magistrates where the amount of property concerned may exceed ten dollars.

10. The Captains or Head-men being held responsible for the police of their respective classes, they are empowered to call upon the members thereof to keep watch in rotation, and to exercise such subordinate duties as may be necessary for the establishment of a well organized and efficient police.

11. General instructions for the guidance of these officers have been this day approved, and it will be the duty of the Magistrates to see that they are duly and strictly attended to.

12. The Magistrates will be assisted by a moderate establishment, to be paid by Government, consisting of one head Officer of Police and Clerk to the Magistrates, and a certain number of Peons; and all contributions from the inhabitants, whether voluntary or otherwise, for the support of the Police, are to cease from this date.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

1. For the present, and until the establishment of a more regular court for the hearing and trying of offences and the adjustment of civil suits, where the amount in dispute may exceed one hundred dollars, the Resident, as chief authority, will hold a court as often as may be necessary, assisted by their Highnesses the Sultan and Tumungung, where natives may be concerned.

2. The Assistant to the Resident will, for the present, act as Registrar of this court and preserve the records thereof.

3. The rule to be observed by this court in criminal cases where natives are concerned has already been laid down, in the case recently tried by the Lieutenant-Governor; and where Europeans, and more particularly British subjects, are concerned, it is considered that, in the few cases likely to occur, the parties may be more advantageously transmitted to Penang or Bengal, where they will be subject to a competent jurisdiction.

4. In civil cases, where the amount in dispute may be considerable, the court will, in the first instance, recommend the parties to adjust their differences by arbitration, and in the event of their declining to do so, will adopt such measures as shall ensure to the plaintiff due security for the trial of the case in a competent court elsewhere, in the event of the defendant failing to come to a satisfactory adjustment on the spot.

5. In consequence of the absence of legal advice, it will be in the power of the court to reject the consideration of all civil cases which may not have arisen on the spot, or be of an emergent nature, or which may appear to involve intricate questions of law.

NOTARY PUBLIC.

6. The Assistant to the Resident will, in his capacity of Registrar to the court, be authorized to take down depositions, to certify protests and other legal documents, and to do all such other things for the public convenience as usually appertain to the office of Notary Public.

LOCAL LAWS AND REGULATIONS.

7. It being expedient that an authority should exist for the enactment, from time to time, of such local laws and regulations as the circumstances of the Settlement may require, the Resident is empowered, under the proclamation of the 1st ultimo, to pass such Regulations by and with the advice of the Magistracy, in the following manner.

1st. Such Regulations may either originate with the Resident or the Magistrates for the quarter. In the former case, the Resident will submit the draft of the same to the Magistrates previous to the Regulation being passed, for their opinion and observations thereon; and in the event of any difference of opinion as to the propriety of any part of the proposed Regulation, the Resident will have the power to overrule the same, and to pass the Regulation provisionally; but, in this case, the objections or observations of the Magistrates are to be forwarded to the Governor-General in Council with the Regulation so passed.

2d. In cases wherein proposed Regulations may originate with the Magistrates, they will collectively address the Resident, submitting the same for his consideration, and the Resident will be required to enter on the immediate consideration thereof. In the event of a difference of opinion and the Resident declining to enact the proposed Regulation within three months, the Magistrates may request that their recommendation be transmitted for the consideration of the Governor-General in Council.

3d. All general Regulations enacted by the Resident after this manner, and according to the form prescribed, are to be forwarded (with the objections of the Magistrates where a difference of opinion may have existed) to Bengal by the first opportunity that offers, and to remain provisionally in force for six months; at the expiration of which period, if the Regulation is not confirmed by the Governor-General in Council, the same is to be void and of no effect.

4th. It is of course to be understood, that the regulations to be enacted under this authority are to be of a local nature, and in no way inconsistent with any known British law or usage.

5th. This Regulation to have effect from and after the 15th proximo, and to be considered as provisional until confirmed by the Governor-General in Council, or until such time as a duly constituted Court of Judicature may be established for Singapore.

Dated at Singapore, this 20th day of January, 1823.

(Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.

Registered,
G. BONHAM, Registrar.

REGULATION, No. IV. OF 1823.

A REGULATION *prohibiting* GAMING-HOUSES *and* COCKPITS, *and for suppressing the vice of Gaming at Singapore.*

The practice of gaming being highly destructive to the morals and happiness of the people, and it being inconsistent with the principles of good government to admit of public gaming-houses and cockpits, it is hereby declared:

1. That no public gaming-house or cockpit will hereafter be tolerated by Government under any circumstances, or for any consideration whatever; and that, from and after this date, all persons are strictly prohibited from keeping such on any terms or pretence whatsoever.

2. That any persons offending against this Regulation, or who may be proved to have hereafter received money, either directly or indirectly, for conducting a gaming-table or cockpit, shall be liable, according to the circumstances of the case, to the confiscation of a certain amount or the whole of his property, and banished from the Settlement with corporal punishment, at the discretion of the court.

3. That the house or building, with the ground on which it stands, in which it may be proved that such a gaming-table or cockpit has been kept shall also be liable to confiscation.

4. That all persons who may be detected in the act of gaming or cock-fighting, whether at a gaming-table or not, shall be taken up by the Magistrates, and punished according to the circumstances of the case.

5. No gaming debts can be enforced by the winners; but in all cases that may come before the Magistrates or the Resident Court, the winners will be compelled to restore the amount to the losers.

6. The Magistrates will adopt such minor regulations in the department of Police, as they may deem advisable for carrying the object of this Regulation into effect, and for suppressing the vice of gaming as far as possible, without trespassing on the free will of private conduct, as long as it may not be injurious to society in general.

This Regulation to be in force and effect from this date, and to be considered as provisional until confirmed by the Governor-General in Council.

Singapore, the 1st May, 1823.

(Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.

EXTRACT *from the Penal Code of China concerning Gambling*, 1823.

" Whosoever games for money or goods shall receive eighty blows with a cudgel on the " breech, and all the money or property staked shall be forfeited to Government. He who opens " the gaming-house, although he does not gamble, shall suffer the same punishment, and the " gaming-house shall be confiscated. If Government Officers gamble, their punishment shall be " increased one degree."

A subsequent clause enacts, that " whoever gambles, whether soldiers or people, shall " wear the broad heavy wooden collar one month, and be cudgelled with one hundred blows."

" Those who set up an occasional gambling-house and harbour gamblers, shall, together with " the head gamblers (if not numerous), all be punished by wearing the wooden collar three " months, &c."

In some cases the parties are to be transported.

Registered,

G. BONHAM, Registrar.

REGULATION, No. V. OF 1823.

A REGULATION *for the Prevention of the* SLAVE TRADE *at Singapore.*

There being reason to apprehend, that, notwithstanding the solemn prohibitions of the Legislature, individuals have been imported into Singapore since the establishment of the British authority, either as slaves or under the denomination of slave debtors, in both cases bought and sold for a price; and it being desirable that all persons resorting to or residing under the protection of the British flag should be aware of the prohibition and penalties attending such illegal transactions, in order that the humane and just objects of the British Government may not be lost sight of or frustrated, either from ignorance or design, the following Regulations, which are to have the effect of law, are this day passed and published for general information and guidance.

SLAVES.

1. The Act of Parliament prohibiting the slave trade from being carried on with any British colony or settlement, or by any British subject, having been passed previously to the establishment of the British settlement of Singapore, the provisions of the said Act are considered to be in force in this Settlement, and to apply to all persons who may have obtained a *fixed residence* at Singapore since the establishment of the British Government.

2. As the condition of slavery, under any denomination whatever, cannot be recognized within the jurisdiction of the British authority, all persons who may have been so imported, transferred, or sold as slaves or slave debtors, since the 26th day of February, 1819, are entitled to claim their freedom, on application to the Magistrates, as hereafter provided; and it is hereby declared, that no

individual can hereafter be imported for sale, transferred or sold as a slave or slave debtor, or having his or her *fixed residence* under the protection of the British authorities at Singapore, can *hereafter* be considered or treated as a slave, under any denomination, condition, colour, or pretence whatever.

3. Hereafter, a continued residence of twelve months at Singapore shall be considered to constitute a *fixed residence*, and to entitle the party to all the benefits of the British administration.

4. In order to prevent inconvenience or misunderstanding in the emancipation of those who may have been imported and sold as slaves or slave debtors anterior to this date, and at the same time to shew every reasonable indulgence to those who may have acted in ignorance of the prohibitory law, the Magistrates are required to make inquiry into, and record the particular circumstances attending the case of each individual who may apply for his or her emancipation; and in the event of the parties being of tender age, and unable to conduct or maintain themselves, the Magistrates are empowered to bind them as apprentices to respectable and responsible persons, giving a preference to their present masters if unobjectionable in this respect, for a period not exceeding three years, or until they shall attain the age of thirteen years. In the event of the parties being adults, the Magistrates shall further be empowered to require them to render their personal services for the benefit of those who may have a just claim to the same, for a period in no case exceeding three years, should the parties freely consent thereto, which servitude shall be considered as a complete acquittal for the expense of their passage hither, which is the only legal demand that can be admitted, and which shall be in full of all demands on their persons whatever; but, in both cases, the parties are to be *forthwith* declared free, subject only to the condition of personal servitude on contract as free persons for a limited period as aforesaid.

5. There having been few or no slaves at Singapore at the period of its occupation by the British authorities, and their Highnesses the Sultan and Tumungung having evinced their desire to aid the benevolent objects of the British Government, these Regulations are considered to apply, and to have effect upon all persons who are now or may hereafter have their *fixed residence* at Singapore: save and except the personal establishments of their Highnesses, who though not being in a condition to be bought and sold, are nevertheless registered out of deference to their authority, as not coming under the operation of the slave laws.

6. In order to prevent annoyance or obstruction to the trade of the port, it is to be clearly understood, that the present Regulations are not intended to apply to the domestic establishments of native Chiefs, or traders who may occasionally resort to this port and not fix their residence under the protection of the British flag, nor to the crews of vessels coming from foreign ports, further than to prohibit them from transferring or selling persons as slaves or slave debtors in this Settlement, and provided the parties, if slaves, may not obtain a fixed residence by residing in the Settlement for upwards of twelve months. In this latter case, the slaves, though nottransferred, will have a right, under Article 2, to claim their freedom, and the Magistrates are required to grant the same, on such conditions as may be mutually convenient and fair between the parties.

7. As the practice of purchasing slaves from boats as slave debtors under the Mengheering system, and paying a price for them as such, rendering the party a debtor for the amount, can only be considered as an evasion of the law, and equally calculated with the purchase of slaves to encourage the traffic in human beings, such transactions are declared to be illegal; and the utmost price which the Noquedah of a vessel is entitled to demand on the landing of any such person shall in no case exceed the sum of twenty *dollars*, which may be considered as an equivalent for the

passage-money of the party, and who may be bound to repay the same by his services under the rules now passed for bond debtors.

BOND DEBTORS.

8. Experience having proved that the system of slave debtors, as practised in the Malay states, is inconsistent with that freedom of the subject which it is the desire of the British Government to introduce, the same will not be recognized after this date, in any case in which both parties may not be Malays, or native inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago. But with the view of providing for such cases as may occur, in which it may be lawful to give the creditor a right to the services of his debtor, the following rules are passed, to have effect from this date.

9. As it frequently happens that free labourers and others are brought from China and elsewhere as passengers, who have not the means of paying for their passage, and under the expectation that individuals resident in Singapore will advance the amount of it, on condition of receiving the services of the parties for a limited period in compensation thereof, such arrangements are not deemed objectionable, provided the parties are landed as free persons; but in all such cases, the amount to be paid on account of passage-money or otherwise is limited to twenty dollars, and the period of service by an adult, in compensation thereof, shall in no case exceed two years, and every such engagement shall be entered into with the free consent of the parties, in presence of a Magistrate, and duly registered. In cases where the parties may be of tender age, the Magistrates may apprentice them until they attain the age of puberty; but in no cases are the parties to be burthened with a debt exceeding twenty dollars, for which amount their services, during the period above stated, shall be considered as a full and ample compensation.

10. In all cases of Mengheering or slave debtors which may come before the British courts, the claim of the creditor is in no case to be considered to exceed the services of the debtor for a period of five years, the debt being considered as worked out at the rate of twenty per cent. or not less than ten dollars per annum.

11. Hereafter, all agreements for personal services beyond twelve months, are required to be entered into under a bond to be registered at the Magistrate's Office; the bond or contract specifying the services to be rendered, the consideration paid for the same, and the penalty in case of failure.

12. Hereafter, no contract shall be legal which stipulates for a longer period of service than five years, under any circumstances or for any consideration whatever.

13. The parties in all cases who may so contract to render their services for a valuable consideration, shall lose no natural rights to which they may be entitled as subjects during such servitude, except the value of their services, for which it will be the duty of the Magistrates to see that they receive a due remuneration; all persons, whatever may be their condition, being equal in the eye of the law.

14. In all cases wherein the Magistrates may think proper, on account of the tender age of parties, to bind them apprentices for a certain period, such period shall in no case exceed five years; and it must be an invariable condition in the indenture, that the parties shall receive a moral education and be sent to a public school, under a pecuniary penalty in case of failure by the master.

15. No creditor possessing a right to the services of any individual, shall be at liberty to transfer the services of the party to another, except with the consent of the debtor; nor can the

debtor change his master at pleasure, without proof of ill-usage to be given before the Magistrates: and in case of the death or bankruptcy of the creditor, it shall remain with the Magistrates to decide in how far the further services of the debtor can be claimed. If the creditor dies solvent, the debtor is to be relieved from further servitude; but if he dies insolvent or becomes bankrupt, the debtor shall continue to render his services till the end of the contract, for the benefit of the creditors, he in this case having the liberty of choosing his master.

The Magistrates are required to cause this Regulation to be duly explained in the native languages, and published by beat of gong throughout the Settlement, and the Master-Attendant will cause the same to be duly made known to the Noquedahs of all native vessels resorting to the port.

This Regulation to be in force and have effect from and after this date, and to be considered as provisional until confirmed by the Governor-General in Council.

Singapore, the 1st May, 1823.

(Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.

Registered,
G. Bonham, Registrar.

REGULATION, No. VI. of 1823.

A Regulation *in furtherance of the Objects of Regulation, No. III. of* 1823, *and containing additional Provisions for the* Magistracy *and* Administration *of* Justice *at* Singapore.

The Magistrates shall be appointed annually on the 1st January in each year, instead of quarterly, as provided by Regulation, No. III. of 1823.

Twelve Magistrates are now appointed, who are to constitute the acting Magistracy for the present year; and to this number it shall be competent to the Resident to appoint supernumeraries, who are to be borne on the public roll of persons eligible for the Magistracy.

Previous to the appointment of any such supernumerary, the Resident shall intimate his intention to the twelve acting Magistrates; and it shall be competent to three-fourths of that body to object, within one month, to such nomination, by a written instrument, stating the ground thereof; but the Resident shall have the power of overruling this objection, pending a reference to the Governor General in Council.

Vacancies in the acting Magistracy shall be supplied from the supernumeraries or ex-Magistrates.

The enactment of local laws and regulations to continue in the manner prescribed under Regulation No. III. of 1823; save only by the slight alteration now necessary, in order to suit it to the change made in the Magistracy from quarterly appointments of three to annual appointments of twelve. Hereafter, any proposal for a new law or regulation must originate or be considered by a majority of the twelve acting Magistrates.

There shall be two courts:—

1st. The Resident's Court, in which that officer shall preside and pronounce the decisions. It shall be formed by the Resident, with the assistance of two Magistrates taken monthly by rotation from the general list of Magistrates.

2d. The Magistrates' Court, where two Magistrates shall jointly preside, and when they agree pronounce the decision. When they disagree as to the sentence, each shall record that which he recommends. But a new trial must commence in the Resident's court.

The business of the Resident's court will be to try:—

1st. All causes which are beyond the jurisdiction of the Magistrates.

2d. All causes referred to that court by the Magistrates.

The business of the Magistrates' court will be to try and decide in all cases that may come within the jurisdiction of the Magistrates, as defined in Regulation, No. III. of 1823.

All men in the settlement are bound to give their aid where required towards the administration of justice. The cases where this should be done without any pecuniary reward are where the parties are called upon

To inform the court, either by giving evidence of what they know relating to the facts of a case, or

Furnishing their opinion as to its merits.

To aid the officers of justice, by information, or by physical force, when they are otherwise afraid of being unable of themselves to carry into effect the orders of the court: that is to say, to give evidence, to serve as jurors, to aid as constables or posse. While employed in the public service in these capacities, the individuals shall be entitled to peculiar and honourable privileges, such as that any insult or injury offered to them shall be visited on the offending party with much more severity than if the offence were committed against private individuals.

The individuals selected for the distinguished duties of constables and jurymen may be of any nation or religion, but they must be able to read and write. Ex-Magistrates will be special constables *ex officio*. Constables and jurymen shall be nominated by the Resident annually.

Causes may be instituted either at the suit of persons claiming private redress, or on the prosecution of a public officer for breaches of public regulations, or for wrongs that render it proper to inflict punishment beyond the exaction of the redress due to the individual.

The jurisdiction of both courts shall extend geographically over the Island of Singapore, and the islets in its immediate vicinity forming the harbour.

The annexed Rules A and B are this day approved for the two courts:

Appendix A, Rules for the Resident's Court.

Appendix B, Rules for the Magistrates' Court.

This Regulation to have effect from this date, and to remain in force until rescinded by a higher and more competent authority, or until such time as a duly constituted court of judicature may be established at Singapore.

(Signed) T. S. Raffles.

Singapore, the 6th of June, 1823.

APPENDIX TO REGULATION, No. VI. of 1823.

APPENDIX A.

RULES FOR THE RESIDENT'S COURT.

The Resident's Court shall be formed by the Resident, with the assistance of two Magistrates, under the title of Assessors.

The Resident shall preside and pronounce the decisions; and the Assessors shall be taken monthly, by rotation, from the List of Magistrates.

On the death or absence of the Resident, the Assistant Resident, or other persons succeeding legally to the charge, shall fill his situation in Court: and in the event of emergency, a temporary arrangement may be adopted, by the addition of a third Assessor from the list of Magistrates, which three Assessors shall continue to hold courts and administer justice, after the established practice and form in the Resident's court, until the chief civil authority is enabled to preside, and the court thereby restored to its regular and proper form.

For the present, the Resident's court shall sit once a week (every Monday) at nine o'clock A.M., but shall have the power of continuing its sittings *a die in diem*, or of holding them more frequently, when the accumulation of business, or other causes, may render the same necessary and advisable.

In cases wherein the Resident may differ in opinion with the two Assessors, in passing a decree, the same, if a civil case, shall be referred to a Jury of five respectable Europeans, impartially chosen and impannelled, and shall be decided according to their verdict; but in criminal cases, the Resident shall always have it in his power to over-rule the opinions of the two Assessors, in so far as tends to mitigate the sentence, but not to increase its severity: only in the event of his doing so, the two Assessors will record their opinions, and may report the case to the Governor General in Council.

When only one of the Assessors may differ in opinion, it is not necessary to record it.

The Registrar shall be exclusively attached to the Resident's Court, and shall conduct the process of it. It will also be his business to execute all warrants, and to be responsible to the court that its decrees and sentences are legally and duly carried into effect, applying to the Magistrates for the aid of the police and *posse*, when the same may be considered necessary.

The business of the court will be to try

1st. All causes which are beyond the jurisdiction of the Magistrates' court; and,

2d. All causes referred to it by that court.

IN CIVIL CASES.

Civil causes may be instituted, either at the suit of persons claiming private redress, or on the prosecution of a public officer for breaches of public laws and regulations, or for wrongs that render it proper to inflict punishment, beyond the exaction of the redress actually due to the individual.

When a person has any redress to seek, he will state the circumstances of his complaint in writing, addressed to the Resident. If he be unable to write, he may apply to the Registrar, or any other person, to draw it out for him; and the Resident, or his *locum tenens*, will, on receiving the same, transmit it to the Registrar, with necessary instructions for citing witnesses, &c. &c.

The Registrar, immediately on receiving the plaint, will be careful to number and enter it on a roll; and every cause shall be heard in court according to its priority of enrolment, unless the court shall see strong reason for departing from this course.

After having perused the plaint, or having heard it interpreted, the Registrar shall note on it, in English, the names of the parties, the sum sued for, and the ground of action (the latter to be expressed by a single word if possible): and all the plaints so noted shall, on the meeting of the court, be placed by the Registrar, in the order of their enrolment, before the presiding judge.

Summonses for the citation of parties and witnesses, shall be issued by the Registrar according

to the form prescribed in the Appendix, and shall be served by the proper officers in the manner therein directed; and in the event of the plaintiff solemnly declaring in his plaint, that he is apprehensive of the defendant withdrawing himself or his property from the jurisdiction of the court, the summons to be served on the defendant shall be made returnable forthwith, and the officer entrusted with serving it shall either take the defendant to the Court-house, or take from him money or other articles in security, fully equal to the sum specified in the summons; an acknowledgment of which he shall write on the back of the summons, and leave with the defendant, whose cause shall then be brought forward in due course, as stated in the summons.

In any case the plaintiff may compromise his own claim on the defendant, and withdraw his own suit, when the costs deposited, if any, shall be returned; but in cases where the allegation, if proved, would subject the defendant to punishment, the court may, at their discretion, direct him to be prosecuted at the instance of the public.

When a cause is compromised, it is to be entered in a book kept for that purpose, containing the names of the parties, the nature of the action, the sum sued for, and the date and number of the summons.

On proceeding with a cause, an officer of the court shall call loudly the parties by name (three times ineffectually before he shall be entitled to report their absence), and in the first instance the parties should present themselves in person; but the court may, at its discretion, dispense with the further attendance of either party, and may authorize an attorney to act on his behalf, or may insist on his remaining present, to answer any question that it may be deemed expedient to put to him.

The first question to be asked of the defendant is, whether he admits the plaintiff's claim in whole or in part? If the claim be in the whole or in part denied by the defendant, the original plaint is read, and, if necessary, interpreted, and the court will then proceed with the examination and cross-examination of witnesses, shortly noting the matter stated and the result of the examination. The defendant will also be allowed to adduce evidence to any points he may wish to establish, and to cross-examine any of the witnesses on the opposite side, after which the court will take the whole into consideration, and decide accordingly.

In case the defendant does not appear when the cause is called, or any one on his behalf to give a satisfactory reason for his absence, the plaintiff or peon must be closely examined as to the mode in which the summons has been disposed of; and if this appear unobjectionable, the court will then pronounce judgment in the case on the plaintiff's shewing, supported by the evidence he adduces. If the plaintiff be absent when the cause is called, and no satisfactory excuse on his behalf is stated to the court, he shall be nonsuited; and the defendant, if he deny the ground of action, shall be informed by the court that he may proceed against the plaintiff by a new suit for his unnecessary molestation.

If any of the witnesses who have been subpœned are absent, the Registrar shall inquire and note down the nature of the evidence the party concerned expects from them; and if it appear important to the investigation of the case, the court shall issue a warrant to an officer of the court, to compel either their immediate attendance, or on a future specified day. In the latter case, the cause is of course postponed accordingly. When the witness is secured, he shall be required to make deposit or give bail to the amount of the sum sued for, with costs; or if he cannot give satisfactory excuse for his absence, he shall be fined, with warning, that if not present on the day when the cause is next to come to a hearing, he shall be liable to further fine and imprisonment.

The evidence adduced by either party may suggest the propriety of bringing forward wit-

nesses on the other side not before thought of; and, in this case, the court may either send for such witness to attend forthwith, or order them to be subpœned for a future day, viz. the next court day.

It is recommended that there shall be one general room in which witnesses assemble in the first instance, from which they are to be brought up individually for examination, and another room where they are to remain after examination, until discharged by the court.

Testimony shall not be required on oath, unless where it appear to the court that the evidence of the witness is of material consequence, that its truth or falsehood cannot be satisfactorily established by collateral circumstances.

When it appears to the court that a witness is prevaricating, or unwilling to disclose the truth, he shall be seriously warned of the disgrace that will inevitably attach to his being convicted of falsehood; and afterwards all questions put to him, with his replies, must be taken down, as the ground-work of a criminal process against him.

When a decree has been passed by the court it shall be immediately recorded, and copies thereof presented to the plaintiff and defendant on their application to the Registrar; who shall also cause a list of all causes, with the decree given on each, to be placed in a conspicuous situation in his office, to be at all times accessible to the public, and to remain there from the date of the decree until execution shall have passed on it.

In the event of neglect in this respect, the Registrar shall be personally liable to the creditors of the person against whom the decree has been obtained for the full amount of the same.

On all decrees of the court execution shall pass after an interval of one week: that is, execution shall pass on Monday on all decrees that have been given on the Monday immediately preceding; and during this interval, the court or the Resident may, on the application of the plaintiff or his agent, direct such steps as they may think advisable to be adopted, towards preventing the defendant from withdrawing himself or his property from the jurisdiction of the court.

Should the party against whom a decree has been given, be able to satisfy the same, or to make a satisfactory arrangement with the person who has obtained it, before an execution has been passed, both parties will come before the Registrar, who will note the satisfaction made, and how made, immediately under the decree of the court, and shall obtain the signature of both parties to the same if they can write, or their usual mark before two witnesses if they cannot.

When the arrangement thus made amounts to an indulgence in point of time, or is contingent on any particular circumstance, the party who has obtained the decree may, on the expiration of the time agreed upon, or in failure of being able to obtain satisfaction in the manner stipulated, apply to the Registrar for a warrant for citing the other party to appear in court; and on his failing to appear, or being unable to prove that he has already discharged the decree, execution shall immediately pass on the same, without suffering prejudice by the delay that has occurred: only that the warrant for the above purpose must be obtained from the Registrar within one month from the expiration of the time granted as an indulgence.

In the event of more than one month having thus elapsed, the decree shall be cancelled, and the party must proceed with a new action.

After the court has met, and before it proceeds with any other business, it shall order the Registrar to give in a list of all the decrees which had been given in the preceding court-day, and to state how far they have been satisfied or discharged; and on such as have not been legally settled, an execution shall immediately pass on each, severally, in the form prescribed in the Appendix.

The Registrar will instantly record the execution, which after having been so passed and

recorded, will give the decree a preference before all other executions on decrees obtained on actions instituted subsequent to the date of the said execution, over all acts of subsequent bankruptcy and composition with creditors, and every other ground of claim, not specially entitled to a preference by a particular law and regulation of this Settlement, duly passed and legally enacted.

Within twenty-four hours from the date of such execution being issued, the Registrar shall proceed personally, or shall cause some authorized agent, for whose conduct he shall be responsible, to proceed to the dwelling of the person against whom the decree had been obtained; and on not receiving satisfaction for the full amount of the same, with all costs due thereon, he shall execute an attachment, according to the form prescribed in the Appendix, against all his property, of whatever description, which he shall be able to discover there or elsewhere; and shall make an accurate and attested return of the same, within two days from the date of the execution, to the Resident or the court, who shall direct the same to be published, and advertised for public sale, within three days of the date of receiving such return.

Such sale shall proceed under the direction of a Magistrate, at the place and hour stated in the advertisement, which hour shall not be earlier than nine A.M., or later than four P.M., and shall be continued from day to day, till the Magistrate shall declare that the amount of the decree, with costs (if any), has been satisfied; after which the remainder of the property shall be duly relieved from all restraint.

Previous to the sale the Registrar shall deliver to the Magistrate an authentic statement of the amount for which the execution has been passed. He shall note, or cause to be noted, during the sale, an accurate account of all the particulars thereof; and at its conclusion the Magistrate will forward the same, countersigned by himself, to the Resident, who will as soon as possible transmit a copy of it to the person against whom the execution had been issued, and shall cause the same to be recorded at the office of the Registrar.

The decree of the court shall always be endorsed on the plaint or writing "statement of the plaintiff," and the same shall be carefully preserved by the Registrar among the records of his office.

If at any time before execution has passed on a decree, the party comes forward and states his inability to discharge the same without injustice to his other creditors, the court will receive this as a declaration of insolvency, shall suspend all proceedings on the decree, and will call by advertisement a meeting of all his creditors, to be held within five days, for the purpose of nominating a trustee, and shall direct the bankrupt to prepare and to present to that meeting a schedule and list, upon oath, of all his effects, debts due to him, and those debts which he may owe. Should this meeting fail in appointing a trustee, the court will take that office on themselves; and the trustee so appointed shall proceed in the management of the property, in the manner prescribed and directed by the laws then in force.

When the subject of litigation before the court equals or exceeds one thousand dollars, it shall be competent to either of the parties, at the commencement of the suit, to demand that the same shall be decided by the assistance of a jury. Such jury to consist of five respectable Europeans, or of four Europeans and three respectable natives of other countries, when the court shall consider it advisable to refer to a jury so composed.

It will also be competent for the court, after having entered upon a case, and having agreed unanimously on certain points on which it hinges, to record these particular points for reference to a jury; and on their finding it will be incumbent on the court to ground their decision as to the general issue.

The points so referred must be presented in a written form to the jury, and must be signed by all the members of the court.

In all cases in which Government may be a party, either as plaintiff or defendant, the same are to be decided by a jury.

The jury will be chosen and empannelled according to the form and manner directed in the Appendix, and will examine evidence, and deliberate upon the same, in the presence of the Resident or his representative, to whom they shall deliver their verdict in writing, signed by their foreman.

The court will appoint, in every particular case, such a time for calling together a jury as may be conducive to the speedy administration of justice, and at the same time not too inconvenient to the persons called upon to act as jurymen; but it is recommended that some intermediate day between two *court-days* shall be fixed upon for this purpose, in order that every opportunity should be given to the jury to conduct their examination of the evidence with deliberation and calmness, and that the other business of the court may not be interrupted.

On the first court-day after the jury have given in their decision, or on the same day if it should happen to be a court-day, the Resident or his representative, will read in court the verdict of the jury, and cause the same to be duly recorded by the Registrar.

Persons called upon to serve as jurors in civil cases, and witnesses cited to give evidence, are to be intitled to a rate of pay per day according to the scale fixed in Appendix: and any person calling for a jury, in such cases must deposit in court the amount that may appear due for jurors and witnesses, and the same if not accepted by all the parties, or otherwise appropriated by them, shall be carried in aid of a fund for charitable purposes, under the control of the court.

In cases under one thousand dollars, or when the parties may not claim the assistance of a jury, and that the court may think it advisable to refer the same to arbitration, it shall call upon each of the parties to name an arbiter, with which two the court shall nominate a third, to proceed in arbitrating the case under certain instructions furnished by the court and signed by the Registrar; and when the arbiters have made a return to the court of their opinion, the same, unless it shall appear obviously to the court to have been founded on evident misconception or error, shall be recorded and have effect. When misconception or error appears to the court to have existed, they will remit the case again to the arbiters, pointing out to them the particular circumstances which it is supposed may have led the arbiters into error, and the particular error if there should be any; and if the arbiters should persevere in their original decree, the case will then be referred to a jury of five respectable Europeans, legally and duly chosen, whose verdict shall be final.

Should one of the parties refuse to name an arbiter, the two other arbiters shall choose a third, and nominate him to the court for this purpose, after which the arbitration shall proceed as above directed.

When both parties decline to name arbiters, the court shall not proceed in this manner of deciding the case.

The court shall direct such forms of warrants, subpœnas, and other instruments to be used, as may appear to them most suitable, and shall institute such a table of fees in civil cases as may to them seem most advisable and proper. In criminal cases no fees can be charged.

The court shall possess and exercise such powers for the protection of their privileges and the exercise of their functions, as are constitutionally attached to the superior courts of law in England; but they shall not alter essentially any of the fundamental rules now prescribed for their government, excepting by and with the consent of the bench of Magistrates, given and obtained in the

same manner as at the enactment of general laws for the government of the Settlement, under Regulation No. III. of 1823.

IN CRIMINAL CASES.

In all cases purely criminal, the parties shall be indicted by the authority which has committed them for trial.

When a prisoner has been committed by the Magistrates, the indictment shall be laid at their instance, and shall be served by their assistant, who shall appear on their behalf as public prosecutor. When it has been laid by the Resident's court, the Registrar shall undertake these duties; only that, in this case, the indictment shall be sent in due time to the sitting Magistrates, who shall direct their assistant to serve the same on the accu ed.

All indictments shall be served on the parties at least one week previous to the day of trial, and after the form prescribed in Appendix, and the person serving the same shall be responsible that it has been interpreted to the accused in his native language.

In all cases in which an indictment has been laid, the accused may demand to be tried by a jury; and in no case where the crime charged in the indictment may, if proved, involve the punishment of death, banishment, removal from the Settlement, imprisonment for more than twelve months, or a pecuniary fine of more than five hundred dollars, can the court proceed without a jury.

The jury may be purely European or purely native; and, in this last case, it ought, if practicable, to be of the same nation and religion with the accused.

The jury shall consist of five persons of respectable character who can write and read, and who have been borne on the roll of jurymen for the settlement at least three months previous to the trial.

Seven names shall be taken from the roll of jurymen (according to the manner prescribed by the particular Regulation regarding the formation and empannelling of juries in civil and criminal cases), and from these seven the accused shall have the power of rejecting two: and should he be able to afford the court reasons which may appear to them satisfactory, for removing from the jury any of the remaining members, they shall use their discretion in doing so; but in that case the court shall have the power of summarily filling up the vacancy so occasioned.

The court will first cause the indictment to be read in English, and interpreted to the accused, who is then asked if it had been so interpreted on a former occasion, and how it had been served.

If any thing objectionable should appear in this stage of the proceedings, or that the prisoner has not been allowed the facilities which the court may have directed for communication with his friends or his counsel, the trial must be postponed, and a new indictment laid, unless the accused may urge the court to go on.

Should there, however, be no objections on the above grounds, the jury will be sworn and impannelled, the prisoner put to the bar, and the trial will proceed.

The presiding Judge will then ask the prisoner whether he is guilty or not guilty of the crime or crimes laid to his charge in the indictment, and his answer, whatever it may be, is to be recorded.

The witnesses for the prosecution will then be heard separately, subject to a cross-examination by the prisoner.

After they have been severally examined, the witnesses called by the prisoner shall severally be heard, subject to a cross-examination by the public prosecutor.

When these examinations have been concluded, the court may recall any witness, and may put directly any questions they may think necessary; but neither the public prosecutor nor the prisoner

shall be allowed to put any questions to such a witness, excepting through the court, and by their unanimous consent.

The same recommendation that has been made in civil cases, for keeping witnesses that have been examined separate from those that have not, is here renewed.

The evidence having been gone through, the presiding Judge may recapitulate the chief points of it to the jury, and refer the same to their consideration and for their verdict, how far the prisoner may be guilty or not guilty of the crime or crimes charged in the indictment, or that the same has been proven or not proven.

The jury may then, if they see fit, withdraw, under certain limitations to be prescribed by the court, and shall be particularly instructed to restrict their verdict to the particular crime charged in the indictment.

After the evidence has been gone through and the case thus remitted to a jury, the jury will, on no account, be allowed to separate before they shall have given in their verdict, which shall either be pronounced audibly in court, in their presence, by the foreman, or shall be signed by him and handed to the Judge, by whom it shall be read, and in either case shall be instantly recorded.

The verdict must state whether it has been an unanimous one; and in the event of its not being so, by what majority it has been carried: all which circumstances shall also be entered on the records of the court.

When a jury has not been empannelled, the court will proceed to weigh the evidence which has been adduced, and shall decide upon the question of guilty or not guilty, proven or not proven; and in the same manner as has been prescribed in these cases, they shall restrict themselves minutely to the crime or crimes charged in the indictment.

After the verdict of the jury or of the court (as the case may be) shall have been recorded, the presiding Judge will pronounce the sentence; and if guilty, shall award the punishment prescribed by the approved code of punishments and laws of the Settlement for the particular crime.

In cases where the crime shall have been a bailable offence, the indictment shall be served on the accused, and the other proceedings adopted in the same manner as when an actual committal may have taken place.

After sentence has been passed, the chief civil Authority may moderate the same or grant a reprieve; and all sentences require his signature before being carried into execution.

A copy of the sentence of the court is to be sent to the sitting Magistrates by the Resident, with a request that they will afford the Registrar all the aid in their power in carrying the same into effect.

CONCLUSION.

The rules and regulations now established for the Resident's court, it is hoped, will be sufficient to enable it to proceed with consistency and uniformity in its duties; and it is expected that the constitution given to it will tend to secure and obtain the ends of substantial justice, in as ample and perfect a manner as can be devised in the present circumstances of the Settlement. These ends, it is conceived, can be best approached by adopting, as far as may be practicable, some of the leading means which have been so happily established for this purpose in our mother-country, leaving

it to time and experience to facilitate their application in those respects in which a difference of circumstances may at first appear to interpose some difficulties.

Whatever diversity of feelings may exist among different tribes, however much the influence of habit may have perverted their judgment in particular points, there are still certain rights, necessities, and interests, common to all, and which all will wish to secure. The measures which tend to this result they can be easily brought to appreciate, and while they continue to view them in that light, they will naturally incline to support them.

Nor is it too much to hope, that in framing laws for the future government of the Settlement, the body to whom this important trust is confided will apply all their zeal, judgment, and experience, towards rendering them as perfectly and fully conducive to the general benefit as may be practicable; and therefore, that while the different courts through which these laws come to be dispensed to the public, discharge their duties with diligence and purity, they may calculate on the animating and cheering support of those for whose benefit their labours have been undertaken.

There is little necessity to point out how much such a feeling, when once generated, will aid in effecting and promoting good order and regularity, and in alleviating the labours of all who are interested in their preservation.

A steady uniform application of the same principles in judicial proceedings, without reference to the rank, condition, or situation of the parties, will have the effect of establishing a system to which persons of every description must look with confidence and respect, notwithstanding the very great variety of those on whom the laws of the Settlement may be called to bear, and the many obstacles which may be opposed by the force of established habits and prejudices.

To these prejudices it is hoped the Court will always concede a humane and patient consideration; and that it will endeavour to remove them, by kindly exposing their erroneous tendency on every proper occasion, pointing out at the same time the superior objects held in view in the system of legislation which we have adopted, and safely trusting the issue to the result of such a comparison.

APPENDIX B.

RULES for the MAGISTRATES' COURT.

1. The office of the Magistrates shall be open for the trial of civil causes within their jurisdiction two days in the week, viz. Tuesdays and Fridays, at ten o'clock A. M.

2. For the trial of cases not purely of a civil nature, but arising out of the police, it shall be open every day at the same hour.

3. The office to be kept open daily from ten A. M. to three P. M., for the purpose of affording to the public an opportunity of entering and enrolling suits; and it will be incumbent on the assistant to the Magistrates to give his attendance between those hours, and to enter and enrol all causes that may be presented.

4. All causes to be heard in the order of their enrolment, and adjourned cases to take precedence of all others.

5. Excepting in such civil cases as the Magistrates may consider a deviation from this course

particularly advisable, it will be necessary that all citations and summonses to the parties in an action should be issued in the following manner, viz.

That for such causes as are to be tried on Friday, the citations and summonses shall have been issued previous to the preceding Tuesday; and for all causes to be tried on Tuesday, such citations and summonses to be issued previous to the preceding Friday. The Magistrates, however, are to have the power of departing from strict attention to this course when they concur in the necessity of doing so, and to continue their sittings *à die in diem* in similar circumstances.

6. When any person applies at the office of the Magistrates for the purpose of having a civil cause entered and enrolled, the Assistant to the Magistrates shall enrol the same in the manner now in use, receiving at the same time the regular fee approved of for such enrolment; and he shall obtain also a list of all the witnesses which the party may consider necessary and useful to his cause, being careful to warn the party, and to make him well aware of the importance of having all his witnesses duly and regularly cited.

7. The Assistant to the Magistrates shall issue no warrant for the citation of any person without first having obtained a warrant for that purpose from one of the Magistrates; and when such warrants shall have been duly and regularly issued, he shall put them into the hands of one of the police, in order to have them served, if possible one of the Jemadars.

8. The person entrusted to serve the warrant shall then proceed, in company with the complainant or some person of good character delegated by him for that object, to serve the warrant on the defendant, and on the different witnesses whose presence may be required, and all warrants shall be served if possible on the parties personally; and when that shall not be found practicable, the warrant is to be left at his usual domicile, in presence of one of his family, to whom the nature of the warrant shall be duly explained and notified.

9. When there is reason to believe that a person may have absented himself, or may have taken means to prevent a warrant from being served in the manner prescribed, the Magistrates shall then issue a warrant for the apprehension of his person and the attachment of his property; and on being taken into custody, he shall not only be obliged to find bail for his appearance to answer to the action in question, but shall also be liable to punishment and, at the discretion of the Magistrates, so far as it shall be proved against him that he may have used means for evading the operation of their warrant.

10. All parties to an action shall be personally present in court at the time appointed for the hearing of a cause, under the following penalties, viz.

When the defendant shall fail to appear, judgment shall pass in default: and in the case of the pursuer, he shall be nonsuited, and subjected not only in costs of suit so far as it may have gone, but also in compensation, at the discretion of the Magistrates, to the parties whose attendance he may have unnecessarily occasioned.

11. Witnesses failing to attend after being regularly and duly cited, or contumaciously refusing to give testimony, shall be liable to fine and punishment at the discretion of the Magistrates.

12. The forms of warrants to be such as are at present in use.

13. When the Magistrates shall have heard a cause, they shall endorse their decision, authenticated by the signature of one or more of them, on the back of the warrant which may have been issued for that particular case; and such warrants shall be filed monthly, and carefully preserved in the records of the office. The Assistant to the Magistrates shall, at the same time, make a short record of the facts of any case which may be considered deserving of such notice, in a

book deposited at the office for this purpose. He shall also keep a regular account of all fees and fines received at the office, distinguishing each.

14. The form in which appeals shall be made to the Resident's court shall be hereafter fixed by the court with the concurrence of the Resident.

15. The annexed table of fees is approved, the amount to be carried to account of Government.

Table of Fees provisionally authorized for the Magistrates' Court.

Entering complaint and granting summons	0	50	Cents
Subpœna	0	20	
Warrant and attachment	0	30	

In actions for debt, after judgment has been passed, such an additional sum to be levied for the decree, as shall not cause the whole amount of fees for summons, subpœna, warrant and attachment, and decree, to exceed a total of five per cent on the amount at issue.

An arbitration bond	1	0	Rupees
A bail bond for keeping the peace	1	0	

Persons incompetent to pay the first costs of instituting a suit, may plead *in formâ pauperis*, the court afterwards deciding how far the party may have been justified in availing himself of this indulgence, and awarding a sufficient fine where it may be unduly taken advantage of.

COMMISSION for the MAGISTRACY.

Whereas it having become indispensible, in consequence of the extent of population and capital already accumulated at Singapore, that immediate provision should be made for the preservation of order and the protection of person and property, and it having been provided by Regulation No. III. of 1823 *, entitled, " a Regulation for the establishment of a Provisional " Magistracy and the enforcement of an efficient Police at Singapore, with certain provisions for " the administration of justices in cases of emergency ;" and also by Regulation No. VI. of 1823, passed on this day, entitled a Regulation in furtherance of the objects of Regulation No. III. of " 1823, and containing additional provisions for the Magistracy and administration of Justice at " Singapore," that a certain number of gentlemen resident at Singapore should be constituted and appointed to act as Magistrates, for the preservation of the peace and the establishment of due regulation and domestic order within the said Settlement :

Be it known, that in conformity with the provisions of the aforesaid Regulations, and by virtue " of the full power and authority " vested in me, as Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Marlbro' and its dependencies, by especial commission under the common seal of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, bearing date the 14th October, 1817, " from time to time to rule and govern, and to do and perform all such acts and " things, and to use and exercise all such powers and authorities as are incidental to, and neces- " sary for, the government of the said Settlement, and of all places subordinate to, or annexed

* Passed on the 20th January, 1823.

" thereto, and of the servants and soldiers of the East India Company there, and the people and " inhabitants thereof:"

I, the Honourable Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Marlbro' and its dependencies, do hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint the undermentioned twelve gentlemen, jointly and severally, to be Magistrates of Singapore for the current year 1823, hereby giving unto them full and ample authority, under this commission, to act in the same manner as justices of the peace in England, and to perform and execute the duties required of them in the capacity of Magistrates, to the best of their judgment and conscience, and according to the provisions in the said Regulations made and provided, to such rules and orders as are now or may hereafter be laid down by Government for their guidance; for which this shall be their warrant.

A. L. Johnston,	Graham Mackenzie,
I. A. Maxwell,	William Montgomerie,
D. S. Napier,	Charles Scott,
A. Morgan,	John Morgan,
I. Purvis,	C. R. Read, and
A. Guthrie,	Alexander Hay, Esqs.

And I do hereby order, require and command all persons now resident, or who may hereafter come within the jurisdiction of Singapore, to shew due respect and obedience to the said A. L. Johnson, I. A. Maxwell, D. S. Napier, A. Morgan, I. Purvis, A. Guthrie, G. Mackenzie, W. Montgomerie, C. Scott, J. Morgan, C. R. Read, and A. Hay, Esqs., in the execution of the duties of their office accordingly.

And whereas a provision having been made by Regulation No. VI. of 1823, that the Magistrates shall in future be appointed annually on the 1st July in each year; and that to the number of twelve Magistrates, now appointed to constitute the acting Magistracy for the present year, the Resident should be competent, from time to time, to appoint supernumeraries, who are to be borne on the public roll of persons eligible for the Magistracy.

Be it known, that I, the Honourable Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Malbro' and its dependencies, do hereby empower and authorize the Resident or chief local authority of Singapore for the time being, hereafter to nominate such supernumeraries accordingly, in the manner provided by the said Regulation, and further to select, constitute, and appoint annually, on the 1st January on each year, from the roll of persons eligible for the Magistracy (which will include those now appointed, as well as all such supernumeraries as may be hereafter appointed by the Resident), twelve gentlemen to act as Magistrates for the ensuing year, with the same powers and authority as are now conferred on the acting Magistracy for the present year; for which this also shall be his warrant.

This commission to be in force and full effect from the present date, and to remain in force until the establishment of a regular court of judicature, unless previously revoked by the Governor-General in Council of Fort William, or other equally competent authority.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the East India Company at Singapore, on the 6th of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three.

(Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.

Form of Oath administered to the Magistrates of Singapore.

We, the undersigned, being appointed and commissioned to act as Magistrates of Singapore, under Regulation No. III. of 1823, entitled a " Regulation for the establishment of a provisional " Magistracy and the enforcement of an efficient Police at Singapore, with certain provisions for " the administration of Justice in cases of emergency," and also under Regulation No. II. of 1823, entitled, a " Regulation in furtherance of the objects of Regulation No. III. of 1823, and con- " taining additional provisions for the administration of Justice at Singapore," do hereby make oath and swear, that in the execution of the duties thereof, we will do equal right to the poor and to the rich, without favour or partiality to any one, to the best of our judgment and conscience, and according to such rules and regulations as are now, or may hereafter, be laid down for the guidance of the Magistrates of Singapore.

So help us God.

REPORT

ON THE

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

To Holt Mackenzie, Esq., Secretary to Government, Fort William.

SIR:

1. I have the honour to report, for the information of the honourable the Governor-General in Council, that the appointment of the provisional Magistracy at Singapore, as reported in my letter to your address of the 10th January last, has been attended with the most beneficial effects, in providing for the domestic order and economy of the Settlement, and that the establishment of an authority so constituted, in aid of the local administration, while it has added strength and respectability to the Government, has, at the same time, given universal satisfaction and confidence to the community.

2. The experience, indeed, which I have obtained during the last five months in which the system has been in operation under my own eye, has not only convinced me of its peculiar fitness in principle to the existing circumstances of Singapore, but at the same time enabled me to form some opinion of what remains to be done hereafter, with a view to a more permanent provision for the police and administration of justice. I proceed, however, in the first instance, to submit, for the consideration of the Honourable the Governor-General in Council, the more immediate provisions which have called for my attention in furtherance of these objects, some of which I have deemed it advisable to adopt at once, as indispensible for the guidance of the constituted authorities, and essential for the regularity of their proceedings.

3. These consist,

First, In a revision of that part of Regulation No. III. of 1823, which provides for the

quarterly appointment of three Magistrates, by the substitution of an annual appointment of twelve Magistrates in lieu thereof.

4. Under this revision, I have appointed twelve Magistrates, who are to constitute the acting Magistracy for the present year; and to this number it will be competent to the Resident hereafter to appoint supernumeraries, who are to be borne on the public roll of persons eligible for the Magistracy, from whom and the ex-Magistrates the twelve Magistrates will in future be annually appointed by him. The enactment of local laws and regulations will, of course, continue in the manner as heretofore prescribed; save only the slight alteration to suit the change made in the Magistracy, from quarterly appointments of three to annual appointments of twelve.

5. This change in the nomination of the Magistrates became necessary, in order to provide for the duties now required of them in the Resident's Court, as well as with a view to the accommodation of the gentlemen appointed to the office, to whom it affords the means of making such arrangements amongst themselves for the tour of duty as best suits their convenience. It has, at the same time, the advantage of affording a more appropriate channel for the communication of public opinion, and of giving to the Magistrates, in their legislative capacity, a just weight and importance.

6. I am satisfied that nothing has tended more to the discomfort and constant jarrings which have hitherto occurred in our remote Settlements, than the policy which has dictated the exclusion of the European merchants from all share, much less credit, in the domestic regulation of the Settlement of which they are frequently its most important members. Some degree of legislative power must necessarily exist in every distant dependency. The laws of the mother country cannot be commensurate with the wants of the dependency: she has wants of which a remote legislature can very imperfectly judge, and which are sometimes too urgent to admit the delay of reference. Circumstanced as Singapore is, even the Governor-General in Council, with whom the legislative power will probably rest, is hardly competent to legislate for such a state without the assistance of local advice. The administration of the Settlement is necessarily limited to one individual, who, having no council, could not be entrusted with the enactment of laws, which require deliberation and advice, and the mode which I have provided seems at once the most congenial to our national institutions, the most simple in its adoption and application, and the most promising in its advantages; at the same time that neither the Supreme Government as the higher legislative authority, nor the local Resident, as the Governor and executive officer of the state, loses any of the powers or attributes properly vested in him. The nomination of Magistrates is vested in him; and as the appointment is a mark of respect to the individual, inasmuch as the exclusion is a disgrace, it may be considered as rather extending his patronage and authority than otherwise.

7. Secondly. In defining the jurisdiction and laying down rules for the Resident's and Magistrates' courts, and in apprizing the public in how far they are bound to give their aid, when required, towards the administration of justice.

8. In the constitution of the Resident's court, it became necessary to consider how that officer was to be aided with advice, as well in civil as in criminal cases, and in what cases it would be advisable to have recourse to a jury: and it having appeared to me advisable that this court should be formed by the Resident, who should preside and pass the decisions, with the assistance of two Magistrates as assessors, taken monthly by rotation from the general list of Magistrates, and that juries should be allowed in all civil cases where the amount in dispute exceeded a certain amount, or when Government might be concerned, as also in all criminal cases whatever, the rules for that court have been framed on this principle.

9. The rules for the Magistrates' Court, at which two Magistrates will jointly preside for the adjustment of small debts, are intended to provide for a more summary jurisdiction, and require no particular remark.

10. Enclosed I have the honour to transmit a copy of Regulation No. VI. of 1823, this day passed, which, with its Appendices A. and B. contain the particulars of the provisions which I have thus made; and I respectfully submit the same for the approbation and confirmation of the Governor-General in Council, as essential for the government of the Settlement, and the best calculated, as far as my local experience and information enables me to form a judgment, to suit its convenience and wants.

11. For the information of the Governor-General in Council, I have also, at the same time, the honour to transmit a copy of the commission under which I have appointed and established the Magistracy, together with the form of oath which has been administered on the occasion.

12. In adopting these Regulations, I have felt that I have been going no further than what was indispensably requisite, in furtherance of the principle laid down by Regulation No. III. of 1823; but I thought it right to delay them until the arrival of Mr. Crawfurd, in the hope of receiving the sentiments of the Supreme Government in reply to my former reference.

13. Another, and more serious question, has however arisen, namely, What law is to be administered? Is it to be English or Malay, or both? and how far are the laws of China, of Hindustan, and of each particular state in the Eastern Seas, to be recognized?

14. The population of Singapore will probably consist of a mixture in various proportions of strangers from all parts of the world, having commercial concerns at the port, though chiefly of Malays, and Chinese; and it would be impracticable for any judicial authority to become perfectly acquainted with the laws, and customs having the force of law, acknowledged in their own countries respectively, by the varied classes of so mixed a population; and it would be still more so to attempt to administer these in such a manner as to preserve them inviolate, even in the mutual intercourse of those classes severally amongst themselves, much less where justice is to be administered between two persons of different classes.

15. It is, I believe, generally admitted, that in colonies formed entirely by Englishmen, they naturally carry the laws of their country with them, subject only to such local modifications as the constitution of the colony may require; but nine-tenths of the population of Singapore will most probably consist of Chinese and Malays, and the restrictions of the legislature may for many years operate against any considerable extension in the number of Englishmen.

16. A case has occurred during the period I have presided in the court, wherein a Chinese, whose relation was killed in an affray, refused any satisfaction short of the life of another individual as an atonement. The deceased was without doubt killed by accident, and circumstances did not admit of tracing the fact to the party who inflicted the blow. But the constant and only argument of the Chinese was, "what proof do you want? It is proved my relation was killed, no matter "how: and if you won't give me the life of another in satisfaction, I must take one." Again, according to the Malay law, a man who has been purloined of his property may follow the thief, and kill him wherever he finds him, provided it is within twenty-four hours after the deed was committed, otherwise he must bring him to the Rajah.

17. These and other cases, which may be readily conceived as arising out of the long want of government in these Islands, will be sufficient to shew that there could be no security of person or property in a settlement like Singapore, were the administration of the laws to remain in the hands of the native authorities.

18. The view which I have been induced to take of the subject, inclines me to think that, under the peculiar circumstances of the establishment of the Settlement, the manner in which nearly the whole of the population has accumulated under the protection of our flag, and the real character and interests of the people who are likely to resort to it, we cannot do better than apply the general principles of British law to all, equally and alike, without distinction of tribe or nation, under such modifications only as local circumstances and peculiarities, and a due consideration for the weakness and prejudices of the native part of the population, may from time to time suggest.

19. Precautionary measures for the prevention of crime are, of course, the first to be attended to; but something like a code, which shall explain in few words what is considered a crime, and what is the punishment attached to it, seems indispensable, even in this respect.

20. This subject has attracted my most serious attention: and I regret exceedingly that circumstances have not admitted of my communicating with the Governor-General in Council upon it previously to delivering over charge of Singapore. All that I have felt myself authorized in doing, has been to give publicity to a Minute which it was my intention to have submitted to the Supreme Government, in which I have endeavoured to point out the principles and objects to be kept in view in framing local Regulations, and to suggest a scale of some of the leading crimes and punishments for the consideration and revision of the Magistracy.

21. A copy of this proclamation, together with the scale of crimes and punishments therein referred to, I have the honour to enclose, for the information of the Governor-General in Council; and I trust that the principles on which I have proceeded, will be found to be such as may merit the approbation and support of his high authority.

22. It may be expected that I should explain the grounds on which I have felt myself authorized to go even as far as I have done, in legislating and constituting a power of legislating provisionally for Singapore, and at the same time state the mode in which I consider the legislative and judicial branch of the public administration can be best provided for, in any permanent arrangement to be made by the authorities at home.

23. On the first point, I shall briefly state, that an actual and urgent necessity existed for some immediate and provisional arrangements; and that, in adopting those which I have established, it has been my endeavour, while I gave all due weight to local considerations, to adhere as closely as possible to those principles, which from immemorial usage have ever been considered the most essential and sacred parts of the British constitution. Independently of the authority with which my commission vests me as Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Malborough and its dependencies, (whereof Singapore for the time being is one,) of giving all such orders, and from time to time doing all such things as are "necessary, and are incidental to the government of the said Settle- "ment, and its dependencies, and the inhabitants thereof," the peculiar tenure on which Singapore is at present politically held, the unusual degree of responsibility still resting on me personally, and the actual circumstances under which a large population and extensive capital has accumulated under my administration, without any provision having been made by higher and more competent authority for the judicial administration, naturally called upon me to adopt all such provisional measures as necessity might dictate. More than this I have not attempted; and I should have but ill fulfilled the high and important trust reposed in me, if, after having congregated so large a portion of our fellow-creatures, I had left them without something like law and regulation for their security and comfort.

24. With regard to more permanent arrangements hereafter, it appears to me, that all that is

wanting to the progressive improvement and completion of the system so advantageously commenced, is an act of the Crown or Legislature, which may acknowledge and legalize what has been done, and provide for the future on the same principle, or on such other as its wisdom, with a knowledge of actual circumstances, may suggest. As the population and opulence of the Settlement increases, professional aid may be required in the Resident's court, by the addition of a legal assessor or judge, to relieve the Resident from the more severe duties; and probably the Recorder of Penang might perform this duty by an occasional circuit. For the police and judicial duties, under the present circumstances of the Settlement, ample provision is already made by the existing establishments, which are at once economical and efficient.

25. Having the future prosperity of Singapore deeply at heart, I trust I may be excused in making a respectful request, that the sentiments of the Supreme Government regarding the principles I have laid down, with its opinion on the best mode of providing for the police and judicial administration in future, may be communicated to the Honourable Court of Directors by an early opportunity, in order that, on my arrival in England, should my services be accepted for the purpose, I may afford all assistance in my power towards the attainment of such a charter or warrant from the Crown, as may be suitable to the local circumstances of the place, and regarding which the Authorities at home must necessarily refer to those who possess local information, and have attended to the subject.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.

Singapore, June 6th, 1823.

PROCLAMATION.

Provision having been made by Regulations No. III. and VI. of 1823, for the establishment of an efficient Magistracy at Singapore, and for the mode in which local Regulations, having the force of law, should be enacted, and by whom such laws should be administered, it now becomes necessary to state the principles and objects which should be kept in view in framing such Regulations, and as far as circumstances may admit, to apprize all parties of their respective rights and duties, in order that ignorance thereof may not hereafter be pleaded on the part of any individual or class of people.

The Lieutenant-Governor is in consequence induced to give publicity to the following Minute, containing the leading principles and objects to be attended to.

MINUTE *by the* LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR.

1. As the population of Singapore will necessarily consist of a mixture, in various proportions, of strangers from all parts of the world, having commercial concerns at this port, though chiefly of Chinese and Malays, it would be impracticable for any judicial authority to become perfectly acquainted with the laws, and customs having the force of law, which are acknowledged in their own countries respectively, by the varied classes of so mixed a population, and to administer these in such a manner as to preserve them inviolate, even in the mutual intercourse of those classes

severally amongst themselves; far more so, when justice is to be done between the Englishman and Chinese, the Bugguese and Hindoo, and the like. On the other hand, to apply the law of Europe direct, with all its accumulated processes and penalties, to a people of whom more than nine-tenths will probably be natives of China and the Malay archipelago, would be as repugnant to natural justice, as it would be inconsistent with the benevolence and liberality which has ever marked the British rule in India.

2. Under these circumstances, nothing seems to be left but to have recourse to first principles, to use every precaution against the existence of temptation to crime, that is found consistent with the perfect liberty of those who have no evil intentions; and when these precautions fail, to secure redress to the injured party, if possible, and such punishment as will be most likely to prevent a repetition of the crime, either by the party himself offending, or by those who may be inclined to follow his example. Nothing should be endured in the Settlement, however sanctioned by the local usage of particular tribes who resort to it, that has either a direct effect, or notoriously strong tendency to endanger the safety or liberty of person, or the security of property: and, in the same manner, no want of what are considered legal formalities in any country should debar a person from having substantial justice rendered to him, *so that legal and moral obligation may never be at variance.*

3. Taking this as the fundamental principle for the laws of the Settlement, it may be presumed that no local Regulation would be enacted which the society, if left to themselves, would not desire to see carried into effect; no public institution or source of expense would exist, of which the benefit was not obvious, to the enlightened part at least, who would therefore soon feel that the Government was not made to tyrannize over the people, but for their protection and happiness.

4. Under such a system of administration, it is not unreasonable to expect that every facility would be afforded by the mass of the population to the executive authority in carrying the laws into effect; for even the midnight robber and swindler have no desire that their own persons or property should be liable to those evils which they inflict on the rest of the community, and will readily join in their suppression, when other delinquents are the objects of the terrors of the law.

5. In carrying such a system into effect, it ought to be fully understood, and maintained on all occasions, that while individuals are allowed to *protect* themselves, as far as possible, against wrongs, the *redress* of wrongs cannot be left to the resentment or the revenge of the parties conceiving themselves injured. That must be done solely by Government, through the instrumentality of the judicial and executive officers whom it appoints for that purpose.

6. No one, therefore, being allowed to be a judge in his own case, ought to revenge his own quarrel, arms or weapons capable of inflicting instant death, as habitually worn by the Malays, become unnecessary; and by dispensing with them, the greatest temptation to, and power of doing to others the greatest and most irremediable wrong in depriving them of life, is in a great measure removed. If a man takes another's horse or cow by robbery or theft, or under a mistaken idea that he has a right to the property in question, redress can be afforded to him as soon as the offender is convicted of his crime, or the party discovers his error; but if from revenge, or under false impressions, a man is suddenly excited to take the life of a fellow-creature, it is in vain that he afterwards discovers that he was misled by passion or had been deceived by appearances. It often happens, too, in these countries, that a man who considers himself aggrieved by a particular individual, and finding himself in possession of a sharp weapon, attempts the life of every one he meets indiscriminately, and without having any wrong at their hands to complain of. It is impossible to see who may, or may not be guilty of such acts of inhuman cruelty, and therefore all should

agree to lay aside the use of the weapon, that is commonly employed by persons who thus transform themselves into wild beasts by giving way to brutal passion.

7. On the same principle it has been found by experience, that those who indulge frequently in gaming and cock-fighting, are not only liable to engage in quarrels with those who have won their money, but also that they are incited to acts of fraud and robbery, in order to obtain the means of amusement or of attempting to retrieve their losses; it is, therefore, the duty of Government to suppress both gaming and cock-fighting as far as possible, without trespassing on the free-will of private conduct. No man should be allowed to receive any money, either directly or indirectly, for conducting a gaming-table or cock-pit, and winners of money at such places should be compelled to restore the amount to the losers, and should on no account be permitted to enforce payment from those with whom they have gambled on credit.

8. Intoxication being a source of personal danger to the community, and the indulgence in that vice being a frequent cause of betraying those who are addicted to it to the commission of acts of dishonesty, it is the duty of a good Magistracy to throw every obstacle in its way. In the first place, the officers of police should be required to place in constraint any person seen in public in a state of intoxication until he becomes sober; and, in the next place, the vender of intoxicating articles, who supplied him with the means of inebriety, should be visited with reproof, and fined, and be liable to make good the amount of any oss which the person so intoxicated can prove he suffered during his inebriety, from being unable to take care of himself. The extent of this fine must necessarily be discretionary on the part of the Magistrate, depending principally on the degree of inebriety produced. It should always be of such an amount, that the fear of being subject to it may be sufficient to outweigh in the mind of the vender the temptation of profit in the sale of his goods; of course if it should appear in evidence, that the individual was supplied with the means of intoxication for the purpose of taking advantage of him in that state, the object converts the simple misdemeanor into a crime, according to the particular purpose contemplated; and further punishment to the guilty, as well as redress to the individual injured, must be awarded accordingly. The use of spirituous liquors, though innocent in moderation, becomes vicious when indulged in to excess. The consumption may be diminished by the enhancement of price, and in this way the indulgence may be made so extensive, as to be only attainable, beyond the bounds of moderation, by those whose means give them a station in society that induces them to be guarded in their conduct, for the sake of preserving the respect of those whose eyes are turned upon them. Thus while gaming as practised by the Chinese, and cock-fighting by the Malays, are absolutely pernicious in every degree in which they come under public cognizance, the use of opium and spirituous liquors may be repressed, by exacting a heavy tax in the way of license from the venders.

9. There are many important considerations that stand in the way of enacting laws against prostitution: indeed it would, in a country where concubinage is not forbidden, be difficult to draw a line between the concubine and the common prostitute. It is practicable, however, in some degree, and highly desirable, that the temptation to profit should not exist, to induce the seduction of women into this course of life by others of their sex. The unfortunate prostitute should be treated with compassion, but every obstacle should be thrown in the way of her services being a source of profit to any one but herself. It should, therefore, be declared unlawful for any person whatever, to share the hire or wages of prostitution, or to derive any profit or emolument, either directly or indirectly, for bestowing a female in prostitution, any custom, law, or usage of the country such female or her parents or her guardians were born in notwithstanding; reserving only for a jury to advise what constitutes a legal obligation on the man to support the woman thus

bestowed, or in other words, what a contract of marriage by local usage, and what a connection of prostitution. The penalty must here also be modified by circumstances. It is much more criminal to induct a girl into prostitution, than to facilitate her pursuit of vice after she has entered upon it as a profession.

10. It may be necessary to make specific regulations for the protection of the community generally against fire, both with regard to the construction of buildings, the storing of gunpowder and combustibles, the manufacture of arrack, &c., and the power of infringing on a neighbour's property after a fire has broken out, either for the purpose of access to the means of extinguishing it, or to prevent its spreading to a greater distance.

11. Boatmen, and parties offering themselves publicly for hire, may also be subjected to regulation, with the view of facilitating the attainment of redress when they are guilty of fraud and negligence.

12. Weights and measures of the acknowledged standard should be accessible to all, and those used in purchases and sales ought to be in strict conformity with such standards. Certain magisterial officers, therefore, should be employed to examine those used by persons who openly keep goods exposed for sale. When found defective, the person in whose behoof they are used should be liable to fine, proportioned to his supposed means and the apparent degree of fraud resorted to.

13. Fraud with respect to the quality of articles is a crime more readily detected, and may be left to private prosecution. In giving redress to the individual, punishment ought to be annexed, in proportion as the fraud is of an injurious nature.

14. As a great check to fraud and falsehood, a general registry office for all written agreements or engagements, which are liable to be made the ground of dispute before a court of justice, should be opened for the public. Regulations should be made for the authenticity of the document, in the first instance; and either party, or any party interested, should be entitled to a copy, paying for the same a moderate fee, as a compensation for the trouble given to the Registrar and his establishment. Precaution must, of course, be taken against the falsification or abstraction of such documents from the Registrar's office. All deeds which may be so registered should have an avowed preference over one that is not so registered; unless the holder of the latter can shew a clear, distinct, and satisfactory cause, why he has not been able to have his deed registered, and the *onus* of establishing this ought decidedly to rest on him.

15. Nuisances, generally speaking, may be safely left to the complaint of individuals, in each particular instance, where the cause of nuisance is not obvious to all, or directly injurious to particular individuals, as crowding the river with vessels, &c., when it may be made subject of special regulation.

16. All householders should be registered, and all houses numbered. Auctioneers and pawnbrokers should be placed under specific regulations, and none allowed to act as such without giving security for complying with the same, and taking out a license for the purpose.

17. With respect to the employment of informers, it may be observed that Magistrates must have information; but no bad passion should be elicited in the procuring of it: no temptation to lead others to vice, for the sake of reward for informing; no inducement to betray confidence; and the act of giving information should be treated as a public and honourable duty.

18. Precautionary measures being taken, on the above principles, for preserving the peace and good order of society, and removing, as far as practicable, the immediate temptations to crime and

violence, it next becomes necessary to define what shall be considered crimes, what lawful punishments, and how injuries shall be redressed.

19. By the constitution of England, the absolute rights of the subject are defined as follows:

1. The right of personal security; which consists in a person's legal uninterrupted enjoyment of his life, his limbs, his body, his health, and his reputation.

2. The right of personal liberty; which consists in the power of locomotion, of changing situation, or removing one's person to whatever place one's own inclination may direct, without imprisonment or restraint, unless by due course of law.

3. The right of property; which consists in the use, enjoyment, and disposal of all acquisitions, without any controul or diminution, save only by the laws of the land.

20. There seems no reason for denying corresponding rights to all classes of people residing under the protection of the British flag at Singapore, the laws of the land being such as are or may be enacted under the provisions of Regulation No. III. of 1823, dated the 20th January last, with such others, of a more general nature, as may be directed by a higher authority, or which may necessarily accrue under the provisions of the Legislature, and the political circumstances of the settlement, as a dependency of Great Britain.—Admitting these rights to exist, it follows that all acts by which they are invaded are wrongs: that is to say, crimes or injuries.

21. In the enactment of laws for securing these rights, legal obligation must never supersede or take place of, or be inconsistent with, or more or less onerous than, moral obligation. The English practice of teaching prisoners to plead not guilty, that they may thus have a chance of escaping from punishment, is inconsistent with this, and consequently objectionable. It is, indeed, right and proper, that the court should inform itself of all the circumstances of a crime, from witnesses as well as from the declaration of the prisoner himself. Denial is, in fact, an aggravation of a crime, according to every idea of common sense: it disarms punishment of one of its most beneficial objects, by casting a shade of doubt over its justice.

22. The sanctity of oaths should also be more upheld than in the English courts. This may be done by never administering them except as a dernier resort. If they are not frequently administered, not only will their sanction be more regarded, and in this way their breach be less proportionately frequent, but of necessity much more *absolutely* uncommon, and consequently much more certainly visited with due punishment. Truth, however, must be required, under pain of punishment, in all cases of evidence given before a court of justice.

23. The imprisonment of an unfortunate debtor at the pleasure of the creditor, by which the services of the individual are lost to all parties, seems objectionable in this Settlement; and it is considered that the rights of property may be sufficiently protected, by giving to the creditor a right to the value of the debtor's services for a limited period, in no case exceeding five years, and that the debtor should only be liable to imprisonment in case of fraud, and as far as may be necessary for the security of his person, in the event of his not being able to find bail during the process of the court, and for the performance of the decree after judgment may be passed.

24. It is well known, that the Malay race are sensibly alive to shame, and that, in many instances, they would prefer death to ignominy. This is a high and honourable feeling, and ought to be cherished. Let great care be taken to avoid all punishments which are unnecessarily degrading. Both the Malays and Chinese are a reasoning people, and though each may reason in a way peculiar to itself, and different in some respects from our own way of reasoning, this germ of civilization should not be checked. Let no man be punished without a reason assigned. Let the

principles of British law be applied, not only with mildness, and a patriarchal kindness and indulgent consideration for the prejudices of each tribe, as far as substantial justice will allow, but also with reference to their reasoning powers, however weak, and that moral principle, which however often disregarded, still exists in the consciences of all men.

Let native institutions, as far as regards religious observances, marriage, and inheritance, be respected, when the same may not be inconsistent with justice and humanity, or injurious to the peace and morals of society.

Let all men be considered equal in the eye of the law.

Let no man be banished the country without a trial by his peers or by due course of law.

Let no man be deprived of his liberty without a cause, and no man be detained in confinement beyond forty-eight hours, without a right to demand a hearing and trial according to due course of law.

Let the public have a voice through the magistracy, by which their sentiments may at all times be freely expressed.

25. In fixing a scale of punishments, the first principle to be attended to is, that they should be graduated, as far as practicable, so as to attach to each particular crime its due and relative punishment according to its enormity; and with regard to the nature of the punishments to be inflicted, let them be as mild and humane as the general security of person and property will admit. Severity of punishment defeats its own end; and the laws should, in all cases, be so mild, that no one should be deterred from prosecuting a criminal by considerations of humanity. No feeling interferes with justice in behalf of a murderer: let this crime be punished by death, and no other. Banishment is the next in order. Solitary confinement, proportioned to the degree of the offence, or pertinacity of the offender in his criminal course, seems the least objectionable of all sorts of punishment. Shame and obloquy may likewise be safely resorted to; but much caution is required in this respect, lest a too frequent enforcement of the punishment destroy the feeling which can alone make it a punishment. Personal chastisement is only for the lower orders, who are incapable of feeling the shame of disgrace, and may properly be had recourse to in cases of wilful perjury, where the falsehood of the witness is palpable, and his object particularly mischievous. In all cases, let it be considered as no less an object of the law to afford redress to the party injured, than to punish the offender. Compensation should in all cases, where it is possible, be made to the injured party, to the extent of the means of the offender: as in the case of the Malay Bangoon, where, when the father is murdered, the family are entitled to pecuniary compensation for his loss.

(Signed) T. S. Raffles.

With these views and principles, the Lieutenant Governor has this day transmitted to the acting Magistrates such a graduated scale of crimes and punishments, as appears to him sufficient to meet the existing circumstances of the Settlement, and to answer the ends of substantial justice, with instructions that they will duly deliberate on the subject; and after such revision as their local knowledge and experience may suggest, submit the same to the chief local authority with their opinion, and in the form of a code of laws to be established for the Settlement, and to be in force after publication by the Resident, until rescinded by a higher authority, or altered under the provisions laid down for the enactment of local Laws and Regulations.

The Magistrates have further been required to frame, in the form of a Police Regulation, to be approved and published by Government, such further Regulations as may be necessary in that department.

It is to be hoped, that the provision thus made will be found sufficient for the public peace, and the protection of person and property, until circumstances may admit of the establishment of a more regular court of Judicature, all Regulations now made being necessarily of a provisional nature.

Dated at Singapore on the 6th of June, 1823.

By the Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Marlborough and its dependencies.

(Signed) T. S. Raffles.

SCALE OF CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS,

Submitted by the Lieutenant-Governor for the consideration of the Magistrates, and referred to in his Minute of the 6th of June, 1823.

It is hereby enacted and ordained, that if any person within the territory of Singapore, or jurisdiction thereof, who after a solemn, legal, and deliberate trial, according to the forms, usages, and laws at the time in force, shall be fully and fairly convicted of any of the crimes hereafter stated, he shall be condemned to suffer for the same the particular punishment specially annexed to such crimes in the underwritten scheme and scale, *viz.*

For Murder.

By Amok	To suffer death, with confiscation of property; and the body to be ignominiously exposed on a gibbet for twenty-four hours. When not taken alive, the ignominious exposure of the body to take place as above directed; and, in both cases, the confiscated property to be divided, at the discretion of the court, among the relatives of those whom he may have injured.
and Piracy	Punishment the same as the preceding.
By whatever other causes it may have ensued	Death.

Piracy,

and enslaving of captives	Death.
Without aggravating circumstances	Imprisonment and hard labour, for a period to be fixed at the discretion of the court.

Homicide.

Simple	Solitary confinement.
Culpable	Solitary confinement, and a fine for the benefit of the family of the deceased.

Wounding or Maiming.

With dangerous weapons, wantonly used	Banishment and confiscation of property, with redress to the wounded person.

Assault.

Assaulting the chief authority	Banishment and stripes.
In lesser cases	Fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court.

Riotous and disorderly Conduct.

Rioting	Hard labour or banishment, according to circumstances.
For exciting and conspiring with others to oppose Government or injure individuals	Banishment in the higher cases, with solitary confinement, and stripes in the lowest.
For forcible seizure of person or property	Compensation for injury, with fine and imprisonment.
For detention of person or property	Compensation for injury, with fine and imprisonment in a less degree.
For extortion	Compensation for the injury, or hard labour.
The destruction and injury of property	Compensation for the injury, with fine and ignominy.

Slave Dealing.

In the case of a British-born subject	To incur the penalties of the several Acts of the British Parliament now in force on this head.
In the case of other persons	Loss of property in the slave; fine and imprisonment at the discretion of the court.
Gambling	Confiscation of property; banishment and stripes, according to circumstances.
For Stealing	Compensation for injury, stripes, bonds, hard labour.
Perjury and false evidence	Imprisonment and stripes in the more flagrant cases, and fine and ignominy in the lesser.
Defrauding	Compensation to the injured party when practicable, with imprisonment and stripes at the discretion of the court.
For defamation	Fine and imprisonment, with privation of natural rights, according to circumstances.
For receiving or offering bribes	Ignominy, with fine and loss of suit.

And for all other crimes not specially mentioned, such punishment as the court shall, at its discretion, see fit to inflict.

(Signed) T. S. Raffles.

Singapore, June 6, 1823.

SINGAPORE INSTITUTION,

&c. &c.

At a Meeting of the principal Inhabitants of Singapore, held at the Residency-House on the 1st of April, 1823. The Honourable Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, *Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Malborough and its Dependencies presiding.*

Sir Stamford Raffles stated, that he had convened the present meeting for the purpose of laying before the public the arrangements which he had adopted for the establishment of an Institution at Singapore, having for its object the cultivation of the languages of China, Siam, and the Malayan Archipelago; and the improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of the inhabitants of those countries.

He observed, that he had for many years contemplated the advantages which might arise from affording the means of education to the inhabitants of the Malayan Archipelago, and that shortly after the establishment of the British Government in Singapore, he had suggested a plan for attaining this object by the establishment of an Institution of the nature of a Native College; but that from political and other circumstances, the establishment of the proposed Institution had been delayed till the present period. That providence however had recently brought to these shores that excellent and good man Dr. Morrison, the founder and president of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca; and that, in concert with him, a plan had now been adopted and decided upon, for removing that College to Singapore, and uniting it with the proposed Malayan College, under the general designation of the "Singapore Institution."

Sir Stamford Raffles then submitted, in the form of a Minute, which he was desirous of placing on the records of the Institution, his ideas on the advantages of a Malayan College, as first contemplated by him, together with a paper containing the suggestions of Dr. Morrison, for uniting the two Colleges in one general Institution, observing that as these documents would shew, not only the objects and views of the founders of the Singapore Institution, as now adopted, but the progress by which its establishment was brought about, it became unnecessary for him to detain them by further observations.

THE

SINGAPORE INSTITUTION

Shall consist of three departments.

I. A scientific department for the common advantage of the several Colleges that may be established.

II. A literary and moral department for the Chinese, which the Anglo-Chinese College affords, and

III. A literary and moral department for the Siamese, Malay, &c., which will be provided for by the Malayan College.

The first department shall be provided with funds from individual contributions; and such sums as the two Colleges shall see fit to devote to this object; and it shall be managed by a Committee of Trustees of the Institution. The appointment of Professors in this department shall be made by the Institution Trustees.

The form of all the buildings, their site, and their annual repair, shall be made under the direction of this Committee; but each College may make such additions to its own buildings, for its own convenience, as, in the opinion of the Trustees, do not interfere with the symmetry and general appearance of the Institution.

The report annually made to the public, after the examination of the students, and official visit paid to the Institution, shall be drawn up by the Committee of Trustees, and shall embrace the scientific department, and such paragraphs of the College reports, as this Committee shall choose to adopt: and for this report alone, thus constructed, shall the Committee of Trustees consider themselves responsible.

The Colleges shall be permitted to print their own reports, on their own responsibility, according as their Bye-Laws may direct.

A certain portion of the ground granted by Government will be allotted to each College definitively, that they may employ it as the benefit of the particular College may require, for erecting printing-offices in their particular departments, affording such accommodation for their students as circumstances may require, &c.

The officers of the Institution hereby nominated are as follow:

Patrons, the Hon. Sir Thos. Stamford Raffles, F.R.S. and A.S., &c. &c.—W. Wilberforce, Esq., M.P.—C. Grant, Esq., M.P.

President of the Institution, the Resident of Singapore, Lieutenant Colonel Farquhar.

Vice-President, Robert Morrison, D.D.

Trustees, the Hon. Sir Thos. Stamford Raffles—Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar—W. Wilberforce and C. Grant, Esqrs.—Rev. T. Raffles, D.D.—A. L. Johnston, Esq.—D. Napier, Esq.—A. Maxwell, Esq.—Nathaniel Wallich, Esq. M.D. K.D. &c.—Lieutenant-Colonel M'Innes—Captain Flint, R. N.—Captain Davies—Rev. R. Morrison, D.D.—Rev. J. Humphreys—Rev. D. Collie—Rev. R. S. Hutchings—Rev. G. H. Thompson—Rev. J. Milton.

Treasurers, Messrs. Johnston and Co.

Secretary, J. Maxwell, Esq.
Librarian of the General Library, Rev. R. Morrison, D.D.
Professor of Natural Philosophy, William Montgomery, M.D. (Chemistry *.)
Professor of Natural History, G. Finlayson, Esq.
Printer, Samuel Roberts.

OFFICERS OF THE ANGLO-CHINESE COLLEGE.

President, Rev. R. Morrison, D.D.
Principal, J. Humphreys.
Professor of Chinese, D. Collie.
Chinese Master, Le Sëen Săng.
Treasurer, J. Humphreys.
Librarian, D. Collie.

Patrons, Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar—Hon. E. Phillips—Hon. J. Erskine.
Trustees, Rev. R. Morrison—Rev. G. Burder—W. A. Hankey, Esq.—C. W. Crommelin, Esq. —Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar—D. S. Napier, Esq.—and Officers of the College.

OFFICERS OF THE MALAYAN COLLEGE.

President, Rev. R. S. Hutchings.
Principal, Rev. G. H. Thomson, Actg.
Professor of Malayan Languages, Rev. G. H. Thompson.
Professor of Siamese, Rev. J. Milton.
Native Siamese Masters, John Leyden and Nunsid.
Native Malay Masters, Shaik Alla Adin and Hassin.
Treasurer, Rev. G. H. Thompson.

Patron, Sir Stamford Raffles.
Trustees, Sir Stamford Raffles, the Resident of Singapore for the time being—Rev. Doctor Morrison—William Marsden, Esq.—Lieutenant-Colonel M'Innes—Captain Flint—Captain Davies—A. L. Johnston, Esq.—D. S. Napier, Esq.—J. Maxwell—and Officers of the College.

CHINESE PREPARATORY SCHOOLS.

Superintendent, the Rev. S. Milton.
Native Master,

* Provisionally.

MALAYAN PREPARATORY SCHOOLS.

SUPERINTENDENT, Rev. G. H. Thompson.
NATIVE MASTER, Shaik Alla Adin.

RULES

FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF THE INSTITUTION.

THE scientific department shall be managed by its own Trustees, one half of whom shall be officers of the Colleges, and one half NOT officers of the Colleges. There shall be three from each College, which will make six Trustees unconnected with the Colleges, and resident in Singapore. In a full meeting of the resident Trustees, and when their votes are equal, the casting vote shall be with the President of the Institution.

Of these twelve Trustees there shall be an acting Committee of three annually appointed; who shall once a year report to the general meeting of resident Trustees; and in difficult, or extraordinary cases, not provided for by previously-enacted regulations, the acting Committee may request a general meeting of the resident Trustees.

Of the twelve resident Trustees, (having all been summoned to a general meeting by the Secretary of the Institution,) seven shall constitute a quorum.

The Trustees shall be nominated for life; and shall endeavour to promote the welfare of the Institution in whatever part of the world they may be.

On the demise of any Trustee, his place shall be filled up by a general vote of the Patron or Patrons; the President; Vice-President, and Trustees of the Institution. On the removal of any of the resident Trustees, his place shall be filled up in a similar manner.

Of the Patrons and Trustees resident in the United Kingdom there shall be formed a COMMITTEE OF CO-OPERATION, to correspond with, and assist the efforts of, the acting Committee of resident Trustees.

The home Committee of co-operation shall equal in number the resident Trustees, and extraordinary cases, not provided for by previous statutes, shall be decided by a majority of these two constituted bodies: but neither these nor any other authority shall have the power of altering in any future time the fundamental laws, or the declared objects of the Institution; nor shall these two bodies have the power of violating the integrity and independence of either of the existing Colleges, or any other that may hereafter be united to them.

The resident Trustees shall not have the power to vote away more than £500 of the property of the Institution, without the concurrence of the home Committee of co-operation.

Hereafter in cases of any alleged departure from the principles of the Institution, or other circumstance affecting the vital interests of it, the Patron or Patrons, and the home Committee, may appoint gentlemen to visit and investigate the state of the Institution in all its departments.

The affairs of each of the Colleges shall be managed by their own Trustees, and other officers, as the laws and statutes of each College may direct.

In case of any misunderstanding or dispute arising amongst the THREE departments of the

Institution, or any two of them, the subject may be referred to the resident Trustees; and if their decision be satisfactory to the parties, the question shall be settled; but if not, the subject must be referred to the home Committee of co-operation, together with the home Patrons and Trustees of each College; of all of whom the decision of the majority shall be final.

The annual general meeting of the resident Trustees of the Institution shall take place on the 6th day of February.

At that meeting the acting Committee of the scientific department shall present its Report for the year preceding. And the Colleges shall also submit their Students to an examination, in presence of a general meeting of resident Trustees, and such visitors as they shall see fit to invite. The Colleges shall moreover lay before the meeting a report of their proceedings; stating the number of their pupils, the state of their funds, with such suggestions as they may think likely to promote the general good of the Institution.

The general meeting shall, on the same day, visit the Institution. The Students and Officers of the College shall on this occasion wear their college gowns and caps, and the President of the Institution shall give a dinner to the Trustees and Officers of the Institution, and to such other ladies and gentlemen of the Settlement as he shall be pleased to invite.

On this and other occasions, the senior clergyman connected with the Institution shall be considered the Institution Chaplain.

OFFICERS OF THE SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENT.

Of this department the Vice-President shall have the general management, and shall rank first.

The Professor of natural philosophy shall be expected to teach, in the English language, to native Students and others sent from each College, the principles of the Newtonian system of astronomy; the mechanical and chemical properties of matter; and illustrate them by experiments.

Whilst this statement expresses generally his duties, it is expected that he will also teach such other branches of knowledge as he may happen to be qualified for; as in the case of Dr. Montgomery, who having taken charge, pro tempore, of the chemical chair, is also willing to give Lectures in anatomy and medical science.

The Professor of natural history shall be expected to be versed in whatever concerns the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms; and shall not only teach zoology, botany, and mineralogy to the Students, but shall exert himself to procure new information on these subjects from the surrounding countries, to be transmitted to the home Committee of co-operation: and shall do his utmost to procure satisfactory answers to such questions as may be sent out, by scientific individuals or bodies, through the medium of the home Committee.

Should the scientific department of the Singapore Institution be liberably supported, more Professorships will be made to ensure a greater division of labour.

And it is expected that the Professor in each department will pay attention to the native languages, with the view of eventually translating scientific books into those languages.

The Professors in the scientific department shall take precedence according to the date of their connection with the Institution: and in any general meeting of all the officers of the Institution, seniority of service shall be the rule of precedence, if it shall be necessary or expedient to advert to the circumstance.

When the funds can afford it, there shall be an observatory on Institution Hill, and a good

astronomical clock under the charge of such of the Professors as the Trustees shall appoint; and it shall be made as serviceable as possible to the ships in the Roads for regulating or ascertaining the rates of the chronometers.

THE

MALAYAN COLLEGE

Established at Singapore, 1823.

Patron, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles.

Trustees, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, the Resident of Singapore for the time being—William Marsden, Esq.—Rev. Dr. Morrison, D.D.—Lieutenant-Colonel M'Innes—Captain Flint, R.N. —Captain Davis—A. L. Johnston, Esq.—D. S. Napier, Esq.—J. A. Maxwell, Esq.—Rev. R. S. Hutchings—Rev. G. H. Thompson—Rev. S. Milton.

The objects of the Institution are—First, to educate the sons of the higher order of natives and others.

Secondly, to afford the means of instruction in the native languages to such of the Company's servants and other as may desire it. And

Thirdly, to collect the scattered literature and traditions of the country, with whatever may illustrate their laws and customs, and to publish and circulate in a correct form the most important of these, with such other works as may be calculated to raise the character of the Institution, and to be useful and instructive to the people.

The College will be supported by voluntary subscriptions and endowments, by the fees which it will derive from students, and by the profits from the press, and the cultivation of the College lands.

OFFICERS OF THE COLLEGE:—

A PRESIDENT,

Who may or may not be resident at the College, but whether present or absent, he is to be considered as the head of the Institution. His duty is to promote the general welfare of the College in every department.

A PRINCIPAL.

A PROFESSOR IN THE MALAYAN LANGUAGES.

A PROFESSOR OF SIAMESE.

Native Masters in the Siamese, Malayan, Bugguese, Javanese, and other languages of the Archipelago.

A TREASURER.

Any immorality, generally condemned by Christian Churches, shall incapacitate Europeans from holding offices in the Malayan College.

And Native Masters and Teachers shall be, when practicable, correct moral men, according to the opinions of their own nation.

President, the Rev. R. S. Hutchings.
Principal, the Rev. G. H. Thompson, Actg.
Professor of the Malayan Languages, the Rev. G. H. Thompson.
Professor of Siamese, the Rev. S. Milton.
Native Masters in Malayan, Shaik Allah Adin and Hassan.
———————— in Javanese, in Bugguese, in Bali, in Tegala ————.
———————— in Siamese, John Leyden Siami and Nunsid.
———————— in Arabic, in Pali, ———— ————.
Treasurer, the Rev. G. H. Thompson.

The duty of the President is to promote the general welfare of the College, and when present to act as chairman of the council.

THE PRINCIPAL

Has the ordinary general superintendence of the College concerns; and is to teach native students the English language, geography, the use of the globes, arithmetic, history, and such other branches of knowledge as circumstances may direct.

THE PROFESSORS

Are with the aid of the native masters to teach the Malayan and Siamese languages to European students; also, to teach the natives history, logic, theology, natural and revealed, ethics or moral philosophy, and to assist the principal, as circumstances may require.

THE NATIVE MASTERS

Are to teach the correct reading and understanding of the most approved works and translations in the native languages, and to assist foreign students in learning these languages and their characters.

LAWS AND STATUTES.

I. The College Council shall consist of the President (when present) the Principal, and Professors, and in the President's absence of the Principal and Professors only.

It is understood that the Principal has the direction of the ordinary daily concerns of the College, but in any affair of importance to the Institution; or in any new case that may arise, not provided for by previously existing laws; or in such cases as may be hereafter specified, the Principal is required, by this statute, to confer on the subject with the Professors.

II. In any case of serious misconduct on the part of any student, the measures to be adopted shall be considered by the College council, and their decision carried into effect by the Principal in ordinary cases; and in particular cases by such member of the council as may be appointed.

III. When a difference of opinion shall arise amongst the members of the council on any subject, the case shall be referred to the Resident Trustees, whose decision shall be final.

IV. The Principal may at any time require a meeting of the council, and each of the other members is always allowed to request one. If denied, the reason must be minuted by the Principal, and referred to the Resident Trustees.

V. Should the Principal insist on the immediate decision of a case, when another member thinks it right to defer, the other member, by this statute, is permitted to enter a protest on the minutes of the Council.

VI. The appointment of European officers shall be made by the Trustees of the College generally. The appointment of Native Masters shall be made by the College Council.

VII. As often as practicable, those who have been students in the College shall be appointed Masters; and whenever they are equally well qualified for the vacant office, they shall be preferred to other candidates.

VIII. Students shall be admitted by the consent of the College Council. When a difference of opinion exists, the Council shall come to a decision in the manner above directed.

IX. The consent of the College Council shall be necessary to authorize the Principal to expel any student.

X. Gross and open immorality persisted in, shall be a sufficient cause for expelling a student.

XI. A continued and obstinate neglect of prescribed studies shall be a sufficient cause to expel a student.

XII. A wilful pertinacious disobedience to the rules of the College, shall be a sufficient cause for expulsion.

XIII. One of the European officers of the College shall act as Treasurer.

XIV. One of the European officers of the College shall always be present at morning and evening prayers.

XV. It shall be the duty of the officers of the College to cherish, at all times, a paternal feeling of kindness to the students; to set an example of patience, moderation, good temper, and assiduity; and to avail themselves of every opportunity to inculcate lessons of morality and true piety, considering the religious and moral instruction of the students as no less intended by the Malayan College, than their intellectual education.

XVI. The general government of the College will be vested in Trustees, under the above provisions, and the President, Principal, and Professors will be Trustees by virtue of their office. In cases of emergency, the Resident Trustees may be referred to; but in all cases where an immediate decision may not be necessary, the opinions of all the Trustees should be obtained, as far as practicable, within twelve months.

XVII. The Resident of Singapore is requested to preside at the meetings of the Trustees.

XVIII. In case of the demise of any Trustee, his place shall be filled up by a general vote of the Trustees; and on the removal of any of the Resident Trustees, his place shall be filled up in a similar manner.

BYE-LAWS OF THE MALAYAN COLLEGE.

I. All students who enter the College must have a good character. Pagans, Christians, and Mahomedans are all admissible as students.

II. Native students must remain three months before they are regularly received into the College.

III. If after a trial of three months, they are considered suitable persons, they shall be received, on condition that they remain three years.

IV. A certain number of native students will be received on the foundation, and supported at the expense of the College: this number is at present limited to six, but it may be increased on the enlargement of the funds.

V. Any person desirous of educating a native youth, from the age of twelve to eighteen, may support him at the Malayan College for 100 dollars a year, clothes and a servant, if one is required, not being included.

VI. An European youth may be supported at the College for £100 per annum. For this sum he will be supplied with food, lodging, washing, and education.

VII. The College will engage to board, lodge, clothe, and educate a destitute Malayan or Siamese youth, or a fatherless or orphan lad, for sixty dollars per annum.

VIII. The Malayan Schools intended to be established at Singapore, are to be visited by the officers of the College, and to be considered under the immediate superintendence of the Malayan Professor.

IX. The students shall be taught to read and understand the best books in their own language, and particularly such as may be translated into it from European languages; to read and write the English language; history, geography, the use of the globes, logic, moral philosophy, theology, &c.

X. All moveable property belonging to the College is to be considered under the charge of the Principal; but the Professors in the Malayan and Siamese languages are expected, each in his department, to take due care of all manuscripts or books in those languages respectively.

XI. The general good behaviour of the students, and observation of the rules of the College, shall be superintended by the Principal and Professors by rotation; that is to say, each shall take this duty for a week, when he is to be relieved by another.

XII. The officers of the College shall have a choice of apartments, according to the rank they hold. The students may have a choice according to seniority of connection with the College. In special cases, the Council shall have the power of allotting what apartments they please.

XIII. The forms of Protestant worship will be observed, and strict moral decorum required; but neither native students nor Native Masters are compelled to attend Christian worship. The European officers of the Institution will all be Protestant Christians, but the Native Masters may or may not be Christians.

XIV. The Principal for the time being shall act as Treasurer, and keep the accounts of the College. The accounts to be closed annually; on which occasion, a report on the state and condition of the Institution must be drawn up by the Council, and submitted to the Singapore Institution.

XV. The College Council may from time to time pass such new bye-laws as may be necessary; but such bye-laws are not to have effect till approved by the Trustees.

XVI. During the life of the present Patron, he shall possess such a general control over the affairs of the College as may be found necessary for enforcing the fundamental laws and statues, and promoting its general object. He may, when he sees occasion, appoint visitors to examine into any particular department of the Institution, or into its affairs generally; and on any stated complaint or representation being made to him, if considered sufficiently important, he is empowered to appoint visitors for the special purpose of examining into the same; and it shall be incumbent on every individual connected with the Institution to concur in giving effect to the wishes of the Patron

on this head. His decision on all cases submitted to him by the Resident Trustees, or in which he may direct a visitation, shall be final.

AT A MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE SINGAPORE INSTITUTION,

Held on the 15th of April, 1823.

The Secretary lays before the Meeting an account of the subscriptions up to the present date, shewing a balance of dollars 17,495 in favour of the Institution and Colleges.

Besides a monthly subscription of 300 dollars per month for the schools, and of twenty-five dollars per annum on account of the library.

Ordered that the above account be transmitted to the Treasurers of the Institution and the Colleges respectively, in order that the amount may be duly collected and carried to account accordingly.

It appearing from the above statement that the funds of the Institution are already sufficient to authorize the commencement of the necessary buildings, an advantageous site for the same is fixed upon, and the Lieutenant-Governor intimates his intention of authorizing a grant of ground without delay.

A plan and estimate of the expense of the proposed buildings, drawn up by Lieutenant Jackson, being submitted to the Meeting, the same are approved, and Lieutenant Jackson having offered his services to superintend the same, an arrangement is made with that officer for the construction of the buildings in twelve months.

The sum of 15,000 dollars is, in consequence, voted for the buildings in question, to be disbursed by the Treasurers, agreeably to the arrangement with Lieutenant Jackson now entered into.

Sir Stamford Raffles and Dr. Morrison propose to the Reverend Mr. Milton to purchase, on account of the Institution, the presses; English, Malayan, and Siamese founts of types, with their furniture, paper, &c., which Mr. Milton has recently brought from Calcutta; and also to employ, on account of the Institution, the Printer whom Mr. Milton has brought down to Singapore; but it is expected that Mr. Milton will take charge of the presses, &c. for the time being; and if it be determined to print, on account of the Institution, a dictionary in the Fuh-këen dialect by the Rev. Mr. Medhurst of Batavia, that Mr. Milton will correct the press, and superintend the printing of the work.

Mr. Milton having assented to this arrangement, the prime-cost of the presses, &c., the freight and expense of setting up the Institution-press, is, in consequence, to be borne by the Institution, and the Treasurers are authorized to disburse the amount accordingly.

Dr. Morrison begs leave to lay the following circumstance before the Patron, the President, and the Trustees of the Institution.

The dialect of the Chinese from Fuh-këen province, including Chin-cheu, Amoy, and other ports of that province, is very peculiar, and so different from the general language of the empire, as to be unintelligible to those who speak the Mandarin tongue. Of this dialect the Rev. Mr. Medhurst of Batavia has made a dictionary, which will probably be contained, when printed, in two volumes octavo. He is desirous of resigning his claim to the MS., and to have the work printed, to promote the general intercourse with the Chinese in the Archipelago, on condition of receiving a few printed copies for his friends.

It is submitted whether it would be proper and expedient for the Institution to undertake the printing of 300 copies of this work, giving one hundred to the Author, one hundred to the Corrector of the press, (for as it contains the Chinese characters and the accents of the dialect, correcting the press and superintending the printing would be a considerable task,) and the Institution retain one hundred copies, to be appropriated as it may deem fit.

The Trustees concurring with the Rev. Dr. Morrison on the advantage of the printing of the work in question, being undertaken by the Institution, it is

Resolved, that the said work be printed at the expense of the Institution, and under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Milton; but that 500 copies instead of 300 be struck off; 200 on European paper, and 300 on Chinese; the copies to be distributed, 150 to the Author, 150 to Mr. Milton, and the remaining 200 to the Institution, to appropriate as it may see fit.

A Committee, consisting of the Rev. Mr. Morrison, the Rev. Mr. Thompson, Captain Flint, and D. S. Napier, Esq., with the Resident of Singapore as President, and J. Maxwell, Esq. as Secretrary, is appointed for conducting the general affairs of the Institution during the ensuing twelve months.

The superintendence of the Malayan Schools is entrusted to the Rev. Mr. Thompson, and those of the Chinese to the Rev. Mr. Milton.

Mr. Maxwell, as Secretary to the Institution, is requested to take charge of the Library and Museum of the Institution, until suitable buildings may be erected, and to act as Librarian during the absence of Dr. Morrison.

John Palmer, and G. Gordon, Esqrs., are requested to act as agents for the Institution in Calcutta.

The following establishments are provisionally authorized, viz.

SCHOOL DEPARTMENT.

The Rev. Mr. Milton is authorized to engage three native Siamese Masters and Assistants, at from fifteen to thirty dollars per month each, and one Chinese Schoolmaster, at twelve dollars per month.

The Rev. Mr. Thompson is authorized to engage Malayan Masters and Assistants to the extent of thirty dollars per month; also Masters of the Javanese and Bugguese languages, when procurable.

INSTITUTION GENERALLY.

A bookbinder at fifteen dollars per month, and a printer (Samuel Roberts) at thirty-five dollars per month.

The Treasurers to be requested to discharge the monthly bills for the same.

It is agreed that the proceedings of the general meeting of the 1st ultimo and of this day be printed for general information, and that the formation and objects of the Institution be communicated to the several public Institutions of a similar nature in Europe and India, with a view to opening a correspondence with them.

Sir Stamford Raffles is requested to take the necessary measures in Europe for forming the Committee of Co-operation, and appointing an agent to the Institution in London.

Sir Stamford Raffles intimates his intention to endow each of the Colleges with an appropria-

tion of land at Singapore to the extent of 500 acres, independently of one hundred acres attached to Institution-hill, already allotted to them; and the officers of the Chinese and Malayan Colleges respectively are requested to select and define the bounds of the same as early as may be convenient. —Adjourned.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

FOR THE

SINGAPORE INSTITUTION GENERALLY.

	Sp. Dolls.
Lady Raffles	200
Anglo-Chinese College-House to be sold, say for four or five	4000
To assist removal of Anglo-Chinese College from the Company	2000
For the same purpose a subscription from Dr. Morrison	1000
Alexander L. Johnson	100
Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar	1000
W. Montgomerie, Esq.	50
D. S. Napier, Esq.	100
G. A. Bonham, Esq.	100
Captain Davies	100
Lieutenant L. N. Hull	100
Lieutenant P. Jackson	100
J. A. Maxwell, Esq.	120
D. A. Fraser, Esq.	100
G. Mackenzie, Esq.	100
Thomas Howard, Esq.	50
F. J. Bernard, Esq.	100
Mrs. Napier	100
Charles Scott, Esq.	100
A Friend to the Institution, through Messrs. Napier and Scott	50
G. Gordon, Esq.	100

FOR THE SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENT.

The Anglo-Chinese College	400
Dr. Morrison	200
Malay College	400
W. Montgomerie, Esq.	50
D. Napier, Esq. for the Library annually	25
Spanish dollars	1075

FOR THE MALAYAN COLLEGE.

	Sp. Dolls.
The Company	2000
Sir Stamford Raffles	2000
The Sultan	1000
The Toomoongoong	1000
Dr. Morrison to the Malay College	200
Lady Raffles	200
Rev. R. S. Hutchings	200
Captain Flint	100
Rev. G. H. Thompson	50
Spanish dollars	6750

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

For the Institution generally	9670
For the Scientific Department	1075
For the Malayan College	9750
Spanish dollars	17,495

FOR THE CHINESE AND MALAYAN SCHOOLS.

The Honourable Company provisionally subject to confirmation of the higher authorities.

MALAYAN.

Monthly	150
A Donation by Dr. Morrison	50
Sir T. S. Raffles	100

CHINESE.

Monthly	150
A Donation by Dr. Morrison	50
Sir T. S. Raffles	100

TRADE OF SINGAPORE.

ABSTRACT OF IMPORTS AT SINGAPORE

for the last official Year 1827-28.

Names of Places.	1827-28.	Names of Places.	1827-28.
	Sicca Rupees.		Sicca Rupees.
From Calcutta	2,316,466¼	Brought forward	8,524,169½
Madras	414,697¾	From Java	2,284,627¼
Bombay	376,889½	Isle of France	155,951
England	1,920,126¼	Ceylon	19,355¼
Foreign Europe	541,673	Siam	275,819¾
America	.....	Cochin China	108,449¾
China	1,792,674¼	Acheen	2,896½
Prince of Wales' Island	883,015¼	Other Native Ports	3,514,720¼
Malacca	278,627¼		
Carried forward	8,524,169½	Total	14,885,989¼

ABSTRACT OF EXPORTS

for Official Year 1827-28.

Names of Places.	1827-28.	Names of Places.	1827-28.
	Sicca Rupees.		Sicca Rupees.
To Calcutta	1,631,349½	Brought forward	8,665,780½
Madras	1,138,099	To Java	1,026,379
Bombay	188,012	Mauritius, &c.	119,122¾
England	2,789,513½	Siam	457,713¼
Foreign Europe	272,230¾	Cochin China	85,576
China	1,519,897	Acheen	....
Malacca	480,556	Other Native Ports	3,517,438½
Penang	646,122¾		
Carried forward	8,665,780½	Total	13,872,010

EXPORTS TO ENGLAND.

Names of Articles.	In 1827-28.	Names of Articles.	In 1826-7.
	Sicca Rupees.		Sicca rupees.
Sugar	109,746¼	Brought forward..	2,115,036¼
Spices	205,770	China ditto	141,155
Wines	2,620¾	Straits ditto	8,257¾
Pepper	249,760¼	Spanish dollars	65,206½
Tin	41,527½	Cotton	17,370½
Rattans	11,809	China camphor	121,820½
Bees'-wax	15,833¾	E. P. goods	32,627½
Sago	30,322½	I. P. goods	237,894½
Coffee	783,710½	Oils	30,539¼
Benjamin	5,649¾	Saltpetre	7,428½
Sticlac	.....	Tobacco	2,105
Raw Silk	339,803¾	Woollens	6,315
European Sundries	.....	Java sundries	2,736½
India ditto	318,282¼	Gold-dust	1,220¾
Carried forward..	2,115,036¼	Total sicca rupees....	2,789,713½

IMPORTS FROM ENGLAND.

Names of Articles.	1827-28.	Names of Articles.	1827-28.
	Sicca Rupees.		Sicca Rupees.
Brandy, &c.	1,705	Brought forward..	1,353,237
Beer	19,197½	Woollens	131,526¾
Piece goods, Europe	1,062,587	European sundries	410,424½
Gold thread	673¾	Copper cash	.....
Iron	66,901	Salt	3,641¾
Opium	186,503	Spanish dollars	21,296¼
Wines	15,669¾		1,920,126¼
Carried forward..	1,353,237		

ABSTRACT OF AMOUNT OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS AT SINGAPORE

for the last Five Years.

	Amount of Imports.	Amount of Exports.	Excess of Imports.	Excess of Exports.	Total of Imports and Exports.
	Sicca Rupees.	Sicca Rupees.	Sicca Rupees.	Sicca Rupees.	Sicca Rupees.
1822-23	7,746,833	6,677,758	1,069,075	....	14,424,591
1823-24	13,807,072	10,222,222	3,584,850	....	24,029,294
1824-25	13,488,456	12,360,120	1,128,336	....	25,848,576
1825-26	13,159,193	11,270,311	1,888,882	....	24,429,504
1826-27	13,619,793	13,883,062		1,263,269	27,502,855
			7,671,143		
Total 5 years	61,821,347	54,413,473			116,234,820
			1,917,785		
Average of 5 years.	12,364,269	10,882,694	average of 4 yrs.	Average of 5 yrs.	23,246,964

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THE END.

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